ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

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I.—*The Seals of the Religious Houses of Yorkshire.* *By* CHARLES CLAY, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 8th March 1928

THE ensuing catalogue contains descriptions of seals, for which evidence is available, used by or in the religious houses of Yorkshire, excluding those of the city of York,[1] and omitting the hospitals and collegiate churches. It is to be hoped that the list can be materially increased, as further collections of documents, especially those in private hands, are examined.[2]

As an introduction, an attempt is made in the following notes to discuss the practice of the different orders in the use of seals.

THE BENEDICTINE ORDER

Dom Ursmer Berlière, in his account of the evolution of early monastic seals, has shown that in Benedictine monasteries the seal earliest in use was that of the *ecclesia*, that is, of the abbot and chapter combined; that from the end of the eleventh century the abbots began to have their separate seals, often inscribed with their personal name; and that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to guard against the possible abuse of an abbot using the *ecclesia* seal, or even his own seal, to the detriment of the rights of the convent, the custom arose of having a distinct and separate capitular or conventual seal, in actual practice the existing *ecclesia* seal being often used for this latter purpose, with definite regulations for its custody.[3]

The evidence contained in the printed coucher-book and chartulary of the two Yorkshire houses of Selby and Whitby suggests two further points: (*a*) that in the thirteenth century the 'common seal' of the house and the chapter seal were one and the same seal; and (*b*) that this seal was described in so great a variety of phrases in the sealing clauses that it is doubtful whether the phrasing of a sealing clause, though often providing valuable information, gives an infallible guide to the nomenclature of the seal attached to the original document, or the wording of its legend.[1]

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[1] They would form a subject of their own. The number associated with St. Mary's Abbey is considerable; no less than thirty are given in Mr. Hunter Blair's *Durham Seals*; and there are several, at present unrecorded, in the collection of documents at the Public Record Office.

[2] As an example of one of the worst gaps which ought to be filled, no impression of the priory seal of Bolton appears to be available.

[3] Berlière, *Le sceau conventuel*, Revue Bénédictine, October 1926. The word *ecclesia* occurs in the legend of the early abbey seal of Selby (pl. VIII, no. 10), and the use of that seal in 1282 tends to show that the old *ecclesia* seal was retained as the conventual or capitular seal. Personal names occur on the seals of the abbots of Selby from early in the thirteenth century.

The Cistercian Order

The evolution of Cistercian seals had a different history. The first stage was the rule that the seal used by each house was the seal, not of the convent, nor of the abbot and convent, but of the abbot alone;[2] and this was accompanied by the additional rule that the abbot's seal should have no personal name inscribed in the legend.[3] In the statutes of 1200 a return to uniformity was decreed in cases where any diversity of practice had been introduced.[4]

The first rule is illustrated by a letter of Pope Gregory IX in 1234 to the abbot of Roche in Yorkshire, recognizing that from the institution of the Cistercian order it had been ordained that in each house of the order there should be one seal only under the name of the abbot;[5] and also by a charter of the Cistercian house of Le Miroir in 1243, where this sentence occurs: 'we the said convent, because we have not an authentic seal, except the seal of our abbot, according to the custom of our order, have strengthened the said sale with the seal of our said father and abbot'.[1] That a Cistercian *conventus* should not have its own seal is definitely laid down in the codification of the Cistercian statutes, 1200–1316.[2]

---

[1] In the *Selby Coucher Book* the following phrases occur in sealing clauses: *sig. nostrum* (or *suum*) in *c.* 1261, 1308, 1383, 1465 (nos. 399, 670 A, 1280, and vol. ii, p. 348); *sig. nostrum* (or *suum*) *commune* in 1291, 1321, 1402 (nos. 550, 542, and vol. i, p. 6); *sig. abbatis et conventus* in 1318 (no. 874); *sig. capituli nostri* in 1244–54 and 1263–9 (nos. 287, 286, 288); *sig. commune capituli*, together with the seal of Abbot Thomas, in 1255 (no. 487); *commune sig. capituli nostri* in 1255–80 (no. 565). In 1342 there was appended to one part of an indenture the *sig. capituli domus*, also described in the document as *sig. commune capituli*, and to the other the seal of the abbot (vol. ii, p. 364). But the Selby evidence, of special value in proving the identity of the common seal and the chapter seal, is in two related documents of date 1260, of precisely the same type, one said to be sealed with *sig. suum commune* and the other with *sig. capituli sui* (nos. 1140, 1141); and the same evidence occurs in another pair of related documents of date 1254–80 (nos. 1049, 1052). It was doubtless this seal which, under the name of the *sig. commune*, formed the subject of inquiry as to its safe custody in the articles of the archbishop's visitation in 1343 (vol. ii, p. 368). In 1259 the abbot's seal was apparently put to an agreement by the abbot and convent (no. 174); and in 1307 there is mention of *sig. nostrum quo utimur ad causas* (no. 607), though no example of an *ad causas* seal for Selby is now known.

In the *Whitby Chartulary* there is the same variety of phrasing in the sealing clauses: *sig. nostrum* (or *suum*) in *c.* 1220, 1318, 1446 (nos. 418, 11, 563); *sig. nostrum commune* in *c.* 1312–18 and 1508 (nos. 401, 392); *sig. abbatis et conventus* in *c.* 1190–1211 (no. 255); *sig. commune abbatis et conventus* in 1348 (no. 293); *sig. capituli nostri* (or *sui*) in 1230, 1264, 1286, 1313 (nos. 273, 449, 509, 9); *sig. capituli de W.* in *c.* 1231 (no. 292); and *sig. commune capituli sui* (or *nostri*) in 1325 and 1358 (nos. 424, 549).

[2] It is probable that this special Cistercian custom was due to the reversion to the strict letter of the Rule of St. Benedict (Cap. III) which placed the abbot in a position of supreme responsibility.

[3] Berlière, *op. cit.*, p. 304, to whom several of the following references are due. An exception to the latter rule was the seal regarded on good evidence as the second seal of St. Bernard himself, dating from 1151, which bore his personal name (Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard*, t. ii, p. 546).

[4] Martène, *Thesaurus*, t. iv, p. 1294.

[5] Auvray, *Reg. de Grégoire IX*, no. 2257.

The second rule is illustrated by a charter of the abbot of Cîteaux in 1228, stating that in his order the abbot's name was not inscribed on any seal, and that a seal bearing the personal name of the abbot of Buzay must be regarded as false.[3]

The design of the abbot's seal was also a subject of definition. In the statutes of 1200 it was to consist of a simple effigy of the abbot with his pastoral staff; or, as an alternative, without the effigy but merely the hand grasping the pastoral staff.[4] These are the two well-known Cistercian types of abbot's seals which occur in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The abbot also had a counterseal; and the two seals are described as follows in the codification of 1200–1316: 'nor may any abbot presume to have more than two seals; namely, the smaller, inscribed with *contrasigillum* of such and such an abbey,[5] to be used in minor business . . . and the larger, to be used in major business; and, lest there be any diversity in our seals, the larger seals should bear the effigy alone with the pastoral staff, with the inscription *sigillum* of the abbot of such and such an abbey'.[6]

It seems probable that during the thirteenth century the desirability of having a conventual seal, separate from the abbot's seal, began to be felt in the Cistercian, as in the Benedictine, order. But, except in England, no sanction seems to have been given to a change of this kind until 1335. In that year Pope Benedict XII issued constitutions for the reform of the Cistercian order.[7]

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[1] Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ed. 1883, t. vii, p. 476.

[2] Libellus Antiquarum Definitionum, in *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, p. 436. In the statutes of 1218 any convent having its own seal must break it (Martène, *op. cit.*, p. 1322).

[3] Du Cange, *op. cit.*, t. vii, p. 475.

[4] Martène, *op. cit.*, p. 1294, the alternative being added by Müller, *Von den Siegeln im Orden* (Cistercienser Chronik, January 1919), p. 2, note 8, quoting another manuscript. The alternative is also given in the Institutiones Capituli Generalis Cisterciensis of 1240 and 1256 in *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, p. 330. St. Bernard himself had used both types, his first being of the 'pastoral staff' type, and his second the 'effigy' type (Vacandard, *op. cit.*, t. ii, p. 542).

[5] Cf. the legend on one of the Waverley seals of the simple 'pastoral staff' type: *con[trasig :] abbacie : de : Waverleia* (*V.C.H. Surrey*, vol. ii, p. 88; Brakspear, *Waverley Abbey*, pl. 19). At first sight it would appear that this should be more correctly described as the counterseal of the *abbey*; but the above quotation makes it clear that it was regarded as the counterseal of the *abbot*. The abbot thus represented the house, and the device on the seal was the symbol of his office. For Kirkstall (nos. 2 and 3) there are two seals of the same 'pastoral staff' type, one having the legend *contrasigil : de : Kirkest'*, and the other *cont' sigill' abb'is de Kyrkestall*, the latter defining more clearly what was intended by the former.

[6] *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, p. 436.

[7] *Bullarium Romanum Augustae Taurinorum*, ed. 1859, vol. iv, pp. 329–55.

He then decreed the general use of a conventual seal,[1] and laid down that for greater security each abbot should inscribe his personal name on his own seal.[2] The wheel had thus turned full circle.

In England, however, this movement towards the adoption of a conventual seal had received an earlier impetus in the constitutions of the legate Otho in 1237, who ruled that as notaries were not employed in England, and it was therefore the more necessary to have recourse to authentic seals, abbots and priors (among others) should have their seal, and also the chapters of cathedral churches, and colleges, *and convents*, either together with their rulers (*rectoribus*) or severally (*divisim*) according to their custom or statute.[3] A further impetus was given by the civil power in 1306/7, when by the Statute of Carlisle it was enacted that the abbots of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders and of other religious orders whose seal had previously been accustomed to remain only in the custody of the abbot, and not of the convent, should in future have a common seal, and should deposit it in the custody of the prior and four discreet persons of the convent, to be guarded under the private seal of the abbot; so that the abbot or head of the house could in no wise of himself establish any contract or obligation, as he had been accustomed previously to do; and if any writings obligatory of grants, purchases, sales, alienations, or other contracts be found in the future sealed with any other seal than such a common seal kept as aforesaid they should be adjudged null and void.[4]

By these means the English Cistercian houses were able to adopt a conventual seal earlier than elsewhere;[5] and there are several examples of English Cistercian seals—seals no longer of the abbot alone, but, as shown by their legends, seals of the abbot and convent[6]—which were in use before 1335, the date of Pope Benedict XII's reform.

During this period of change the other rule that the personal name should not be inscribed on an abbot's seal appears to have remained in force in England as elsewhere. But, as already mentioned, this rule was reversed by Pope Benedict XII; and in the codification of the Cistercian statutes, 1350–1400, it is laid down that on the new creation of an abbot the seal of his predecessor should be broken in the presence of the visitor and of the convent, and the newly created abbot should have a seal made anew on which he should cause his own name to be placed.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 333.

[3] Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, Appendix, p. 67.

[4] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i, p. 151. It is highly probable that financial considerations had formed one of the principal reasons for the need of a seal which required a wider sanction for its custody and use than that of the abbot alone. This is borne out by the wording of the Statute of Carlisle. But the need was doubtless felt earlier than that. The financial state of some of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses in the last part of the thirteenth century was precarious; and when the need of a conventual seal became imperative the legislation of Otho was found to be available.

[5] As an indication of French conformity with the established rule there are no Cistercian conventual seals earlier than 1335 given by A. Coulon, *Inventaire des sceaux de la Bourgogne*, Paris, 1912.

[6] In the earliest Yorkshire examples *sig. abbatis et conventus* is usual; but legends take various forms, especially in later examples in England, e. g. *sig. ecclesie* at Bordesley, *sig. commune monasterii* at Beaulieu, *sig. commune* at Kirkstall, *sig. commune capituli monachorum* at Combe; but the use of the word *chapter* in Cistercian seals is exceptional. See the seals of several Cistercian houses in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Seals*, vol. i.

The seals of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses illustrate several of these points. The earliest seals are all abbot's seals; and examples are available of both the 'effigy' and 'pastoral staff' types. Moreover, some attempt can be made to trace the 'effigy' type in its chronological development. The earliest style, showing an early form of the chasuble, dates from the middle period of the twelfth century (Fountains no. 3). The next style, late twelfth century, again shows the standing abbot with his left hand outstretched holding a book, but the chasuble is longer than in the preceding style; there are examples for Fountains (no. 4, used in 1214), Byland (no. 2), Kirkstall (no. 2, used in 1196), Rievaulx (no. 4), and Sallay (no. 1). A third style, early thirteenth century, shows a distinct artistic advance, especially in the treatment of the vestments, and the chasuble is ampler, falling in a series of folds; in the Yorkshire examples the abbot holds the book to his breast. The matrix of the abbot's seal of Roche is in existence, and it is this seal which in all probability was the subject of Pope Gregory IX's letter of 1234 already quoted. Similar examples are available for Sallay (no. 2), and Meaux (no. 2), where it was being used by the abbot and convent in 1301. The latest development of the 'effigy' type may be seen in the larger and more elaborate seal of the abbot of Kirkstall (no. 3), probably of middle thirteenth-century date, and used in 1287.

The 'pastoral staff' type was used in addition to the 'effigy' type by the abbots of some of the Yorkshire houses. In some cases, as Byland (no. 3) and Meaux (no. 1), the legend is *sigillum abbatis.* But it is probable that, generally speaking, the 'pastoral staff' type tended to be used more predominantly either for minor business[2] or as a counterseal. At Kirkstall (no. 3) this type, with the legend *cont' sigill' abb'is*, was used in 1287 as the counterseal to the abbot's seal; and variations of this type were used as counterseals at Byland (no. 1) and Jervaulx (no. 1).

The earliest seals of Rievaulx (nos. 2 and 3), of twelfth-century date, provide, however, an exception to these two well-recognized types of abbot's seals. Their design is that of the abbot sitting at a desk; their legends *signum Rievallis* and *signum abbatis Rievallis*, the use of the word *signum*, which also occurs on St. Bernard's first seal, being unusual.[1] Whatever may have been the reason for this particular design, it appears to have been replaced by the ordinary late twelfth-century 'effigy' type (no. 4), and it is possible that the disuse of an irregular type at Rievaulx was in obedience to the Cistercian statute of 1200, which ordered uniformity and laid down the design of the abbot's seal.

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[1] Liber Novellarum Definitionum, in *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, p. 518, where also the use is duly recognized of a conventual seal, on which the image of the Virgin Mary should be engraved.

[2] At the Scottish Cistercian house of Melrose the legend on this type is *s' minus abbatis de Melros* (C. H. Hunter Blair, *Durham Seals*, No. 3673). Cf. the *ad causas* seals which were used for minor business in the Benedictine and other orders.

None of these early abbot's seals has the personal name of the abbot. The earliest Yorkshire Cistercian seal which bears the personal name is that of Abbot William of Kirkstall (no. 5), in use in 1343, only eight years after the reform of the order, and doubtless made in accordance with the new regulation.

Of the earliest type of conventual seals, or more strictly speaking seals of the abbot and convent, there are examples for Byland, Jervaulx, and Rievaulx. These seals clearly indicate the composite authority suggested by the phrase *abbas et conventus*, which occurs in their legends—the abbot himself, brethren of the house on either side of him, and the Virgin and Child above illustrating the dedication of all Cistercian abbeys. They are of strikingly similar design and workmanship, of a type which does not seem exactly to occur among other Cistercian seals; and it would be interesting to know whether they were made in Yorkshire. Their date may be assigned to the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.[2] There is evidence that the abbey seal of

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[1] It also occurs at Robertsbridge (*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3913; illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxv, pl. xxxv, no. 1).

[2] They are certainly earlier than 1315, when the Rievaulx seal was actually in use. The style of the canopies closely resembles that in the seal of Richard Kellawe, bishop of Durham 1311-16, (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxxii, pl. II, no. 1). It might therefore be supposed that they date from the Statute of Carlisle in 1306/7. But there is a piece of documentary evidence which may suggest an earlier date. In Sept. 1291 the abbot and convent of Rievaulx were making arrangements with the general chapter of the Cistercian order for a yearly payment in respect of money advanced to them; in witness whereof the said abbot caused his seal, which he commonly used, to be appended to the agreement, and the convent, *quia sigillum non habemus*, were bound by the seal of their abbot for that purpose (*quantum ad haec*) (*Rievaulx Chartulary*, p. 377). This suggests, not that there was no conventual seal in existence, but that it had not been brought overseas to Cîteaux, where the document in all probability was drawn up; for if the old practice of using the abbot's seal only was still in force there would have been no point in the limitation which the words *quantum ad haec* imply. Tentatively we may conclude that these seals belong to a date about 1280, made and used under the sanction given by the legate Otho in 1237 (see note 4 on p. 4). From certain points in their architectural design they may well be contemporary with the counterseal of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham 1284-1316 (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxxii, pl. III, no. 7). But the important point is clear that as they were earlier than 1335 they indicate that the ordinary Cistercian rules were abrogated in England earlier than in the mother-houses in France.

Roche, attached to the deed of surrender, now unfortunately in a fragmentary state, and the first abbey seal of Fountains (except for the absence of the super-canopy containing the Virgin and Child) were of the same style of design and of the same date.

There are two other abbey seals of the Cistercian houses in Yorkshire; both are of later date, and are round in contrast with the pointed oval shape of the earlier type. The first is the fourteenth-century seal of Kirkstall,[1] described in its legend as the *sigillum commune*—the same phrase which is used in the Statute of Carlisle in 1306; and the other is the second seal of Fountains, dated 1410. In both of them more prominence is given to the figures of the Virgin and Child than in the earlier seals.

The Cistercian Nunneries

The early rules for the use of seals, which were in force in the houses of the Cistercian monks, were not applied to the houses of the Cistercian nuns in England. This fact is another illustration of their independence. 'These small nunneries', writes Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, in a summary of their position, 'cannot be regarded as belonging in any formal sense to the Cistercian order. . . . They were independent communities, founded irrespectively of the Cistercian scheme of affiliation which bound each abbey to its parent, but taking the Cistercian rule as the guide of their common life.'[2] The Yorkshire evidence shows that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries conventual seals, in contrast with the definite Cistercian rules, were in use at Ellerton in Swaledale, Esholt, Kirklees, Nun Appleton, and Swine.[3] It may be noted that, with the exception of the Nun Appleton seal, all of these are round in shape. The Kirklees seal is of special interest, as its early date is an indication that the priory was founded earlier than is usually supposed to be the case.

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[1] In view of the use of the abbot's seal (no. 3) in 1287 it is probable that the fourteenth-century seal, which was in use in 1343 and in 1531, was the only abbey seal ever used at Kirkstall. There is a puzzling piece of evidence which might suggest that, contrary to the rules, there was an earlier abbey seal of Kirkstall in 1205. About that year the composition of a dispute between Trinity Priory, York, and Kirkstall Abbey was sealed with the seals of the arbitrators and *sigillis utriusque capituli* (*Kirkstall Coucher Book*, no. 346); and another agreement between the two houses was sealed *utriusque domus sigillo* (*ibid.*, no. 348). But, as the Benedictine evidence has indicated, the actual words used in a sealing clause need not be taken too precisely; and it is probable that the seal, described in these alternative ways, was really the abbot's seal used for the abbey's business.

[2] *Double Monasteries and the Male Element in Nunneries*, being App. VIII to *The Report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Committee on the Ministry of Women*, 1919, p. 160.

[3] The use of an early conventual seal in Cistercian nunneries is shown in the constitution drawn up by the Bishop of Lincoln before 1235 for the Cistercian priory of Nuncotham, where the *sigillum domus* is mentioned, to be kept in the custody of the master, the prioress, and certain nuns elected for the purpose (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. v, p. 677).

The Premonstratensian Order

The special mention of the Premonstratensian houses, in conjunction with the Cistercian, in the Statute of Carlisle might suggest that the practice of the two orders in the use of seals was similar, just as the characteristics of their architecture proceeded on similar lines. Of the three Yorkshire houses there appears to be no seal available for Egglestone. Two seals are known for Coverham, one described in its legend as the common seal of the chapter, and the other the abbey seal *ad causas*.[1] Both appear to be of the same period as that of the earliest type of the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey seals, and might indicate that they were made at a time when the English Premonstratensian houses, like the Cistercian, were departing from the same original rule and adopting a conventual seal; and, indeed, both these seals have striking similarities in general design to this same Cistercian type. But this is not borne out by the Easby seals. For although there is an early seal of the abbot of Easby, with no personal name, resembling the Cistercian 'effigy' type—except that the abbot is seated—there is also an early thirteenth-century seal portraying St. Agatha, the patron saint, with the legend *sigillum ecclesie Sancte Agathe*. Here we have evidence in the Premonstratensian order of the seal of an *ecclesia* at a time when such a practice was disallowed in the Cistercian houses. Nor was the Easby abbey seal exceptional. An examination of the seals of the Premonstratensian houses in England, described in the *British Museum Catalogue*, shows that during the period earlier than 1250, and even 1200, several houses, including West Dereham, Lavendon, Newhouse, Sulby, Torre, and Welbeck, had a seal of the abbey itself;[2] and there are cases, for example, Newhouse, Torre, and Welbeck, where the abbot's seal before 1200, or shortly after that date, bore his personal name. It may therefore be concluded that, although there are several points of resemblance in the seals of the two orders, both in type and design, the use of an abbey seal and the adoption of a personal name on the abbot's seal in the early period show fundamental differences of custom or regulation. Moreover, as the dedications of the Premonstratensian houses were not confined to St. Mary, as was the case in the Cistercian order, there was wider scope in the matter of design by the representation of the patron saint, or scenes from the life of the patron saint, on their seals.

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[1] This suggests another point of difference between the two orders, as *ad causas* seals, so described, were not customary in the Cistercian order; see note 2 on p. 5.

[2] Some interesting notes on the early abbey seals of Tongerloo in Belgium are given by H. Lamy, *L'Abbaye de Tongerloo*, Louvain, 1914, p. 245.

The Gilbertine Order

In the Institutes of Sempringham,[1] of a date earlier than 1189, it is clear that each house had its chapter seal, to be used only in the presence of the whole convent; and that, besides the seals of the chapters, the masters of the order, the priors,[2] the scrutators general, the priest[s] of the confession, sub-priors, and cellarers could have seals, but no others. The Gilbertine seals given in the *British Museum Catalogue* indicate (*a*) that the legends on the chapter seals were worded in a variety of ways,[3] (*b*) that *ad causas* seals were used as well as the chapter seals themselves,[4] and (*c*) that with the exception of the seal of the founder no personal name was used on a prior's seal. The first of these three latter points is illustrated in Yorkshire by the seals of Ellerton on Spalding Moor and Malton; the second, by the *ad causas* seal of Watton; and the third, by the prior's seals of Malton and Watton.

The Carthusian Order

In the statutes of the Carthusian order it is laid down that each house should be content with one great seal, in the custody of the prior, only to be used with the consent of the whole house or a majority of its members; and that in addition the prior could have a small seal to be used for letters under his private name.[5] The seals of the two Yorkshire Carthusian houses of Kingston-upon-Hull and Mount Grace, both founded in the reign of Richard II, are in conformity with these rules; in each case there was a great seal of the priory and a small seal of the prior.

The Cluniac Order

In the use of seals the Cluniac houses conformed to the Benedictine practice. The evidence given by the seals of Pontefract Priory shows the existence of a priory seal[6] in the twelfth century, and the use of the personal name on the prior's seal in the thirteenth; while the twelfth-century character of the priory seal of Monk Bretton,[1] which was used up to the dissolution, shows that no change was made in the seal when that house left the Cluniac order and became Benedictine in 1280/1.[2]

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[1] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. xxxiii.

[2] To an agreement between the Cistercian and Gilbertine houses, made at Kirkstead and Sempringham in 1163, the seals of several abbots and priors of the two orders were affixed (*Rievaulx Chartulary*, p. 181).

[3] e. g. *sig. ecclesie* (Lincoln), *sig. commune domus* (Ormesby), *singnum conventus* (Bullington), *sig. prioratus* (Catteley), *sig. capituli prioris et conventus* (Bullington), and *sig. prioris et conventus* (Sempringham). Cf. also *sig. prioris et conventus de Suldham* (*Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 974).

[4] e. g. Alvingham, Bullington, and Chicksands.

[5] G. Vallier, *Sigillographie de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, Montreuil-sur-mer, 1891, pp. xvii, xviii, quoting the Nova Collectio of statutes, II. P. Cap. III, no. 23, p. 48.

[6] In the sealing clauses of deeds in the *Pontefract Chartulary* the priory seal was variously described: *sig. nostrum* in *c.* 1220 (no. 146); *sig. nostrum commune* in *c.* 1250 (p. 582); *sig. nostrum auctenticum* in 1248 (no. 480); *sig. domini prioris et capituli* in 1235 (no. 154). On one occasion, apparently in 1238 during an interregnum in the office of prior, an agreement was sealed with the seal of the sub-prior (no. 201).

The Augustinian Canons

It seems probable that the seals of the houses of the Augustinian Canons were also in conformity with the general Benedictine practice. But the Yorkshire evidence shows a greater variety of seal used by the Augustinian houses. Thus several houses had a special chapter seal in addition to the priory seal, which in some cases it may have displaced.[3] For Bridlington there is a record of a priory seal, a chapter seal, and a chapter seal *ad causas*; for Drax and Guisborough,[4] of a priory seal and a chapter seal; and for Newburgh, of a priory seal, a chapter seal, and a seal which appears to be the chapter *secretum*. The practice of using the personal name on the prior's seal seems to have varied in the Augustinian houses; the examples for Drax and Kirkham suggest that it was not used in those houses in the thirteenth century, but it occurs at Marton and Newburgh at an early date.

Two of the Bridlington seals are closely similar in design to certain episcopal seals at Durham, indicating the probability of a local school of workmanship. It is possible that Cistercian influence can be seen in the figure of the standing abbot on the priory seal of Healaugh Park. Perhaps the finest example of a Yorkshire seal of the Augustinian Canons is the priory seal of Nostell, dating from the early part of the twelfth century; while the well-known double seal of

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[1] Described as the seal of the prior and convent in 1414 (*Monk Bretton Chartulary*, no. 501), and as the common seal in the deed of surrender of 1538 (J. W. Walker, *Monk Bretton Priory*, p. 52). For the removal of the common seal in 1252-3 during the dispute with Pontefract Priory see *ibid.*, p. 10.

[2] The seals, both of the prior and of the convent, were attached to the profession of obedience to the archbishop of York at his visitation on 4 Jan. 1280/1 (*Register William Wickwane*, p. 139).

[3] This is suggested by the Drax seals, and it was the chapter seal of Newburgh which was attached to the deed of surrender. But the apparent use in 1343 of a second priory seal at Guisborough, when the chapter seal was in existence, suggests that sometimes the priory seal and the chapter seal were used concurrently. At Bridlington in 1327 the chapter seal *ad causas* was used as a counterseal to the priory seal.

[4] A good example of the haphazard wording of sealing clauses is shown by nos. 1164 and 1185 in the *Guisborough Chartulary*: to both the original documents the twelfth-century priory seal was attached; in one sealing clause it is described as *conventus sig.*, and in the other, of date 1223, as *sig. capituli*; but this was probably before the special chapter seal was made. It is curious to find the prior's seal apparently put to a lease in 1232 where we should have expected the priory or chapter seal (no. 1289). In 1239 a certain Andrew, a canon of Guisborough, was acting on behalf of the prior and convent, and to an agreement which he made with the prior and convent of Durham he put his own seal (no. 1165).

Haltemprice is a good example of the complicated character of fourteenth-century design, and calls to mind the work of the ivory carvers.

The seals of the remaining orders, which are chiefly those of Friars, call for no particular comment. With regard to the Templars and Hospitallers it is unlikely that any preceptory possessed a seal of its own;[1] and with regard to the Alien Houses no seal is available except for Holy Trinity, York, which is outside the scope of this paper.

In conclusion, the thanks of the Society are due to several Fellows and others who have given facilities for documents in their possession to be examined and the seals photographed for reproduction; in particular to Mr. W. A. Littledale and Col. J. W. R. Parker; and also to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, who have permitted the reproduction in this paper of some of the photographs of the seals in the Durham Treasury, originally taken by our Fellow Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair for his admirable catalogue of Durham seals. The writer is specially indebted to our Fellow Mr. R. C. Fowler for continuous assistance in dealing with the seals in the Public Record Office, many of which have been hitherto unrecorded; and to our Fellow Miss Rose Graham for many suggestions providing, and arising out of, the material on which these introductory notes have been based. The sources of a great part of this material are primarily due to Dom Berlière's valuable paper, to which the footnotes have frequently referred. The writer also desires to express his acknowledgement for help which he has received in various ways from our Fellows Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair, the Rev. C. V. Collier, Dr. W. E. Collinge, Mr. C. Hilary Jenkinson, Mr. E. G. Millar, Mr. C. R. Peers, Lord Scarbrough, and Mr. J. W. Walker; from the Rev. H. E. Salter, and from our Assistant Secretary Mr. H. S. Kingsford.

The photograph of the interesting seal of Arden Priory has been placed at the disposal of the Society by its owner, our Fellow the Duke of Rutland; and that of the Priory of Ellerton in Swaledale by its owner, our Fellow Mr. W. A. Littledale. Those of the chapter seal of Bridlington were originally taken for the Rev. C. V. Collier's catalogue of the deeds at Burton Agnes. The remaining photographs, with the exception of those taken by Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair, are the careful work of Miss M. E. Blake.

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[1] As an example of centralization in dealing with the property of the Templars, the common seal of the chapter was put to a grant of lands in Yorkshire in 1306, the grant being made by the master of the order in England, and the brethren, with the assent of the chapter (*Yorks. Deeds*, vol. v, no. 286, Yorks. Record Series).

CATALOGUE OF SEALS

Note: The words *dexter* and *sinister* are used as in heraldic descriptions, as if the *impression* (not the *matrix*) were a shield of arms.

Arden Priory (Benedictine Nuns)

The Priory Seal. 12th century. Pointed oval, 2⅝ × 1½ in. Plate 1, no. 1

St. Andrew standing, holding obliquely in his right hand a staff ending in a square-shaped cross, and possibly a book in his left.

✠ SIGILLV · SCI · AND · APLI · DE · ARDENA

(Two deeds, one dated 1189, *penes* the Duke of Rutland, brown wax; *Duke of Rutland MSS.*, vol. iv, Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 75.)

Arthington Priory (Cluniac Nuns)

The Priory Seal. 12th century. Round, 1⅝ in. Plate 1, no. 2

The Virgin crowned, standing to the sinister, holding a fleur-de-lis in her right hand.

✠ SIGILLV SCE MARIE D · · · · · · · · · · N

(Anc. Deed L 477 *temp.* Prioress Sara, *c.* 1241, in P.R.O., green wax, dexter side broken; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2563.)

Basedale Priory (Cistercian Nuns)

The Priory Seal. Pointed oval.

A female figure, probably the Virgin, looking to the sinister, seated on a chair ornamented with round arches before a lectern.

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(Anc. Deed D 5245 of date 1322 *temp.* Prioress Emma in P.R.O., red wax, fragment.)

Beverley, Dominican Friars

The Prior's Seal. 15th century. Pointed oval, 2 × 1¼ in. Plate 1, no. 3

Beneath a triple crocketed canopy with tabernacle work at the sides, St. Paul with nimbus, standing, holding a sword in his left hand and a book in his right; in base a three-stalked flower.

Sigillu ✻ pri[oris] fratru' [or]dinis p'dicator' ✻ beu'laci ✻

(Anc. Deed BS 398 of date 1524 in P.R.O., dull red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2638.
Illustrated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vii, p. 41; and Poulson, *Beverlac*, p. 771.)

Bolton Priory (Augustinian)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Pointed oval.

The Virgin seated, holding the Child with nimbus on her left knee.

[SIG]ILL SCE M[ARIE DE] BOL · · · ;

(Illustrated in Whitaker, *Craven*, 3rd ed., p. 592; imperfect and no reference.)

(2) *Prior John de Landa, c.* 1286–1330.[1] Pointed oval, 1½ × ⅞ in. Plate 1, no. 4

Beneath a cusped canopy without shafts, our Lord in glory; an angel, half-length, on either side; below, beneath a pointed canopy on which our Lord rests, the Virgin and Child, half-length; in base, beneath an arch, the prior, half-length, in prayer to the sinister.

ESTO : MEMŌR SERVI [V]IRGO MARIA TVI

(Anc. Deed LS 332 of date 1310 in P.R.O., white wax varnished brown.)

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[1] John with no surname in the deed. For the probable date of his installation as prior in succession to John de Lund—a date which would tend to fix the date of this seal—see A. Hamilton Thompson, *Bolton Priory* (Thoresby Soc.), p. 76.

BRIDLINGTON PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN)

(1) *The Priory Seal.*[1] Late 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ in. when perfect. Plate 1, no. 5
Beneath a double cusped canopy, pinnacled and crocketed, the Coronation of the Virgin; on a bench our Lord seated on the sinister, holding a book in His left hand and with His right placing a crown on the head of the Virgin, who sits beside Him; field diapered; broken at the top and bottom.

[S' C]O[MMV]NE : ECCLE · · · [BRIDE]LINGTO[NA]

Counterseal: Chapter Seal ad Causas. Late 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate 1, no. 6
Beneath a single cusped canopy, pinnacled and crocketed, the Virgin crowned, standing on a corbel, holding the Child on her left arm; in the field on either side of the canopy a quatrefoil.

S' CAPITVLI : SCE : MARIE : · · · · [B]RIDELINGTONA · AD CAVSAS

(Harl. Chart. 44 B 22 of date 1327 in B.M., bronze-green wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2711.
Both illustrated in Prickett, *Priory Church of Bridlington*, pl. XI.)

(2) *The Chapter Seal.* Early 14th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $2 \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate 1, no. 7
Beneath a crocketed canopy with traceried columns the Virgin crowned, standing, holding the Child with nimbus on her left arm; in base, beneath an arch, a figure in monastic habit kneeling before a prie-dieu to the dexter.

S' CAP · · · · · · · · · · : D͡E: BRIDILIGTON

(Burton Agnes Deeds nos. 186, 191 of dates 1467 and 1514 in *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xviii, p. 114, and xix, p. 3; and possibly *Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 93 of date 1524, red wax, broken.
Illustrated in *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xviii, p. 56.)

(3) [?] *Prior Gregory.* 12th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Four heads arranged in a cross, each within a circular band inscribed with a name: (i) The Virgin, wearing a head-dress, MARIA; (ii) St. Paul, PAVLVS; (iii) St. Augustine, AVGVSTINVS; (iv) [?] St. Nicholas, NICHOLAVS.

[?] · · · · · · · · · · · S TERCI' HOSPES

(Harl. Chart. 44 I 3 of date 1176 in B.M., dark green wax, edge chipped and much rubbed; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2713, from which the above description is taken.)

BYLAND ABBEY (CISTERCIAN)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.*[2] Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate 1, nos. 9, 10
Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy an abbot in mass vestments, standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; in a niche on either side three monks standing, facing inwards; above the canopy in a niche the Virgin and Child seated on a bench; and above the side niches three small rings.

S' SCE MARIE : ET [AB]BATIS : C[? OVE]NT' DE BELLA LANDA[3]

Counterseal. Round, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate 1, no. 8
An arm holding a pastoral staff; in the field two lions rampant facing one another.

✱ DE BELLA LANDA

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[1] For the design of these two seals cf. the counterseals of Anthony Bek, bp. of Durham 1284–1311, and Richard Kellawe, bp. of Durham 1311–16, illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxii, pl. III, nos. 7 and 8.

[2] In the *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2818 a small seal of Byland is described—green wax; indistinct; round, $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the Virgin, half-length, the Child on the left arm; ✱AVE . . . . . . This is attached to Add. Chart. 20546 in B.M., being an obligation by Adam, abbot of Bell[a Landa] of date *c.* 1262. It is difficult to make out anything definite on the seal attached to that document, and the description so given would appear to be of the imaginative order; the device more closely resembles a bird. It may have been a signet used by Abbot Adam.

[3] Comparing the legend with the similar types of conventual seals for Jervaulx and Rievaulx it is possible that the order of the words was misplaced in error; and the word *et* would ordinarily occur between *Abbatis* and *Conventus*.

(*Yorks. Deeds*, v, no. 11, of date 1536, red wax, imperfect, reverse having two impressions of the counterseal, original *penes* Viscount Allendale; also Loose Seal F 115 in P.R.O. dexter side broken away.
Both illustrated in *Yorks. Deeds*, v, frontispiece.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in.
The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left outstretched.

✠ SIGILLVM : ABB[ATIS] · DE · BELLELANDA

(Cott. Chart. v, 13 of date 1191–1222 in B.M., light brown wax, indistinct; *Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 144 of date 1209–12 *temp.* Abbot Walter, red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 2819, 2821.)

(3) *The Abbot's Seal.* Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1$ in.
A vested arm issuing from the sinister, holding a pastoral staff; in the field five stars.

✠ : SIGILLVM ⁝ ABBATIS ⁝ BELLELANDE

(Misc. 1127 and 3–8, Spec. 15 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3421; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2822.)

(4) [?] *Abbot Walter de Dishforth*, *c.* 1334–49. Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in width.
The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on either side a suspended shield of arms, *a lion rampant* (Mowbray); the field diapered; the legend almost entirely lost.
Counterseal. Oval, *c.* $\frac{5}{8}$ in. in length.
A gem, a bull.

✱ GVTGVTANITEBAL

(Deed of date 1348, dark green wax, much broken, printed in *Arch. Journal*, xviii, p. 63, where the obverse is illustrated, then in the possession of Mr. Wentworth of Woolley.)

(5) *Abbot William Helperby*,[1] *c.* 1429–71. Pointed oval, $2 \times c.\ 1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Beneath a richly decorated canopy with tabernacle work at the sides the abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and something, probably a book, to his breast in his left; on either side a shield of arms.

· · · · · · · [?] help · · · · · · ande ·

Counterseal. Oval, $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in.
A gem, probably the toilet of Venus.
(Viscount Allendale's Bretton Deeds, Bentley Grange, no. 4 of date 1471, red wax, badly broken and rubbed.)

(6) *Abbot William Helperby*,[2] signet. Round, $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
The letter W in a circle.

S' help · · · · · and · · · ·

(Misc. 4280 of date 1429 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3422.)

COVERHAM ABBEY (PREMONSTRATENSIAN)

(1) *The Chapter Seal.* Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Plate I, no. 11
Beneath a single canopy, pinnacled and crocketed, background diapered, an abbot in mass vestments standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on either side a canon in his habit facing inwards, each holding an object in his hands, with a crescent dexter and a star sinister above.

✱ S' CŌE : CAPITVLI : DE : COVERHAM

(Anc. Deed B 9422 of date 1404–5 in P.R.O., dark red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3011.
Illustrated in G. Pedrick, *Monastic Seals*, pl. XXIII.)

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[1] 'William the abbot of Byland' in the deed.
[2] Styled collector within the archdeaconry of Cleveland.

(2) *Seal ad Causas.* Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, *c.* 1¾ × 1¼ in. when perfect. Plate I, no. 12

Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy with side-niches, background diapered, the Virgin crowned, holding the Child on her left arm; in the dexter niche a canon, and in the sinister niche an abbot holding a pastoral staff, both kneeling.

S' ABBAT · E[T] ················ [A]D [CAV]SAS

(Exch. K. R. Eccl. Doc. $\frac{6}{82}$ of date 1479-80 in P.R.O., red wax, broken at the bottom.)

DONCASTER, FRANCISCAN FRIARS

The Convent Seal. Pointed oval, 1¾ × 1¼ in.

Apparently a female figure, but much rubbed and practically indecipherable.

············ TIS FRM̄ [? MIN] ·· [DON]CAST ····

(Deed of Surr. 73 of date 1538 in P.R.O., red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3059.
Illustrated in Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii.)

DRAX PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, 2⅞ × 1⅞ in. Plate II, no. 1

St. Nicholas without mitre, standing in mass vestments, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left.

✠ SIGILLVM S[A]NCT[I N]ICOLAI EPISCOPI

(Anc. Deed LS 29 in P.R.O., white wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3073.)

(2) *The Chapter Seal.* Late 12th or early 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* 2¾ × 1⅞ in. when perfect. Plate II, no. 3

St. Nicholas with mitre, standing vested in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, amice, pall, and maniple, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left; broken at the top and bottom.

·· SIGILLVM : CAPITVL ······· NICHOL ··· DE : DRA ··

Counterseal: The Prior's Seal. Pointed oval, 1⅝ × 1 in. Plate II, no. 2

Demi-figure of the prior to the sinister, tonsured, hood on shoulders.

✠ SIGILLVM : PRIO͡RIS : DE : D·

(4-2, Ebor. 6 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3426; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 3074-5.
Both illustrated in *Durham Seals*, pl. 63.)

EASBY ABBEY (PREMONSTRATENSIAN)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* Early 13th century. Pointed oval, 2⅜ × 1⅜ in. Plate II, no. 4

Beneath a canopy with trefoiled arch and turrets, supported on slender columns, St. Agatha robed, standing on a corbel, and holding a palm branch in her left hand and a book to her breast in her right.

✠ SIGILLVM ECCLESIE SANCTE : AGATHE

(Bodleian Charters, Douce no. 1, of date 1240, yellow-brown wax; 3-1 Ebor. 9 of early 14th-century date in Durham Treasury; *Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 525 of date 1333/4, yellow wax; *Durham Seals*, no. 3462; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3099.
Illustrated in Clarkson, *Richmond*, p. 353.)

(2) *The Abbey Seal.* Pointed oval, 2⅝ × 1½ in. Plate II, no. 5

Apparently an attempted copy of the previous seal; rude workmanship.

✠ S COE ABdIS MONAS2EЯII + SCE + ꓯ9ꓯ2E

Several letters are inverted.

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3100, modern impression from the matrix which is in the British Museum.)

(3) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th or early 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* 1⅞ × 1⅛ in. Plate II, no. 6

The abbot in mass vestments, seated, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left, his feet resting on a corbel.

✠ SIGILLVM A[B]BATIS SANCTE AGATHE

(2-1, Spec. 7, 37 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3461; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3101.
Illustrated in Clarkson, *Richmond*, p. 353, probably intended for this seal.)

(4) *The Abbot's Seal.* Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in.

The abbot standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and something to his breast in his left.

S' ABBATIS SC'E AGATh · · ·

(*Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 525 of date 1333/4, yellow wax; being counterseal to the abbey seal no. 1 above.)

THE PRIORY OF ELLERTON ON SPALDING MOOR (GILBERTINE)

The Priory Seal. 13th century. Pointed oval, $2 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate II, no. 8

The Annunciation, Gabriel on the dexter and the Virgin on the sinister, both standing.

✠ SI[GILLVM S]ANCTE MARIE DE ELR[ETON]A

(Deed of Surr. 81 of date 1538 in P.R.O., red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3104.)

THE PRIORY OF ELLERTON IN SWALEDALE (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

The Priory Seal. 13th century. Round, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate II, no. 9

The Agnus Dei.

✱ S' COMVNE DOMVS D' ELLERTON

(*Pudsay Deeds*, Yorks. Record Ser., no. 431 of date 1521, red wax, original *penes* Mr. W. A. Littledale. Illustrated in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* xxiv, p. 274, and *Pudsay Deeds*, pl. XI.)

ESHOLT PRIORY (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

The Priory Seal. 12th century. Round, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate II, no. 7

The Agnus Dei; the lamb with nimbus looking backwards.

· · · · [CONV]ENTVS SCE M͡ARIE DESSh · · · · · · ·

(*Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 143 of date *c.* 1231, red-brown wax, broken at the top and one side, original *penes* Col. J. W. R Parker.)

NORTH FERRIBY PRIORY[1]

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Pointed oval, $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate II, no. 10

A round building ornamented with an arcade, with conical roof on which is a cross.

SIGILLV · TEMPLI · DOMINI · DE · AN[? GLI]A

(Loose Seal R 22 in P.R.O.; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4493.)

(2) *Prior Thomas Beverley.*

The Virgin seated; below, beneath a semicircular arch, a draped figure in prayer looking upwards.

· · · · · · · DE · · · · · · · ·

(Burton Agnes Deed no. 189 of date 1489, in *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xix, p. 2, fragment.)

ST. STEPHEN'S PRIORY, FOUKEHOLM (OR THIMBLEBY) (BENEDICTINE NUNS)

The Chapter Seal.[2]

A figure crowned, standing and holding a sceptre in the right hand.

(Deed of date *c.* 1278–1300, printed in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, ix, p. 335, a fragment of the upper portion.)

FOUNTAINS ABBEY (CISTERCIAN)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in.

Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy with side niches an abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; in either side-niche a monk standing, looking inwards.

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[1] This was a house of Augustinian Canons of the Order of the Temple. 'They are sometimes erroneously said to have been affiliated to the Knights Templars, but were in reality a cell of the abbey of the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem and in no way connected with the Knights of the Temple of Solomon; at a later date these canons seem to have been considered as ordinary Austin Canons' (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, p. 89). The Temple of the Lord was a church at Jerusalem served by a community of Augustinian Canons under an abbot (*ibid.*, p. 241; and see *E.H.R.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 498–501).

[2] *Sigillum capituli nostri* in the sealing clause of the deed.

[SIGILLVM] ABB'IS : ET : CON · · · · · · · · [M]ARIE : DE : FONTI[BVS]

(Illustrated in *Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. 1, from a document then, 1863, at Studley Royal; from this illustration the above description has been taken. In *Yorks. Deeds*, iv, p. vi *n.* there is reference to a deed of date 1379, belonging to the Yorks. Arch. Soc., which has the fragments of a seal of red wax, described in the deed as the *sigillum commune* of the abbot and convent; these fragments indicate the central figure of an abbot in mass vestments, and the seal is doubtless another example of the above.)

(2) *The Abbey Seal.* Dated 1410.[1] Round, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. Plate III, no. 1

The Virgin robed and crowned, standing with the Child on her left arm; on either side three kneeling figures in monastic habit, the upper one on the sinister side being the abbot holding a pastoral staff; in the upper part of the seal a church; above it on the dexter the mitred head of an archbishop with his cross, and on the sinister the head of an abbot with his pastoral staff;[2] divided by the heads are the figures 1410; the field beautifully diapered with foliage and roses, and the inner border of the legend cusped.

[S. commu]ne ⸙ abbatis ⸙ ⁊ ⸙ conuentus ⸙ de ⸙ ffontibus

Counterseal. Round, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate III, no. 2

A shield bearing *a cross between four lions rampant.*

✱ ⸙ S ⸙ Benedicite ⸙ fontes ⸙ dominu ⸙

(2–5, Reg. 4, 5 of date 1424 in Durham Treasury, obverse broken at the top and one side; *Durham Seals*, no. 3477. Both illustrated in *Durham Seals*, pl. 62, and *Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. lxix, and the obverse in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xv, p. 402.)

Another Counterseal. Round, $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

The Agnus Dei.

Ecce agnus dei

(*Yorks. Deeds*, iv, no. 519 of date 1489, red wax, where it is counterseal to the same abbey seal of which the central portion, good impression, remains; also *Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. 280 of date 1537, where it is illustrated.)

(3) *The Abbot's Seal.* Middle 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1$ in. Plate III, no. 3

The abbot in mass vestments and round cap, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left outstretched.

+ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE FONTIBVS

(Egerton Chart. 585 of date *c.* 1154–81 in B.M., red-brown wax.)

(4) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate III, no. 4

The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left outstretched.

[S]IGILLVM : ABBA[TIS · DE · FO]NTANIS

(Anc. Deed LS 133 of date 1214 in P.R.O., red wax, chipped round the edge; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3170.)

(5) *Abbot William Gower*, 1369–83. Oval or pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. when perfect. Plate III, no. 5

Beneath a pinnacled canopy, elaborately carved, the abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on either side in a niche with a sloping roof, a monk.

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[1] That was the year when Abbot Robert Burley died. There were considerable disturbances during the time of his successor, Roger Frank, whose appointment was subsequently annulled by the Pope. In a petition to Parliament in 1414 he is alleged to have taken off chalices, jewels, and other ornaments belonging to the house to the value of 2,000 marks, and also the common seal, all of which he was still retaining (*Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. 209). It seems probable that this second seal was made as a result of the disappearance of the first, which the absconding abbot had used for pledging the house in large sums. This may explain the date 1410, the last year in which the old seal might be considered to have been used for lawful purposes. But as Roger Frank, in a rival petition to Parliament, stated that he was in possession of the abbacy for three years before being evicted (*ibid.*, p. 211) it was probably not actually made until about 1413.

[2] Mr. Hunter Blair is of opinion that the heads represent Thurstan, archbishop of York, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux (*Durham Seals*, p. 564 *n.*).

S Wilelmi [?] pRi · · · · · · · · · ·[1]

(Harl. Chart. 44 F 9 of date 1372 in B.M., red wax, upper portion alone remaining; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3171.

(6) *Abbot Robert Burley*, 1383–1410. Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. when perfect.
A figure beneath a canopy, with a smaller figure beneath a canopy on either side; the legend has been in black letter.

(Cott. Chart. iv. 39 of date 1401 in B.M., red wax, fragments; *Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. 206 *n.*; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3369.)

(7) [?] *Abbot Marmaduke Huby*, signet,[2] 1494–1526. Oval, $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate III, no. 6
The bust of St. Bernard with nimbus, full-face; a pastoral staff over his right shoulder; above his left the letter h.

(Impression *penes* Soc. Ant. from a brass ring at Studley Royal; *Arch. Journal*, xxxii, p. 310, where it is illustrated; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3172.)

(8) *Abbot William Thirsk*,[3] 1526–36. Pointed oval, *c.* $3 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. when perfect. Plate III, no. 8
Beneath a triple canopy the Virgin seated, holding the Child on her right knee and a sceptre in her left hand; on either side of her two saints, that on her right being St. John the Baptist holding a lamb, and that on her left St. John the Evangelist holding a cup; in base, beneath an arch the abbot with mitre, holding a pastoral staff and kneeling in prayer to the dexter; on either side of him on a wall of masonry a shield of arms, *three horseshoes*.[4]

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · abbatis de fon · · · · · ·

(Anc. Deed B 3803 of date 1529 in P.R.O., red wax, top portion broken away.)

(9) *Seal of the Court of the Liberty.* Post Dissolution. Round, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate III, no. 7
The Virgin in sixteenth-century dress, standing with feet wide apart and holding the Child on her left arm.

✠ · CVRIA · B · MARIÆ · DE · FONTIBVS

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3169; described with another of similar character in *Arch. Journal*, xxxii, p. 315.)

GUISBOROUGH PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate III, no. 9
The Virgin in conventual dress, seated on a chair ornamented with round arches, reading a book placed on a lectern; a star of eight points in front of her on the dexter.

+ SIGILLVM · SANCTE · MARIE · DE · GISEBVRC

The C in the last word is of square form, and the E is of two separate types.

Counterseal. Pointed oval, $1 \times \frac{5}{8}$ in.
A bird.

✠ SIGILLVM : SECRETI :

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[1] It is scarcely possible that the letters 'pri' are those of 'prioris'; they may represent the beginning of 'patris'.

[2] A signet of Abbot Huby, representing a pastoral staff issuing from a mitre, enfiled by two palm branches crossed for M, and a key placed fess-wise for H (so described by Mr. Walbran), is illustrated in *Memorials of Fountains*, i, p. 242.

[3] *Sigillum officii sui* in the sealing clause.

[4] In 1424 the counterseal had a shield bearing a cross between four lions (no. 2 above). That was the shield traditionally associated with King Oswald, and also used by Nostell Priory. But Tonge in his Visitation of 1530 (p. 78) gives the arms of Fountains as *azure three horseshoes or.* The earliest appearance of the horseshoes in connexion with Fountains seems to date from the time of Abbot Huby, 1494–1526; they occur on his work in the south transept and on the tower which he built. Sir William Hope suggested that these arms were those of Huby himself rather than those of the abbey (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xv, p. 316); but this seal, of which Sir William Hope was probably unaware, was used by Abbot Thirsk in 1529, only one year before the date of Tonge's Visitation, and it seems more natural to suppose that the arms were, as Tonge says, those of the abbey itself. Their position and duplication on this seal are also an indication, though not a proof, that they were not the personal arms of an abbot. It therefore seems probable that between 1424 and the end of the century a change was made in the abbey arms.

(3–8, Spec. 15; 2–1 Ebor. 8, 9, 12, one of date 1199, in Durham Treasury; printed in *Guisborough Chartulary*, nos. 1164, 686 C–E; *Durham Seals*, no. 3481; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3186, obverse only.
Obverse illustrated in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. II; *Durham Seals*, pl. 63; and *Guisborough Chartulary*, vol. i, frontispiece.)

Another Counterseal.[1]
The Virgin and Child; below, a kneeling figure.

AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA DOMINVS TECVM

(Deed of date 1223 in *Guisborough Chartulary*, no. 1185.)

(2) [?] *The Priory Seal.*[2] 13th century.
Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy the Virgin and Child.

. . . . E

(Bodleian Charters, Yorkshire, no. 61 of date 1343, dark green wax, broken; printed in *Guisborough Chartulary*, no. 664 D; drawing of seal by Torre in Egerton MSS. 2577, fo. 1 b in B.M.)

(3) *The Chapter Seal.* 13th century. Double seal, round, *c.* 2⅝ in. when perfect.

Plate III, nos. 10, 11

Obverse: Beneath a trefoil-headed arch supported on columns and surmounted by a church, the Virgin crowned, seated on a bench ornamented with arches, holding the Child with nimbus on her left knee, her feet resting on a diapered platform, the corbel decorated with a fleur-de-lis cresting; above her head and surrounding her the words AVE MARIA GRACIA PL' :; on the sinister side beneath a crocketed canopy a kneeling figure in monastic habit, with a six-pointed star above him; the corresponding canopy on the dexter side broken away.

S' CAP[IT]VLI [: SCE : MARIE : DE GISBVRNE]

Reverse: Beneath a similar arch, similarly surmounted, St. Augustine with mitre, in mass vestments, seated on a similar bench, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left, his feet resting on a platform, the corbel decorated with an arcade; surrounding him the words ORA ꝑ NOB B̄Ē AVGV; on the dexter side beneath a crocketed canopy a kneeling figure in monastic habit, with a crescent above him; on the sinister side the remains of a corresponding canopy.

. . . . EC . . . . NE . .

(Loose seal R 23 from lease of date 1538 in P.R.O., bronze wax; letter of fraternity of date 1511 in Ord, *Cleveland*, pp. 200, 568; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3187; drawing by Dodsworth from deed of date 1507/8 in Dodsworth MSS., lxx, fo. 4 b, described in *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, p. xxxvi.)

(4) *The Priory Seal* (?) *ad Causas.*[3] Pointed oval, *c.* 2¼ in.
The Virgin and Child; a kneeling figure on either side, and in base a lion.

[?] ✠ S : PRIORIS : ET : CONVENTVS : SCE : MARIE : DE : GISEBVRNE . . . . . .

(Bodleian Charters, Yorkshire, no. 63 of date 1430, dark green wax, now much broken; printed in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, p. 274, and *Guisborough Chartulary*, no. 1087 E; drawing of seal by Torre, from which the above description is partly taken, in Egerton MSS. 2577, fo. 1 b in B.M.)

(5) *The Prior's Seal.* Pointed oval, 1½ × 1 in.
The Virgin, robed and crowned, seated and holding the Child on her left knee; in base, a demi-figure praying.

. . . . GILL . . . . . P . . . . . . N

(Loc. XIX, 15, of date 1241 in Durham Treasury, green wax, imperfect; *Durham Seals*, no. 3482; *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, p. xxxvi.)

(6) *Prior John de Darlington*, 1346–64. Pointed oval, 2 × 1½ in.
The Annunciation; Gabriel holding a scroll inscribed AVE MARIA; between the figures a vase

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[1] To the same priory seal, which is described in the sealing clause of the deed as *sigillum capituli.*
[2] *Sigillum prioratus* in the sealing clause.
[3] *Sigillum suum commune ad causas* in the sealing clause.

with a lily; in base a figure praying; above, a demi-figure of God the Father, both hands raised in benediction.

S' IO······IGT··PRIORIS DE G····VRN

(Misc. 3372 and others of dates 1348 to 1359 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3484.)

(7) *Prior John Thweng*,[1] 1425–37. Round, $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

A shield of arms, *three leaves with stalks.*

∗S'······TI DE······E

(Misc. 4752 of date 1433 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3485.)

(8) *The Cellarer's Seal.*[2] Oval, $1 \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.

An archbishop, in pall and full pontificals, blessing a kneeling figure in monastic habit, who holds up in both hands a vase containing a two-stalked flower; the field powdered with quatrefoils; no legend.

(Misc. 3588 of date 1351 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3487.
Illustrated in *Durham Seals*, pl. 62.)

HALTEMPRICE PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN).

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 14th century. Double seal, round, $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate IV, nos. 1, 2

Obverse: The priory church with pinnacles at either end and central spire surmounted by a cross, the walls marked to represent ashlar masonry, the central doorway with folding doors thrown open; above the roof two banners, *two bars in chief three roundels* (Wake); on the dexter side of the building a shield of arms, *barry of twelve* (Stuteville), and on the sinister side a shield of arms (Wake); in base a shield of arms, *a cross paty*; the background diapered lozengy; the whole design enclosed in an ornamented octofoil, with fleurs-de-lis and leopards' heads alternately in the spandrels.

✠ CEO EST LE SEĀL LABBE E LE COVENT DE COTINGHAM QVE VOVS THOMAS WAKE SINGNOV̄R DE LIDEL AVOMES FOVNDE

Reverse: An architectural design of three stories. In the uppermost, three pointed niches, crocketed, with trefoiled arch; in the central niche the Crucifixion between St. Mary and St. John; in either side-niche a kneeling angel swinging a censer. In the middle story also three niches; in the central niche the prior with pastoral staff kneeling in prayer to the dexter; in the dexter side-niche St. Peter with keys and book; in the sinister side-niche St. Paul with book and sword. In the lower story, rectangular, five canons kneeling in prayer to the dexter. On the dexter side of the central design a kneeling figure of Thomas, Lord Wake, in armour, with his arms upon his ailettes; on the sinister side a kneeling figure of his wife; above each of them a banner with the arms of Wake, and in base a shield of the same arms. The background diapered lozengy, and the whole enclosed in an ornamented octofoil with trefoiled devices in the spandrels.

✠ EN L'AN DE L'INCARNACION MILL' CCC XX SECOVNDE AL HONOVR DE LA VERAI CROYZ E DE N̄RE DAME E SEYNT PERE E D' SEȲT POVL

(*B.M. Cat.*, nos. 3004, 3005. Loose Seal R 24 from a lease of date 1522 in P.R.O., red wax, is a fragment of the reverse, with small counterseal, the arms of Wake.
Illustrated in Tickell, *Hull*, p. 17; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. II; and *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xx, p. 42.
The matrix is in the British Museum.)

(2) *A Prior's Seal.* Oval, *c.* $1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. when perfect. Plate IV, no. 3

An antique gem, three human heads in profile conjoined, one wearing a tasselled cap.

·····NAT·IMAGO·······SA·IOHIS·[? E]GO

(Anc. Deed L 330 of date 1337 in P.R.O., red wax, edge broken; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3248.
Illustrated in *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. i, pl. LVIII[3].)

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[1] As collector of tenths within the archdeaconry of Cleveland, the seal being described as *quo utimur in hac parte.*

[2] An imperfect seal of the sub-prior, of date 1298, is given in *Durham Seals*, no. 3486. No. 3488 is a seal, of date 1362, of the proctor of the prior and convent.

[3] It is there given as the seal of Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby. But the document to which it is attached is an

HAMPOLE PRIORY (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. when perfect.
An eagle to the sinister.

Sigillum : commune : · · · · · · · · ·

(Loose seal R 25 in P.R.O., red wax, fragment.
Illustrated in Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii, from a lease of date 1529–30.)

(2) *The Prioress's Seal.*[1] Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in.
The Virgin crowned, seated on a bench, holding the Child on her left knee and a book to her breast in her right hand.

∗ [?] MR DEI MISERERE MEI

(Harl. Chart. 44 E 16 of date 1505 in B.M., brown wax, indistinct; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3250.)

HEALAUGH PARK PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. Plate IV, no. 4
A figure in mass vestments, standing, holding a book to his breast with both hands.

✠ SIGILL' : SANTI : IOhIS : DE : PARCO

(Egerton Chart. 516 of 13th-century date in B.M., brown wax; 2–11, Spec. 7; Misc. 2059, probably of middle 13th-century date, in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3491.)

(2) [?] *Prior Elias, c.* 1233.
An animal passant.

(*Yorks. Deeds*, i, no. 424, much broken.)

HULL, THE CHARTERHOUSE

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Late 14th or early 15th century.[2] Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. when perfect. Plate IV, no. 5
Within a columned niche St. Michael standing on the dragon and piercing its head with a long spear, a shield of arms, *a cross*, in his left hand; in base a shield of arms, *a fess between three leopards' heads* (de la Pole).

· · · · · · · michis : · · · · · · · · de : kyngeston : sr : hull

(Loose seal D 158 in P.R.O., dark green wax, broken at the top and sinister side; also deed of date 1517 at Burton Agnes, printed in *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xix, p. 4, small fragment of possibly the same seal.)

(2) *The Prior's Seal.* Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate IV, no. 6
Beneath a double canopy the Annunciation; Gabriel kneeling on the dexter, the Virgin crowned, standing and holding a book; above the former the Holy Dove; in base, beneath an arch, the prior in prayer.

· · · · [?] angelus : · · · · ·

(Anc. Deed RS 346 of date 1412 in P.R.O., dark brown wax, imperfect.)

HULL, AUSTIN FRIARS

The Prior's Seal. Late 15th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. Plate IV, no. 7
Beneath a pinnacled canopy St. Michael in combat with the dragon, a shield of arms, *a cross*, on his left arm; in base on a corbel the prior kneeling in prayer to the dexter.

S prior cōuētus hull ordīs ſt̄i auguſtini

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3352. Illustrated in Tickell, *Hull*, p. 940, fig. 2.)

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indenture between Henry de Lancaster, earl of Derby, and Sir Thomas Wake, lord of Lidell, on one part, and the prior and convent of Hautemprise on the other; and as doubtless both the two former affixed their seals to that part of the indenture remaining with the prior and only one seal is attached to this part, it seems clear that this part was the one sealed by the prior. Moreover, this document came from the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, where it is natural to suppose that the part of the indenture sealed by the prior was retained.

[1] Possibly not the official seal, but certainly used by Prioress Elizabeth Arley.

[2] The house was founded by Michael de la Pole in 1377/8.

Jervaulx Abbey (Cistercian)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate iv, no. 8
Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy an abbot in mass vestments, standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; in a niche on either side a monk standing, facing inwards, and holding an object in his hands; above the canopy in a niche the Virgin and Child seated on a bench; and above either side-niche a bird.

S' ABBATIS : ET : CONVENTVS : BEATE : MARIE : DE · LOREVALLE[1]

Counterseal. Pointed oval, $1\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate iv, no. 9
Two halves each containing a pastoral staff head, with the impression of a thumb between.

✠ CONT · · · · · · · LLIS ✠ CONT · · · · · · LLIS

(1–1, Ebor. 24 of date 1443 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3499.
Both illustrated in *Durham Seals*, pl. 63.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* 14th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. when perfect. Plate iv, no. 10
Beneath a canopy the abbot standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff obliquely in his right hand and a book in his left; on the dexter side a shield of arms, *a saltire*, and on the sinister another shield of arms, *three chevrons braced and a chief* (Fitz Hugh); the legend broken away.

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3315.)

(3) *Abbot Richard Gower*, elected 1399. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. when perfect. Plate iv, no. 11
Beneath a canopy the abbot in mass vestments with mitre, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand; in a niche on the sinister side a female figure holding a pastoral staff in her right hand and a book to her breast in her left; below her a shield of arms, *three chevrons braced and a chief* (Fitz Hugh); the dexter side and the legend broken away; in base another shield of arms, *three bars and in chief three* [?] *roundels.*[2]

Counterseal: signet. Octagonal, $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
A shield of arms, *three bars and in chief three* [?] *roundels.*

(Anc. Deeds BS 138 of date 1417 in P.R.O., red wax; and B 8427 of date 1405–6, obverse only, red wax, fragment; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3316 for obverse.)

Kirkham Priory (Augustinian)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ in., dished. Plate v, no. 1
Our Lord with cruciferous nimbus, seated, blessing with His right hand and holding a book in His left.

: SIGILLVM SANCTE TRINITATIS DE CHIRCHAM

Counterseal. Round, $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.
An antique gem, two female figures.

SINGNVM SERVI DEI

(1–2, Spec 13, 24 of date 1253, and other deeds in Durham Treasury, one of which has the counterseal; *Durham Seals*, no. 3501. Obverse only, Cott. Chart. v, 13 of date 1191–1222 in B.M., brownish-red wax, indistinct; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3360.
Obverse illustrated in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. II.)

(2) *The Priory Seal.*[3] Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Our Lord standing beneath a canopy, blessing.

S' · · · · · · · · · DE KYRKHAM

(Misc. 4841 of date 1434, and Misc. 4397 of date 1440 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3506.)

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[1] *Loravallis* occurs in the list of spellings given in P. L. Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium*, Vienna, 1877, tom. i, no. 306.

[2] No such arms appear to have been borne by any of the Yorkshire families of Gower; but in Burke's *General Armory* a family of Gower is given as bearing *or, three bars gu. in chief as many torteaux.*

[3] Another priory seal of date 1357, very imperfect, is given in *Durham Seals*, no 3505. Nos. 3502 and 3503 are seals used at Kirkham in respect of the collection of the annual tenths.

(3) *The Prior's Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate v, no. 2

Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy with tabernacle work at the sides, our Lord with cruciferous nimbus, seated on a bench, blessing with His right hand, and holding a book in His left; in base, beneath a trefoiled arch, the prior kneeling in prayer to the sinister between two water-bougets (for Roos); in the field, on either side of the canopy, a water-bouget between two Catherine-wheels (for Espec) above and below.

SIGILLVM . . . . . . PRIORIS DE KIRKEhAM

(Misc. 3449 and other deeds of dates 1336–93 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3504; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3363.)

KIRKLEES PRIORY (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

The Priory Seal. Early 12th century.[1] Round, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate v, no. 3

An archbishop with early form of chasuble and horned mitre, standing, holding a cross in his right hand and a book in his left.

+ SIGILL . . . . IRKELEIE

(*Yorks. Deeds*, i, no. 218, of date *c.* 1234, green wax, broken at the bottom, original *penes* Col. J. W. R. Parker. Illustrated *ibid.*, p. 225, and *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xx, p. 32.)

KIRKSTALL ABBEY (CISTERCIAN)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* Early 14th century. Round, 2 in. Plate v, no. 5

Beneath a canopy with ogee arch the Virgin crowned, seated on a bench and holding an apple in her right hand, the Child standing on the bench beside her on her left, blessing with His right hand and holding her head-dress with His left; the background of the canopy filled with sprigs of trefoiled and quatrefoiled foliage, the remainder of the field diapered; on either side of the canopy the letters TL joined together.

SIGILLV[M · COM]MVNE · DE · KYRKESTAL

(Anc. Deed LS 126 of date 1398–9 in P.R.O., red wax, imperfect; *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 427 of date 1343, green wax; *Yorks. Deeds*, iv, no. 124[2] of date 1531/2, dark red wax, broken at bottom and sinister side; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 3364, 3365. Illustrated in Thoresby Soc., vol. ii, *Miscellanea*, p. 17.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in.

The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and an open book in his left outstretched.

✠ SIGILLVM ABB[ATIS] DE KERKESTAL:

Counterseal. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.

A vested arm issuing from the dexter, holding a pastoral staff; on the sinister side a star of six points.

CONTRASIGIL : DE : KIRKEST'

(Bodleian Charters, Yorkshire, no. 10 of date 1252, green wax; obverse only, no. 9 of date 1252, green wax, and Douce no. 47 of date 1196, brown wax.
Both illustrated, probably from another source, in Thoresby Soc., vol. ii, *Miscellanea*, p. 17; and Whitaker, *Craven*, 3rd ed., p. 592.)

(3) *The Abbot's Seal.* Middle 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. Plate v, no. 6

The abbot in mass vestments, standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on the dexter side a head with nimbus between a cross above and a fleur-de-lis below; on the sinister another head between a star of six points and a fleur-de-lis above and a cross below.

[✠] SIGILLVM · ABBATIS : DE KIRKESTALL ∞∞

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[1] Kirklees was traditionally founded by Reiner le Fleming in the reign of Henry II; but in Reiner's charter (*Mon. Ang.*, v, p. 739) the nuns were already dwelling in the place where he then granted them land.

[2] The legend is incorrectly given, and it is certainly the same seal as the earlier examples.

Counterseal. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8} \times \frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate v, no. 7
A vested arm issuing from the sinister, holding a pastoral staff between a star and crescent, with smaller stars above and below.

∗CONT' SIGILL' ABB'IS · DE KYRKESTALL

(Anc. Deeds LS 34 and 199, both of date 1287, in P.R.O., buff wax ; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3366, obverse only.
Obverse illustrated in Thoresby Soc., vol. ii, *Miscellanea*, p. 17, from an imperfect impression.)

(4) [?] *Abbot John de Birdsall*, 1304–13. Oval, $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate v, no. 4
A gem, a standing figure, possibly the toilet of Venus.

∗IE SV · · · · · · · · L[1]

(*Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 211 of date 1312, light brown wax ; original *penes* Major G. E. Wentworth.)

(5) *Abbot William*, *c.* 1334–49. Pointed oval, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in. Plate v, no. 8
Beneath a canopy the abbot in mass vestments, standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left ; the field diapered and the inner border cusped.

S' WILL'MI ABB[ATIS DE K]IRKESTALL

(*Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 427 of date 1343, green wax, where it is used as a counterseal to the abbey seal no. 1 above ; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3368.
Illustrated in Thoresby Soc., vol. ii, *Miscellanea*, p. 17.)

KNARESBOROUGH, THE TRINITARIANS

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate v, no. 9
The Trinity, God the Father holding the crucifix, seated on a bench ornamented with round arches ; in the field a star and crescent ; below, beneath an arch a figure to the sinister, probably St. Robert, reading a book under a tree.

S' COM · · · · SANCTI · ROBE[R]TI · DE · KNARESBVRGHE

(Deed of Surr. 117 of date 1538 in P.R.O., red wax ; cast *penes* Soc. Ant. from a finer impression ; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3378.)

(2) *The Minister's Seal.*[2] 15th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in. when perfect. Plate v, no. 10
St. Robert with halo sitting on a stony bank in front of a tree with large flowers, reading a book to the sinister.

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · **dom · · : Sc̄i : Rob'ti de Knareburgh**

(Deed of date 1501 in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvi, p. 420, rubbed ; deed of date 1512 in *ibid.*, xix, p. 67 ; Scampston deed of date 1463 in *East Riding Ant. Soc.*, xxi, p. 44, red wax, broken at the top and sinister side.)

MALTON PRIORY (GILBERTINE)

The Chapter Seal. 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate v, no. 11
The Virgin with nimbus, crowned, seated on a bench, holding the Child with cruciferous nimbus beside her on her right, and a lily in her left hand ; in base, beneath an arch, the head and shoulders of a monastic figure, full-face ; the field diapered.

+ SIGILLVM ∗ CAPITVLI ∗ S[ANC]TE ∗ MARIE ∗ MALTONE

Counterseal : The Prior's Seal.[3] Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in. Plate v, no. 12
On an oval inserted gem Adam and Eve standing, with the tree and serpent between them.

✠ SIGILL' · PRIORIS : MALTONE

(Add. Chart. 35580 of date 1270 in B.M., red wax, fine impression.)

MARRICK PRIORY (BENEDICTINE NUNS)

The Priory Seal. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2$ in.

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[1] Possibly a motto such as *Ie su sel damur lel.*

[2] Cast cxxxvii, 70, in B.M. is of a different seal, of similar design and same size, dexter side broken away ; · · · · [M]INISTRI DOMVS.

[3] Another Prior's seal, a *secretum*, an antique gem, a nude figure, is given in *Durham Seals*, no. 3514, reference lost.

Probably the Virgin crowned, seated, holding the Child on her left knee; legend indecipherable.
(Deed of Surr. 149 of date 1539 in P.R.O., red wax, almost obliterated.
Illustrated very roughly in Clarkson, *Richmond*, p. 317.)

Marton Priory (Augustinian)

(1) *The Chapter Seal.* 13th century. Round, 2 in.
The Virgin crowned, seated on a carved throne, probably holding the Child on her left knee, between a crescent and a star.

SIGIL · · · [? CAPITV]LI : SCE · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

(Deed of Surr. 148 of date 1535–6 in P.R.O., red wax, much broken; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3620.)

(2) *Prior Henry*,[1] *c.* 1227. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Plate VI, no. 1
The prior in monastic habit, standing and holding both hands in front of his breast.

✠ SIGIL' HENRICI : PRIORIS : DE MARTV

(1–2 Spec. 13 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3515; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3621.)

(3) *Prior John de Thirsk*, 1349–57. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate VI, no. 2
The Virgin crowned, seated on a bench, holding the Child standing beside her; in base beneath a carved arch the prior half-length in prayer to the dexter; the field diapered and the inner border cusped.

[S] IOH'IS DE · THRESKE · PRIORIS · DE · · · · · · · VN

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3622.)

Meaux Abbey (Cistercian)

(1) *The Abbot's Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in. Plate VI, no. 3
A vested arm and hand issuing from the dexter and holding a pastoral staff.

✠ SIGILL ABBATIS ✠ DE : MELSA

(2–1 Ebor. 8 of date 1199 in Durham Treasury, yellow wax; printed in *Guisborough Chartulary*, no. 686 c; *Durham Seals*, no. 3516; also *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 239 of date *c.* 1240.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* Early 13th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in.
The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on the dexter side a crescent with a star above and a cinquefoil below, and on the sinister side a crescent with a star above and a bird below.

✠ SIGILLVM : ABBATIS : DE : MELSA *

(Bodleian Charters, Yorkshire, no. 108 of date 1300, red wax, fine impression[2]; deed of date 1301 in Tickell, *Hull*, p. 178, where it is illustrated; also, presumably the same seal, Loc. III, 22 of date 1247 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3517.)

(3) *A doubtful Seal.*[3] Round, 2 in. Plate VI, no. 4
In a crocketed niche with trefoiled pointed arch, supported on slender shafts, the Virgin crowned, seated on a bench, and holding the Child on her left knee; in the field, on either side, a lion passant vertically, and above, on the dexter side a crescent, on the sinister a six-pointed star.

✠ VIRGO PVDICA PIA NOSTRI MISERERE MARIA

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 4388; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, p. 149.
Illustrated in Poulson, *Holderness*, ii, p. 314.
The matrix, which was discovered in a coffin at Meaux in 1834, is in the Yorkshire Museum at York.)

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[1] The design of the seal suggests the prior Henry who occurs in 1227 rather than prior Henry de Melkingthorpe, 1318–21, to whom it is assigned in *Durham Seals*, p. 574 *n.*

[2] Used by the abbot and convent.

[3] In view of the legend it is scarcely possible to regard this as the abbey seal of Meaux; it may be the seal of an abbot, but even this is liable to doubt. No impression attached to a document appears to be known.

Monk Bretton Priory (Cluniac, later Benedictine)

(1) *The Priory Seal.*[1] 12th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 2$ in. Plate vi, no. 5

St. Mary Magdalene, the patron saint, full-length, wearing an open cloak, holding a covered ointment vase in her right hand and a book in her left; legend practically illegible.

(Harl. Chart. 84 B 28 of date 1420 in B.M., light brown wax, indistinct; also Loose Seals R 38 A and 38 B in P.R.O., and Campbell Chart., v, 18, of date 1496 in B.M., all badly defaced; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 3657, 3658.
Illustrated from a reconstruction in J. W. Walker, *Monk Bretton Priory*, p. 63.)

(2) *Prior Richard de Halghton*, 1304–23. Oval, $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in.

A human head in profile to the sinister.

*CAPV · · · · · · V · EST · · VS[2]

(Harl. Chart. 83 F 11 in B.M., white wax, indistinct and chipped; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3659.)

Mount Grace Priory (Carthusian)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Late 14th or early 15th century.[3] Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate vi, no. 6

In the upper part, within a pointed oval panel, the Assumption of the Virgin; two angels, one above the other, on either side; below, beneath a square-headed arch, St. Nicholas[4] seated, with mitre and in mass vestments, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left; above his right shoulder the letter N.

sigill : · · · · · · · de : marie : de : mōte : gre

(Deeds of date 1520, red wax, and 1538, green wax, in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vii, pp. 487, 488.
Illustrated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xviii, p. 264.)

(2) *The Prior's Seal.* Oval, $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate vi, no. 7

In a rectangular canopied niche St. Nicholas seated, in mass vestments with mitre, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left; on his right a long rod with the letter N on top.[5]

S prioris : domus : montis : gracie

(Anc. Deed RS 348 of date 1412/3 in P.R.O., dark brown wax; and deed of date 1538 as above, where it is counterseal to the priory seal.
Illustrated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xviii, p. 264.)

Moxby or Molseby Priory (Augustinian Nuns)

The Chapter Seal. Late 12th or early 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate vi, no. 8

A standing figure, probably St. Augustine, in mass vestments and mitre, an ornamental mill-rind cross on his breast, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left.

✠ SIGILL' : CAPITVLI : SCAN' : IOhAN̂NIS : DE MOLSEBI

(Impression from the matrix which was dredged from the River Foss near Layerthorpe Bridge in 1884 and is in the Yorkshire Museum at York.)

Newburgh Priory (Augustinian)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, *c.* 3×2 in. Plate vi, no. 10

The Virgin crowned, seated on a throne, holding the Child with nimbus in her lap, who is holding up His right hand in benediction; in her right hand a long sceptre ending in a fleur-de-lis, and in her left something ending in a cross.

+ SIGILLVM SANC[TE MA]RIE DE NEVBVRGO

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[1] *Sigillum commune* in both the B.M. charters.

[2] Possibly *Capud nostrum est dominus*; cf. the counterseal of Selby Abbey.

[3] Probably dating from the foundation *c.* Feb. 1397/8.

[4] In his foundation charter the Duke of Surrey mentions the affection he bore for the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas, in whose honour and everlasting memory he had founded the house (*Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xviii, p. 254).

[5] The representation of St. Nicholas precisely corresponds with that in the priory seal; and the two seals were doubtless contemporary.

Counterseal. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Plate vi, no. 11
An antique gem; a deity seated on a stool to the sinister; a winged figure, full-length, behind, and a standing figure with a stag and a shield in front.

SIGNV̄ · OBEDIENCIE · ET · PIETAT[IS]

The letter И in the first two words is reversed.

(Cott. Chart. v, 13, of date 1191–1222, in B.M., light brown wax, obverse indistinct; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3676.)

(2) *The Chapter Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, 3×2 in. Plate vi, no. 13
Beneath a trefoiled canopy the Virgin crowned, seated on a carved throne, holding the Child on her left knee and a sceptre with a fleur-de-lis on the top in her right hand; on either side a demi-angel swinging a censer; above the canopy three niches each containing a head; in base, beneath a trefoiled arch the prior holding a book to his breast, and two canons on either side of him, looking inwards.

: SIGILLVM : CAPITVLI [: SAN]CTE : MARIE : DE : NOVOB[V]RG' :

(Deed of Surr. 159 of date 1538/9 in P.R.O., uncoloured wax; Anc. Deed B 1440 in P.R.O., fragment of sinister side only; *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, no. 403 of date 1413/4, red wax, broken; loose seal *penes* Soc. Ant., black wax, broken; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3679.
Illustrated in G. Pedrick, *Monastic Seals*, pl. XLI.)

(3) *Secretum of the Chapter.*[1] Oval, $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate vi, no. 12
An antique gem; two figures seated facing one another, and before each a figure making an offering; some stars above.

✠ S' SECRET · R' CAPITVLI BEATE MARIE DE NOVOBVRGO

(Deed of Surr. and loose seal as in no. 2 above, being used as a counterseal to the chapter seal; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3678.)

(4) *Prior Bernard, c.* 1199. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1$ in. Plate vi, no. 9
A robed figure seated, holding a [?] pen in his right hand and a book in his left.

BERNARD' · PRIOR · Ð : NOVOBVRG :

(Misc. 1226, 1227 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3521; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3680.)

(5) *Prior Bernard, secretum.* Oval, $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in.
An antique gem, Victory.

✠ SIGILLVM SECRETI

(2–1 Ebor. 8 of date 1199 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3520.)

(6) *A Prior's Seal.*[2] Oval, $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{5}{8}$ in.
The prior, half-length, in prayer.

DEVM TIME ET F . . . .

(Misc. 5159 of date 1283 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3522.)

NORTHALLERTON, CARMELITE FRIARS

The Convent Seal. Round, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. Plate vii, no. 1
Beneath a triple canopy, in the central niche the Annunciation, Gabriel on the dexter and the Virgin on the sinister, both standing, a vase with a lily between them; in the dexter niche St. Bartholomew holding a knife; in the sinister niche probably St. Cuthbert holding St. Oswald's head.

∗ S' : COMVN . . . . VM · ORD . . . . RIE DE CÂRMELI

(Deed of Surr. 168 of date 1538 in P.R.O., brown wax, sides broken; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3734.
Illustrated in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. III.)

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[1] Although the last letter of the second word in the legend is apparently R the seal is more likely to be as described above than that of the 'Secretary of the Chapter' as given in the *B.M. Catalogue.*

[2] Used by the prior as collector of tenths for the king.

NOSTELL PRIORY (AUGUSTINIAN)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* Early 12th century. Round, 2½ in. Plate VII, no. 2
St. Oswald the King, with early crown with pendants, seated on a throne with wolf-head ends, holding a short sceptre with cross paty in his right hand and an orb with short staff ending in an uncertain object in his left.

SIGILLV [SCI] OSWALD' REGIS & M DE NOSTELT

Counterseal. Late 12th century. Pointed oval, 2 × 1¼ in. Plate VII, no. 3
The Virgin seated on a carved bench, holding the Child on her lap and holding out an object in either hand.

+ CONTRASIGILL' SANCTI OSWALDI DE NOSTLE:

(Anc. Deeds AS 484 of date 1280 in P.R.O., green wax; and L 57, white wax, damaged.
Obverse illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxxiv, pl. XXXIII, no. 37; and Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii.
Both described, as attached to a document of date 1231, in the register of Stretton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, under date 1375; *Hist. Coll. for Staffordshire*, vol. viii, new series, p. 130.)

(2) *The Priory Seal.* [?] Privy Seal.[1] 13th century. Round, ¾ in.
The Virgin and Child, half-length, between four large pointed leaves.

∗ MARIA MA · · · · · · · ENA

(Anc. Deed RS 351 of date 1429/30 in P.R.O., dark green wax.)

(3) *Prior Robert de Quixley*, 1393–1427. Pointed oval, 2 × 1¼ in. Plate VII, no. 4
In the upper part St. Oswald the King, seated on a throne, holding a sceptre, between two figures each holding a pastoral staff; in the lower part, beneath a triple arch the prior in mass vestments between two canons, standing, full-face.

· · · RO · · · · [? RI]ORIS [? SCI] · · · · RE[? GIS MAR]T · · · · · · · · T · ·

(Anc. Deed WS 658 of date 1397 in P.R.O., red wax, damaged and chipped.)

(4) *Prior John de Huddersfield*, 1427–[?]. Oval, 1⅛ × ⅞ in.
On the breast of a splayed eagle a shield with some floral device, flattened by pressure.

· · · · · · ERhO · · · · · ·

(Anc. Deed RS 7 of date 1428 in P.R.O., red wax.)

(5) *The Prior's Seal.*[2] 15th century. Pointed oval, *c.* 2¼ in.
Beneath an elaborately pinnacled and buttressed canopy a seated figure of St. Oswald the King, robed, holding two sceptres; in base, beneath a four-centred arch, a praying canon; on either side of the arch a shield of arms, dexter, *a fess between* [?] *three lions rampant*; sinister, much rubbed; legend broken away.

(Anc. Deeds RS 352 of date 1434 and 1457 in P.R.O., green wax and red wax, both imperfect; combined, they give the above description.)

NUN APPLETON PRIORY (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

The Priory Seal.[3] 12th century. Pointed oval, 2⅜ × 1¾ in. Plate VII, no. 5
The Virgin standing, crowned, holding a long cross in her right hand and a book in her left outstretched.

✠ SIGILLV̄ · SANCTĒ MARIE SANCTI IOhANNIS: Ð APELT'

(Harl. Chart. 44 A 5 of date 1272; and Harl. Chart. 44 H 2 of 13th-century date, in B.M., green wax; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 2561, 2562.)

NUNKEELING PRIORY (BENEDICTINE NUNS)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, 2¾ × 2 in. Plate VII, no. 6

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[1] Described by the prior and convent in the deed as *sigillum nostrum*.
[2] Described as *sigillum officii mei*.
[3] Described in both documents as the seal of the chapter.

St. Helen standing, crowned, holding a long cross obliquely with both hands.

· · · · IGILL · · · · · · NE · DE · KILLIN · · · · ·

The letters N are reversed.

(Harl. Chart. 44 E 56 of 13th-century date in B.M., green wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3349.)

(2) *The Priory Seal.* 13th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in. when perfect. Plate VII, no. 7
St. Helen standing, crowned, holding a long cross in her right hand and a book to her breast in her left.

✠ S’ SCANTE : HELE[NE : R]EGENE D’KILLING

(Deed of Surr. 183 of date 1539 in P.R.O., brown wax, broken at the bottom; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3351.
Illustrated in *Mon. Ang.*, vol. iv, pl. XXII, and Poulson, *Holderness*, i, p. 379.)

PONTEFRACT PRIORY (CLUNIAC)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate VII, no. 8
The eagle of St. John the Evangelist, looking backwards and holding a scroll in his claws.

✠ : SIGILL : SCI : IO · · · · · · · · · ELTE : DE PONTEFRACTO :

The letter E is of two separate types.

Counterseal. 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Plate VII, no. 9
The bust of St. John.

✠ VIRGO EST ELECTVS : A : DOMINO

(Anc. Deed L 45 *temp.* Prior Walter in P.R.O., pale green wax, and L 65 and L 66 of date 1283, white wax, damaged; *B.M. Cat.*, nos. 3852, 3853.
Obverse illustrated in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. II.)

(2) *Prior Godfrey*, *c.* 1268–83. Pointed oval, $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. Plate VII, no. 10
Beneath a trefoiled arch the prior seated to the sinister on a carved chair, the back carved in foliage, reading from a lectern with two slender columns an open book, in which is inscribed Ī P’NCIPIO; above the arch seven pinnacled niches rising from masonry, in each of which is a bell.

✠ S’ · FRĪS · GODEFRIDI · P’ORIS · PŌTISFRACTI · EBORAC̄ · DYOC̄ · CLVN̄ · ORD’

(Modern impression from the matrix; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3854.)

(3) *The Prior’s Seal.* Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1$ in. Plate VII, no. 11
The eagle of St. John the Evangelist, displayed; field diapered.

· · · · · · ONTE · · · · · ·

(Anc. Deed L 75 of date 1341 in P.R.O.; red wax, broken.)

(4) *Prior* [?] *Henry*.[1] Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Beneath a canopy [?] St. Michael and the dragon.

· · · · · · · · : d̃e · · · · · · · · efract :

(Anc. Deed WS 656 of date 1397 in P.R.O., red wax, fragmentary.)

RICHMOND,[2] FRANCISCAN FRIARS

The Convent Seal. *c.* 1280. Pointed oval, $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate VII, no. 12
St. Francis bareheaded in the habit of his order, standing on a corbel, blessing with his right hand and holding a book to his breast in his left; on either side of him two trees, that on the dexter

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[1] So named in the deed, but written above the line, and may be in error; for John Tunstal occurs as prior in 1387 and 1402 (Baildon, *Monastic Notes*, p. 166).

[2] The seal of the warden is described in the proceedings in *The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy* (vol. i, p. 340)—the Resurrection above a tower, on either side a shield, one bearing a saltire and the other a bend (for Scrope); SIGILLVM GARDINI ORDINIS FRATRVM MINORVM RICAMVNDI.

having a bird perched upon it, and that on the sinister two birds, one above the other; on either side of his head a shield of arms, *a saltire* (Nevile).

★ S' COMVNE ⸙ FRATRVM ⸙ MINORV̄ D[E] RICHIMV̄D

(Deed of Surr. 201 of date 1538/9 in P.R.O., brown wax; deed of date 1474 in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xx, p. 219, red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3904.
Illustrated in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. III; *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xx, p. 214; Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, p. 101; Clarkson, *Richmond*, p. 218.)

Richmond, St. Martin's Priory (Benedictine)

The Prior's Seal. Oval, 1⅛ × ⅞ in.
An antique gem, a ram.

✠ SIGILLVM WILLELMI : MONACHI

(2–1, Spec. 7, 37 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3534.)

Rievaulx Abbey (Cistercian)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, 2⅝ × 1⅝ in. Plate VIII, no. 1
Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy an abbot in mass vestments, standing on a corbel, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; in a niche on either side two monks standing, facing inwards; above the canopy in a niche the Virgin and Child seated on a bench; above the dexter niche a six-pointed star and below the monks three small roundels, and above the sinister niche a crescent.

S' ABBATIS : ET : CONUENTVS : SANCTE : MARIE : RIEUALLIS

(Anc. Deed WS 108 *temp.* Edward III in P.R.O., brown wax, sinister side broken away; two deeds *penes* Lord Bolton of date 1315, printed in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, nos. 145 v and 145 w; and possibly Loose Seal R 47 of date 1523 in P.R.O., red wax, fragment.
Illustrated in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, frontispiece, from a perfect impression.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, 1⅜ × ⅞ in.
The abbot seated at a desk to the sinister.

✠ SIGNVM RIEVALLIS

(1–1 Ebor. 23 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3535.
Illustrated in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, p. lxxxviii, no. 4.[1])

(3) *The Abbot's Seal.* 12th century. Pointed oval, 1½ × 1 in. Plate VIII, nos. 2, 3
The abbot, seated at a desk to the sinister, holding a book in his right hand and a pastoral staff in his left.

✠ SIGNVM · ABBATIS · RIEVALLIS

(Cott. Chart. v, 13 of date 1191–1222 in B.M., green wax; 3–8 Spec. 15 and Misc. 1227, 1330 of dates *c.* 1159–80 in Durham Treasury; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3906; *Durham Seals*, no. 3536.
Illustrated in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, p. lxxxviii, no. 2 or 5.[2])

(4) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th century. Pointed oval, 1⅝ × 1⅛ in.
The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left outstretched.

[✠ SI]GILL[VM] ABBATIS DE · RIEVALL'

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3909.
Illustrated in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, p. lxxxviii, no. 1.)

(5) *Abbot William.* [?] Oval, *c.* 1½ in. Plate VIII, no. 4
Beneath a richly decorated canopy with panelled buttresses the abbot in mass vestments, standing,

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[1] It seems reasonably certain that illustration no. 3, the last word of the legend being REVELO (*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3905), has nothing to do with Rievaulx.

[2] The illustrations in pl. VIII, nos. 2, 3, of this paper also show that there must have been two separate seals of this design with trifling differences in detail; one of these is taken from a cast in the B.M. (xlvii, 676) and the other from an original impression attached to one of the Durham deeds.

holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book in his left; on either side on the buttresses a shield of arms, dexter, *three water-bougets* (Roos), sinister, *a lion rampant* (Mowbray).

Sigil . . . .

(Anc. Deed AA 458 of date 1363 in P.R.O., green wax, broken.)

ROCHE ABBEY (CISTERCIAN)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.*[1] Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate VIII, no. 5

Beneath a canopy with side-niches an abbot standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; in the sinister side-niche a figure in monastic habit facing inwards; the dexter side broken away; above the canopy a space which probably contained the Virgin and Child; legend illegible.

(Deed of Surr. 204 of date 1538 in P.R.O., much broken; also probably a deed of date 1385 illustrated in Aveling, *Roche Abbey*, pl. x, fig. 3; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3917.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* Early 13th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ in. Plate VIII, no. 6

The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; on the dexter side a crescent, and on the sinister side a star and two cinquefoils.

✠ SIGILLVM ABBATIS DE RVPE

(*B.M. Cat.*, no. 3918.
Illustrated in Aveling, *Roche Abbey*, pl. x, fig. 1, and Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii. The matrix is in the possession of Lord Scarbrough.)

SALLAY ABBEY (CISTERCIAN)

(1) *The Abbot's Seal.* Late 12th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. Plate VIII, no. 7

The abbot in mass vestments, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and an open book in his left outstretched.

✠ SIGILLVM : ABBATIS : AIA⅃⅃AƧ : Ǝᗡ

The last two words are reversed.

(Anc. Deed L 56 of date *temp.* Abbot Walter *c.* 1236 in P.R.O., orange wax; *Pudsay Deeds*, Yorks. Record Ser., no. 22 of date *temp.* John, green wax,[2] and no. 30 of date *temp.* early Henry III, red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3965.
Illustrated in *Pudsay Deeds*, pl. III.)

(2) *The Abbot's Seal.* Early 13th century. Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in. Plate VIII, no 8.

The abbot in mass vestments and round cap, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left.

✠ [SIGILLVM] ABBATIS DE SALLAIA ⤙

(*Pudsay Deeds*, no. 44 of date *temp.* late Henry III, black wax, top and one side chipped; and probably Loc. III, 22 of date 1247 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3539.)

(3) [?] *An Abbot's Seal.*[3] Oval, *c.* $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate VIII, no. 9

Beneath a double canopy with tabernacle work at the sides two figures, the dexter a saint holding a palm branch, the sinister the Virgin, crowned, and Child; lower part, which possibly contained another figure, broken.

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[1] Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii, gives an illustration of the common seal of Roche from the deed of surrender. This illustration is most misleading. In the centre beneath a canopy are the Virgin and Child; in either side-niche is a monk facing inwards; the legend is given as S' COMVNE · ECCLISE · BEATE · MARIE · VIRGINIS · DE · RVPE. The seal attached to the deed of surrender is now only a fragment; but sufficient remains to show quite conclusively that the central figure is an abbot standing, as described above, and to suggest that the general design resembles the late 13th- or early 14th-century Cistercian seals of Byland, Jervaulx, and Rievaulx. Practically no trace of the legend remains; and it is not unlikely that Hunter's wording was imaginative. Aveling, *Roche Abbey*, copies Hunter's illustration in his plate x, fig. 4. His fig. 3, taken from a deed of date 1385, resembles the seal attached to the deed of surrender more closely than does his fig. 4; and it seems probable that these two illustrations were really derived from impressions of the same original matrix.

[2] This has a counterseal, oval, $\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{1}{2}$ in., an antique gem, a winged figure; also illustrated *loc. cit.*

[3] Possibly, though less likely, a late seal of the abbey.

S · · · · · · · · · · · de · fall · · · · ·

(*Pudsay Deeds*, no. 264 of date 1425, red wax; originals in that collection *penes* Mr. W. A. Littledale.)

SELBY ABBEY (BENEDICTINE)

(1) *The Abbey Seal.* 12th century. Oval, 2¾ × 2 in. Plate VIII, no. 10
St. German in mass vestments and round cap, seated on a carved throne, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left.

[SIG]ILLV̄ · SCI · GERMANI · SELEBIENSIS · ECLE

Counterseal. 12th century. Pointed oval, 1½ × 1 in.
A Roman gem carved with the head of the Emperor Honorius and the inscription DN · HONORIVS · AVG.

✠ CAPVD NOSTRVM CRISTVS EST

(Harl. Chart. 44 I 16 of date 1282 in B.M., green wax; Anc. Deed L 55 in P.R.O., buff-green wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3981. Both illustrated in *Mon. Ang.*, vol. iii, pl. XX; *Selby Coucher Book*, pl. IV; and *V.C.H. Yorks.*, vol. iii, pl. I.)

(2) *Abbot Richard.* Early 13th century. Pointed oval, 2¾ × 1¾ in. Plate VIII, no. 11
St. German in mass vestments and mitre, seated on a bench, holding a pastoral staff in his left hand and delivering another pastoral staff to a monk in his habit who kneels before him.

✠ RICARD' DEI GRA MINISTER hVM[ILIS EC]CL'E SC̄I: GERMANI DE SELEBI

(Anc. Deed LS 214 of 13th-century date in P.R.O., white wax, painted crimson; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3984. Illustrated in *Selby Coucher Book*, pl. III.)

(3) *Abbot Thomas de Whalley*, 1254–63 and 1270–80. Pointed oval, *c.* 2½ × 1⅝ in. when perfect. Plate VIII, no. 12
The abbot or St. German in mass vestments, mitre, and rationale, standing, holding a pastoral staff in his right hand and a book to his breast in his left; field diapered.

· · · · ME : D · · · · · · · · · : SELE · ·

(1–1 Archiep. 21 of date 1259 in Durham Treasury, imperfect; *Durham Seals*, no. 3540. Illustrated in *Selby Coucher Book*, pl. III, and *Durham Seals*, pl. 65.)

(4) *Abbot Geoffrey de Gaddesby*, 1342–68. Pointed oval, 2¼ × 1⅜ in. Plate VIII, no. 13
Beneath a richly decorated canopy with tabernacle work at the sides St. German seated as a bishop with mitre, in mass vestments, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left; in base, beneath an arch between two [?] leopards' heads, the abbot half-length with mitre, holding his staff between his hands in the attitude of prayer to the sinister.

· · · · · · · IS · · · · · CVRA · GERMAN · · · · · · · · · · ·

(Anc. Deed WS 109 of date 1354/5 in P.R.O., dark green wax, chipped at the edges.)

(5) *Abbot John Owsthorp*, 1436–66. Pointed oval, 2¾ × 1⅝ in. Plate IX, no. 1
Beneath a canopy of rich tabernacle work St. German in mass vestments with mitre, standing, blessing with his right hand and holding a pastoral staff in his left; beneath, on the plinth, the words S'cus germanus; and in base a shield of arms, *three swans* (the abbey).

Sigillum : iohis · · · · · · · · · · a · · · · · · · ❧ Selby ❧

(Misc. 6872 of date 1465 and Misc. 6663 in Durham Treasury, both imperfect but together giving the above description; *Durham Seals*, no. 3542; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 2321, where it is given as a doubtful seal of John Thoresby, archbishop of York. Illustrated in *Selby Coucher Book*, pl. V; and *Durham Seals*, pl. 65.)

(6) *Abbot Robert Selby*, 1526–40. Plate IX, no. 2
Same design as the seal of Abbot John Owsthorp, whose matrix appears to have been altered for the insertion of the personal name of Abbot Selby.

[Sig]illum : Rob'ti ❧ Selby ❧ abb[atis] de ❧ Selby ❧

(Loose Seal O 63 in P.R.O., red wax.
Illustrated in *Mon. Ang.* vol. iii, pl. xx from impression of date 1530–1.)

(7) *An Abbot's Seal.* Oval, $\frac{7}{8}$ in. wide.
St. German, in pontificals, blessing.

S’ SCI GERMANI D . . . . LE . . . . DE . . . . TATV

(Misc. 4155 of date 1319, and 4958 of date 1320 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3541.)

SWINE PRIORY (CISTERCIAN NUNS)

(1) *The Priory Seal.* 12th century. Round, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate IX, no. 3
The Virgin seated on a throne, holding a lily in her right hand and a book in her left.

✠ SIGILLVM SCE MARIE DE SVINE

(Add. Chart. 26, 108 of 12th-century date in B.M., orange-red wax, edge chipped; Loose Seals R 52, 53 A, 53 B in P.R.O., red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, 4133.
Illustrated in Thompson, *Swine*, p. 61.[1])

(2) *The Prioress's Seal.* Pointed oval, *c.* $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in. when perfect. Plate IX, no. 4
The Virgin crowned, seated on a bench, holding the Child on her left knee; in base, beneath a pointed arch, the prioress kneeling to the dexter.

★ S’ PRIO . . . . SCE MARIE DE SVINA

(Deed of Surr. 231 of date 1539 in P.R.O., red wax, flattened; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4135.
Illustrated in Thompson, *Swine*, p. 61; and Poulson, *Holderness*, vol. ii, p. 206.)

TICKHILL, AUSTIN FRIARS

The Convent Seal. Pointed oval, *c.* $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. when perfect.
In the bottom portion three standing figures with a crowd surrounding them.

. . . . [?F]RM : ORDINIS . . . .

(Deed of Surr. 242 of date 1538 in P.R.O., orange wax, flattened and obscure; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4191.
Illustrated in Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii, p. ii, where the legend is given more fully.)

WATTON PRIORY (GILBERTINE)

(1) *Seal ad Causas.* Late 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Plate IX, nos. 5, 6
Beneath a pinnacled and crocketed canopy the Virgin crowned, seated on a bench, holding the Child with nimbus on her left knee and an apple to her breast in her right hand; on either side a kneeling figure in monastic habit; in base, beneath a trefoiled arch, another figure in monastic habit kneeling in prayer to the sinister.

S’ PRIORIS ET CONV[ENT]VS DE WATTONA AD C[AVSAS]

(Deed of Surr. 255 of date 1539 in P.R.O., red wax, imperfect; cast *penes* Soc. Ant. from a finer impression from a deed at Magdalen College, Oxford: Multon, Lincs., no. 17, of date 1402, dexter side broken away; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4270; the obverse or reverse of the broken seal attached to *Yorks. Deeds*, ii, no. 148, may be the same as the above.)

(2) *The Prior's Seal.* Pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ in. Plate IX, no. 7
The head of the prior, full-face, in round cap; above, on the dexter a crescent, on the sinister a six-pointed star, and in the centre the Dextera Dei.

✠ SIGILL : PRIORIS : DE : WATTONA

(Cast *penes* Soc. Ant., from a deed at Magdalen College, Oxford: Multon, Lincs., no. 6, of date 1379)

WHITBY ABBEY[2] (BENEDICTINE)

(1) *Seal ad Causas.* 13th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate IX, no. 8
Beneath the representation of a church, St. Peter, in episcopal vestments and mitre, standing, blessing with his right hand and holding a key in his left.

SIGILL’ SCI PETRI ET SCE HILDE : DE WYTEBY : AD CAS

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[1] With a counterseal, pointed oval, $1\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{3}{4}$ in., a double-headed eagle: ✠ SIGILLVM · SECRETI.

[2] *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4328, given in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, p. 105, is not the seal of Whitby Abbey, but the counterseal of the Borough of Hartlepool; this is corrected in *B.M. Cat.*, vol. ii, *sub* Hartlepool.

Counterseal. Oval.

St. Hilda robed, standing, holding her left hand to her breast and a pastoral staff in her right.

+ YMAGO VIRGINIS HYLDE

(Lease dated 1538/9, see *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, p. 43 *n.*; Loose Seal R 59 in P.R.O., bronze wax. Obverse only, Misc. 1226 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3559; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4329.
Both illustrated in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvii, p. 43, and Young, *Whitby*, ii, p. 936. The last two words of the legend on the obverse are erroneously given as MONAS.)

(2) *An Abbot's Seal.*[1] Late 14th or 15th century. Pointed oval, $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Plate IX, no. 9
Beneath a triple-headed canopy with elaborate tabernacle work at the top and sides, St. Hilda with nimbus, seated, holding a pastoral staff in her right hand and a book to her breast in her left; below, in a niche, the abbot with mitre and pastoral staff, kneeling in prayer to the dexter; in base, a snake-headed ammonite.

S' . . . . ton ❦ abbatis : de : whitby ❦

(Cast *penes* Soc. Ant.)

(3) *The Prior's Seal.* Pointed oval, $1\frac{3}{8} \times 1$ in.

Two figures standing in canopied niches.

SIGILLVM PRIORIS : DE : WITEBY

(Misc. 6682 of date 1300 in Durham Treasury; *Durham Seals*, no. 3560.)

Wilberfoss Priory (Benedictine Nuns)

The Prioress's Seal. Oval.
A dove displayed, bearing in its mouth a twig.

SIGILL' [P]RIORESA DE WILBVRF . . .[2]

(Deed of date *c.* 1200 *temp.* Prioress Christiana, in *Lord Middleton's MSS.*, Hist. MSS. Commission, p. 43.)

Wykeham Priory (Cistercian Nuns)

The Priory Seal. Pointed oval, *c.* $2\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$ in. when perfect.
The Virgin crowned, seated on a carved throne, holding the Child with nimbus on her left knee, and a sceptre in her right hand.

Sigillu ❦ . . . .

(Description in *Mon. Ang.*, v, p. 669, from lease in Augmentation Office of date 1538–9; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4377, indistinct.)

Yarm, Dominican Friars

The Convent Seal. Late 13th or early 14th century. Pointed oval, $2 \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in. Plate IX, no. 10
Beneath a double canopy, with pointed arches and slender shafts, the Annunciation; both figures standing, Gabriel holding a falling scroll inscribed AVE MARIA; a lily in a vase between them; in base, beneath an arch, a friar, half-length, in prayer to the dexter; the field diapered.

SIGILLVM COVENTVS FRM PREDICATORVM D'IARV

(Deed of Surr. 273 of date 1538 in P.R.O., red wax; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 4384.)

Yedingham Priory (Benedictine Nuns)

The Priory Seal. 12th century. Round, $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. Plate IX, no. 11
The Virgin crowned, standing, holding a fleur-de-lis in her right hand and an open book in her left.

. . . . V SCE M . . . .

(Loose Seal R 64 in P.R.O., light brown wax, fragment; *B.M. Cat.*, no. 3607.)

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[1] Probably either Thomas de Bolton, abbot 1394–1413, or John de Skelton, abbot 1413–37.

[2] The type of lettering is conjectural.

Discussion

Mr. Jenkinson remarked on the skilful treatment of detail in the paper, such as the use of the counterseal. The administrative side appealed especially to himself, and there was evidence of definite rules as to the use of seals in religious houses. With regard to other seals there was not much external narrative information, and all who handled seals should use every opportunity of forming views as to the rules for legends and other details. One of the seals shown had the tongue through the short diameter, and one of the Ellerton seals had been placed crooked on the tongue. He had on one occasion taken this as a possible indication of fraud, but further finds suggested that it might be a definite convention. Another question was that of the language used in documents to which the seals were appended, and there was an enormous mass of evidence for that in existence. It was important to get more information as to the diplomatic of sealing and other clauses; and the study of private documents could only be advanced by publication. An important point was the absence of English notaries in 1237. Mr. Clay had been fortunate in finding so much material, which had been fortunate to fall into such competent hands.

Miss Graham congratulated the author on a paper which was the result of much research. The special features of the Cistercian seals had not been described previously in English studies, and her recommendation of Dom Berlière's valuable paper had borne much fruit. In the case of the four leading Cistercian houses in Burgundy, Cîteaux, Morimond, Pontigny, La Ferté sur Grosne, the absence of conventual seals and of personal names of abbots before 1335 showed that the statutes were strictly observed in France (Coulon, *Les Sceaux de Bourgogne*). Throughout the thirteenth century in those Burgundian abbeys the seal with the hand grasping the pastoral staff was described as the counterseal. Nevertheless, St. Bernard's first seal was the hand grasping the pastoral staff, the second seal was the effigy; she thought that the original seal, not only at Clairvaux but elsewhere, was the hand grasping the pastoral staff. Until the fourteenth century in France the tombs of Cistercian abbots had on them the hand grasping the pastoral staff; there were many reproductions of them in the Gaignières collection of drawings. The earliest seals of Biddlesden Abbey, Bucks., showed the hand grasping the pastoral staff, and the legend began *sigillum*; on a later seal with the same device, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the legend began *contra-sigillum*. The type of the abbot and convent seal with the Virgin Mary and monks below might have had its origin in the story related by Caesarius of Heisterbach of the Cistercian who had a vision of heaven and wondered why there were no Cistercians, until the Virgin opened her immense cloak, and he saw a great multitude of Cistercian monks, lay brothers, and nuns sheltering beneath it. The story was afterwards told in a general chapter of the Order.

Col. Parker thought that in view of the large number of abbeys in Yorkshire there should be more seals in existence. For centuries those houses had large dealings in land, requiring sealed documents. His own specimens had been found amongst Rievaulx muniments, and he felt sure there were many more in private hands. The present exhibition might stimulate further search in muniment rooms.

Mr. R. C. Fowler noticed that many Cistercian seals in England were circular, and asked if the oval form was a peculiar Yorkshire type. Groups of seals might possibly be recognized as the work of one craftsman, and York was possibly one of the principal centres of production. As to future research, the corporations had not been swept clean; some work had been done amongst the colleges at Cambridge, but little at Oxford.

The President wondered whether the alleged absence of notaries was a sly compliment to

England, and expected they were much in evidence. The Society was deeply indebted to Mr. Clay for an interesting paper, some pleasing exhibits, and important deductions from the data collected. It would be a service to discover the rules for affixing seals to deeds, the origin of seals, and the schools of seal-engraving. Thanks were also due to Col. Parker, the Duke of Rutland, and Mr. Littledale for their contributions to the exhibits.

Mr. Clay stated, in reply to Mr. Fowler, that there were only two cases of conventual seals of Cistercian monasteries in Yorkshire of circular shape, and both were after 1300; but many of the seals of Cistercian nunneries were circular.

APPENDIX

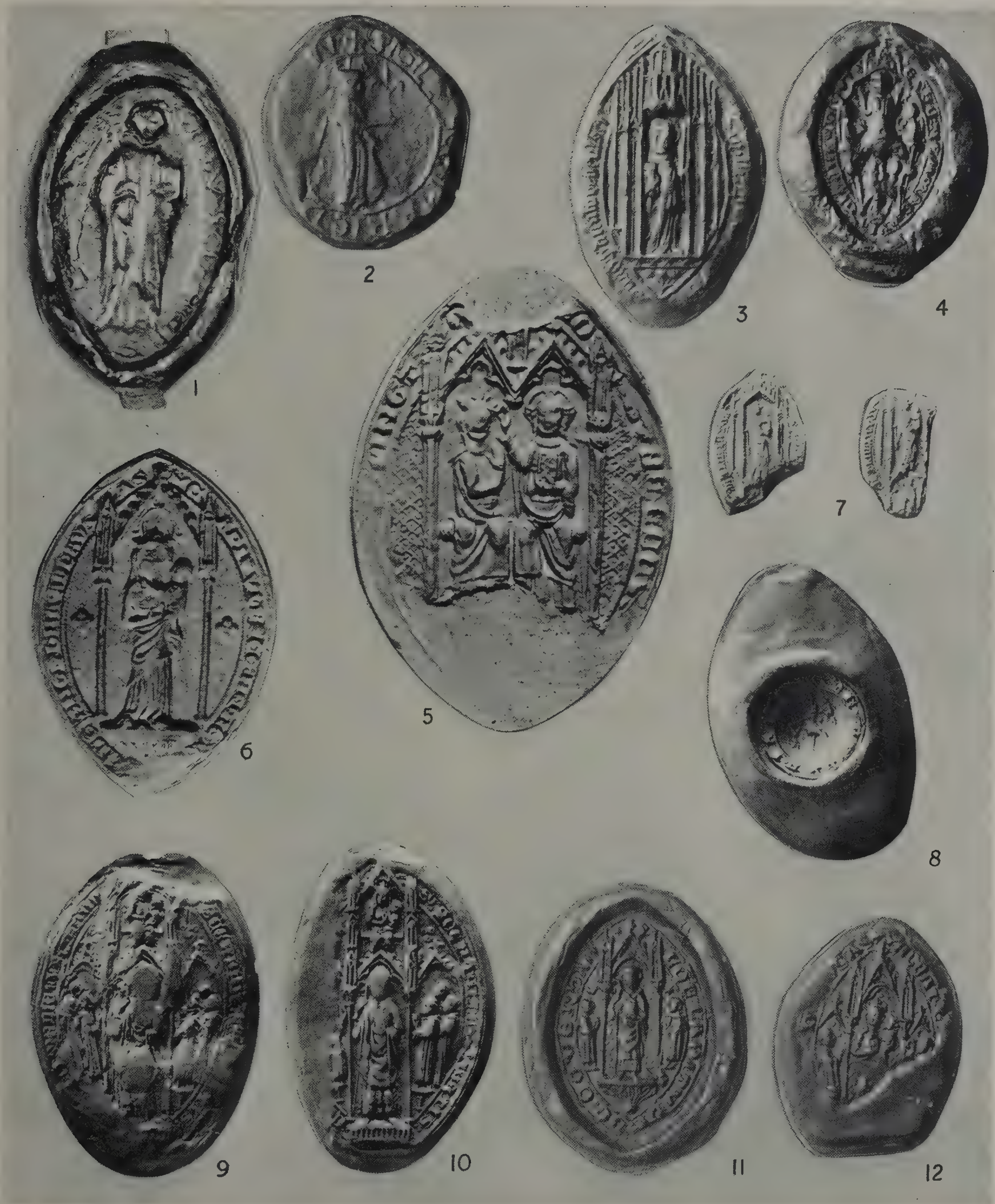
Since the above catalogue was printed the publication of *The MSS. of R. R. Hastings, Esq.*, Hist. MSS. Commission, report No. 78, has made available (p. 199, no. 935) the following description of a prior's seal of the alien house of Birstall in Holderness:

Birstall Priory

Prior John. Pointed oval, *c.* 1½ × ¾ in.

Beneath a canopy a figure upon horseback turning round and with raised sword attacking a figure on foot behind; in a niche below, a monk kneeling in prayer to the sinister; legend difficult to decipher and uncertain, *S' Joh'is Gomers . . . . . de Brustall.*

(Deed of date 1370/1 as above.)



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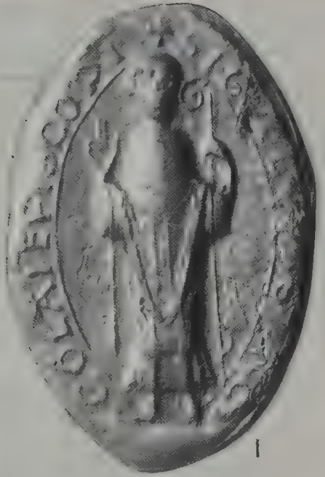
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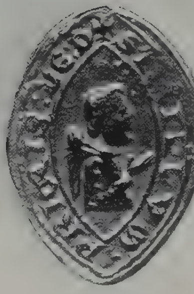
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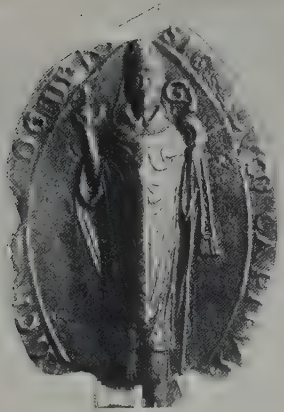
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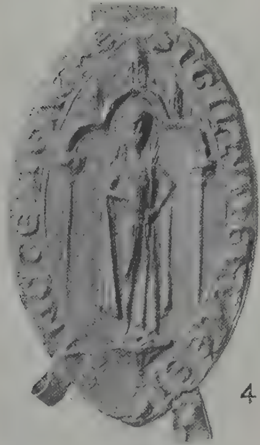
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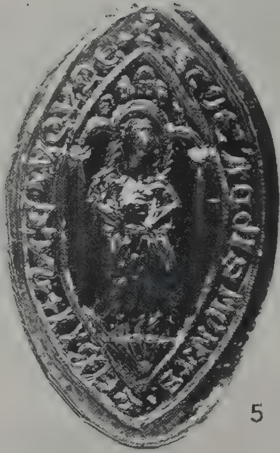
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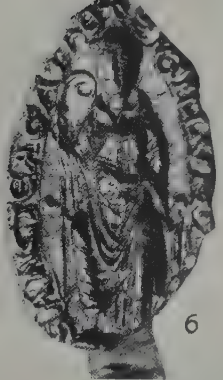
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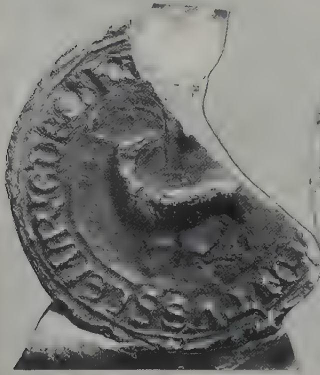
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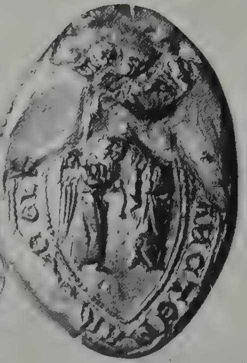
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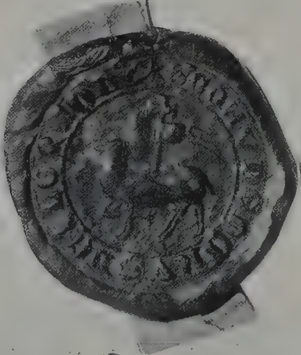
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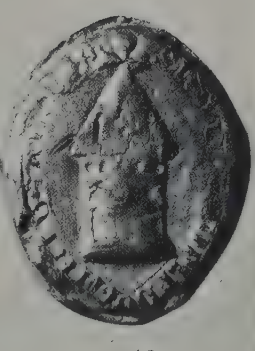
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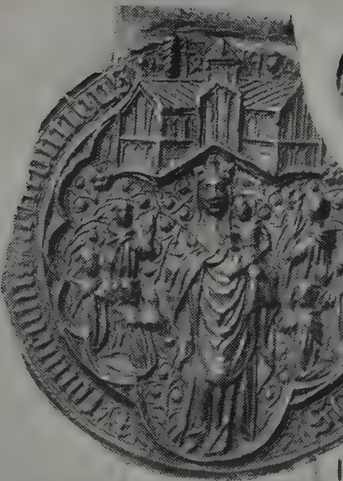
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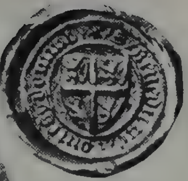
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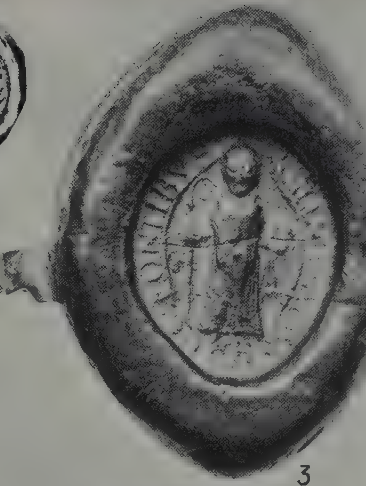
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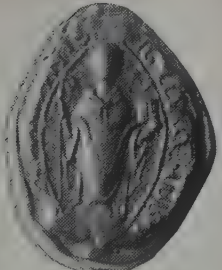
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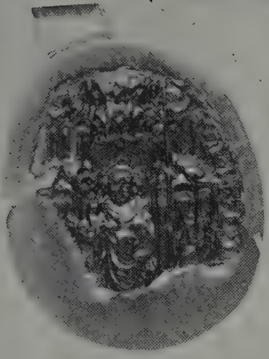
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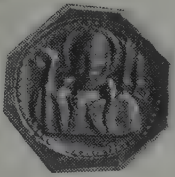
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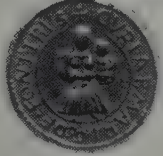
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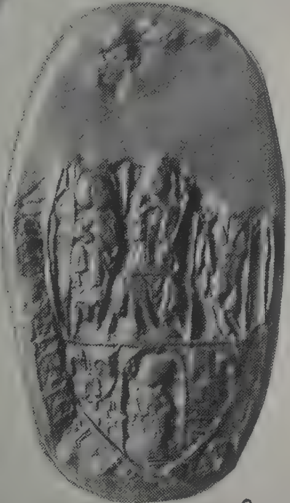
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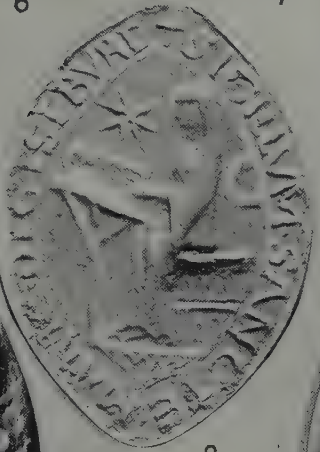
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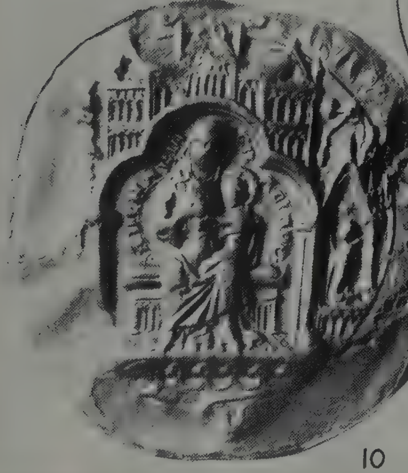
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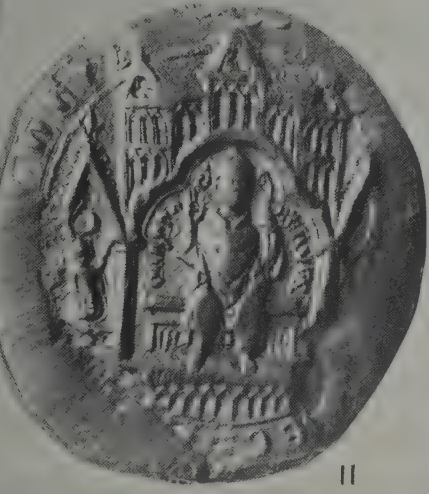
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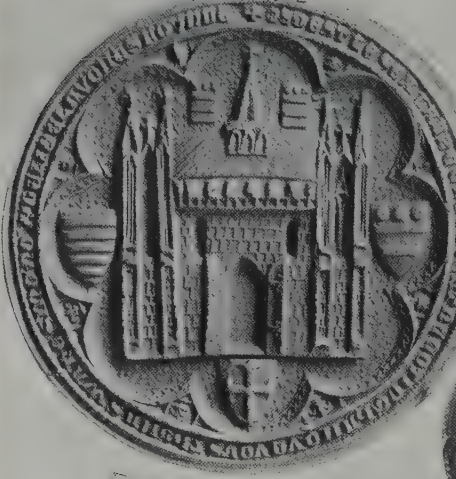
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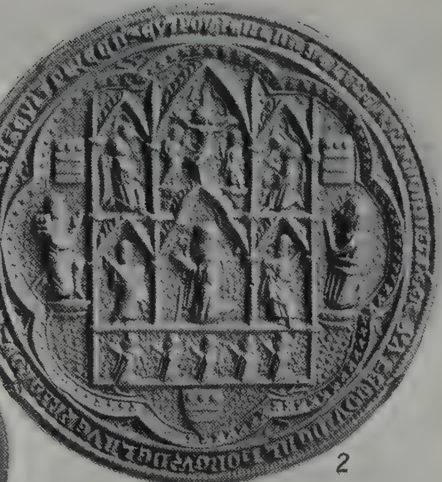
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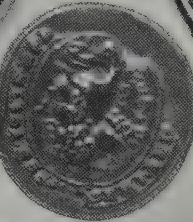
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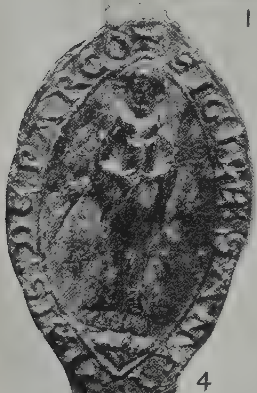
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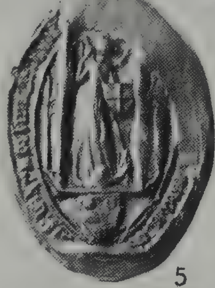
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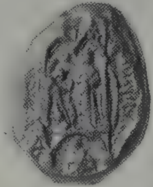
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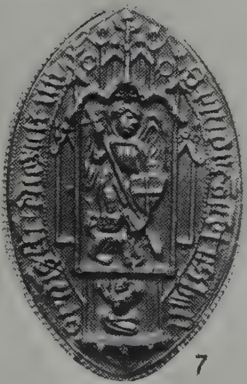
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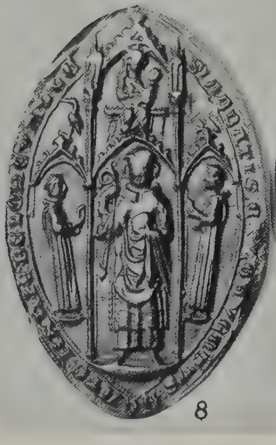
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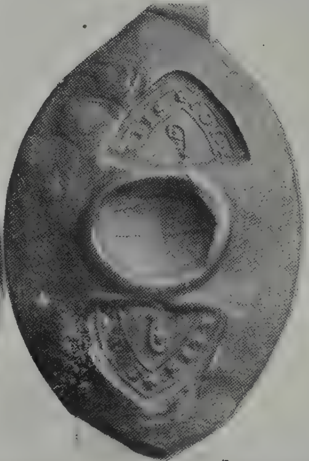
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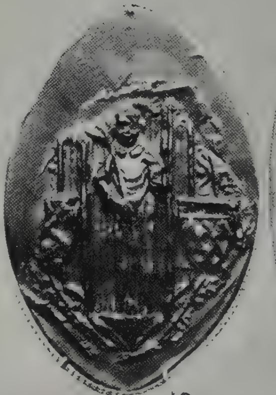
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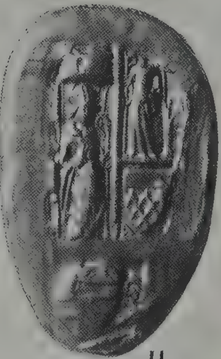
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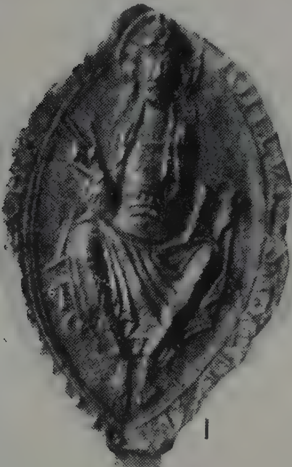
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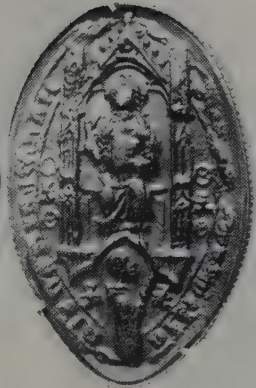
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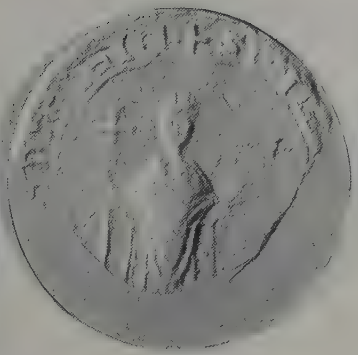
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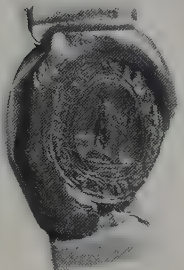
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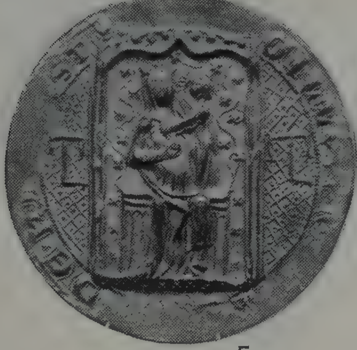
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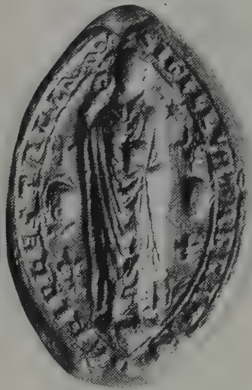
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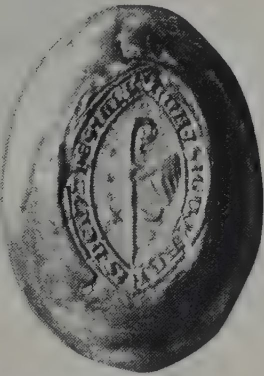
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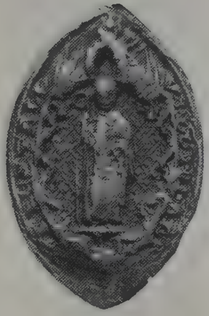
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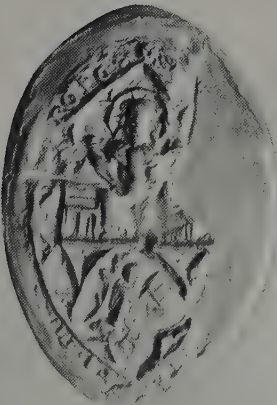
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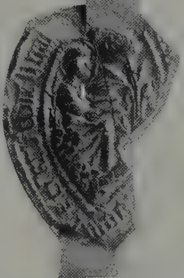
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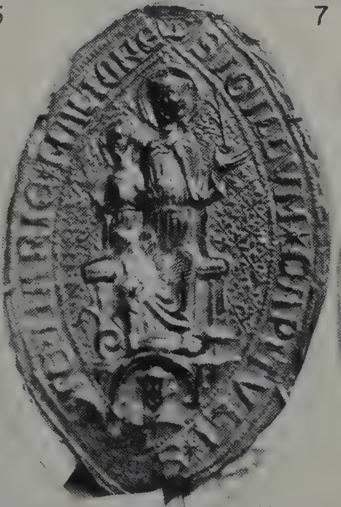
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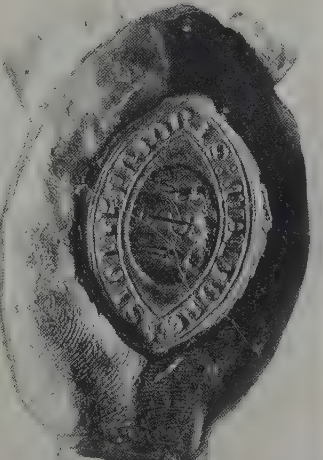
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1. Kirkham, no. 1 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 2. Kirkham, no. 3 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 3. Kirklees ($\frac{1}{1}$). 4. Kirkstall, no. 4 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 5. Kirkstall, no. 1 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 6. Kirkstall, no. 3 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 7. Kirkstall, no. 3, counterseal ($\frac{1}{1}$). 8. Kirkstall, no. 5 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 9. Knaresborough, no. 1 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 10. Knaresborough, no. 2 ($\frac{1}{1}$). 11. Malton ($\frac{1}{1}$). 12. Malton, counterseal, inverted ($\frac{1}{1}$).

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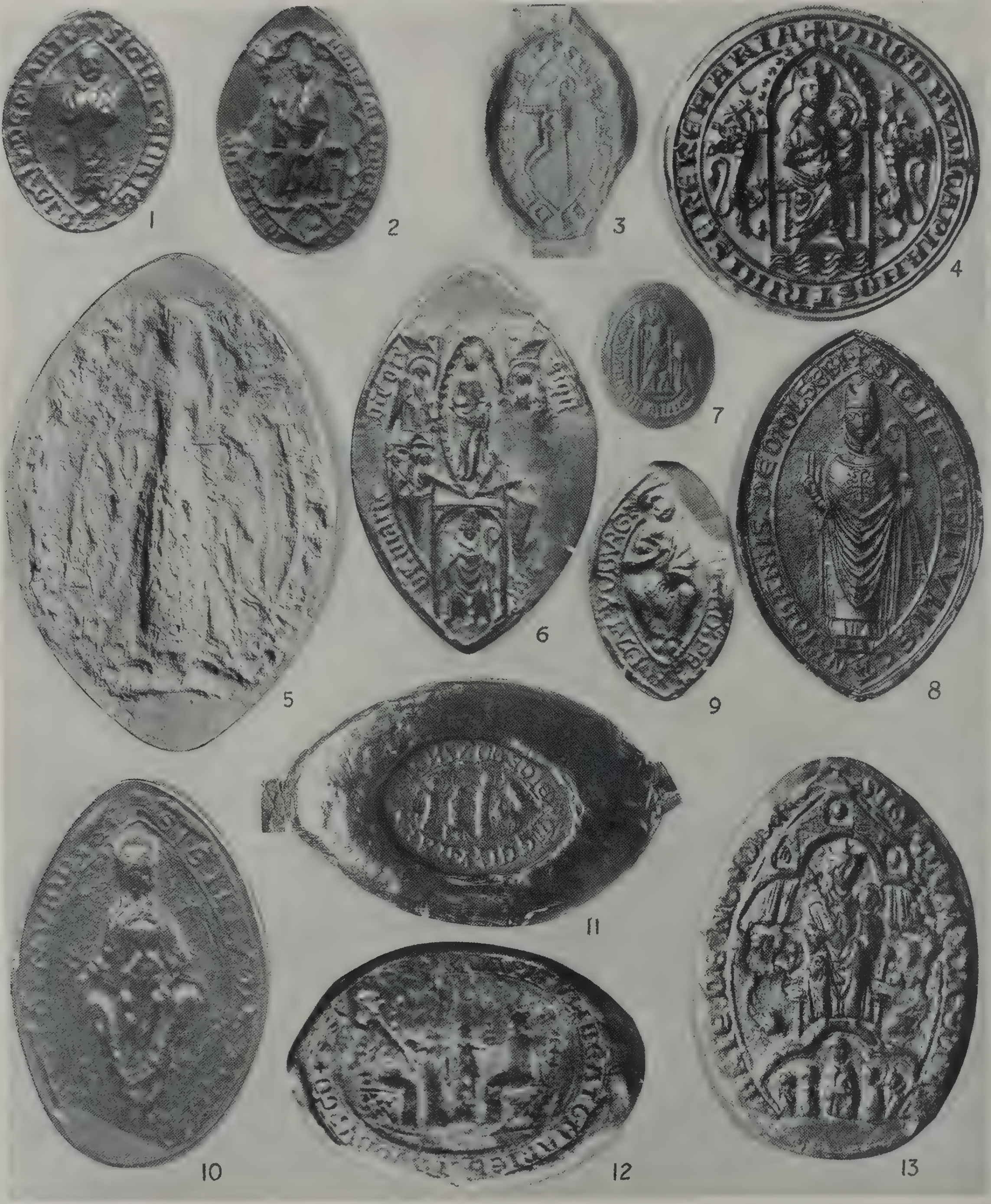

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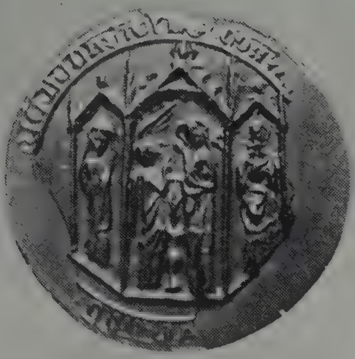
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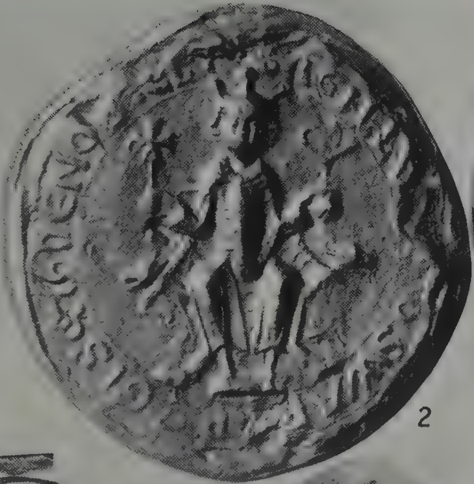
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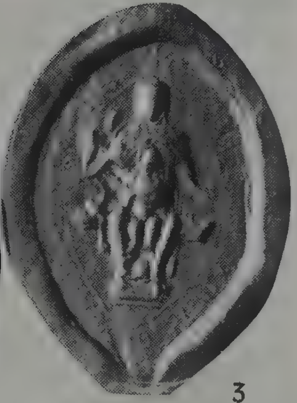
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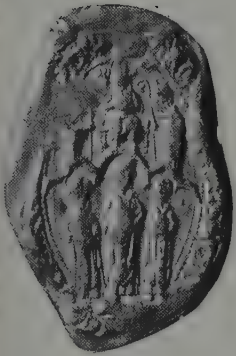
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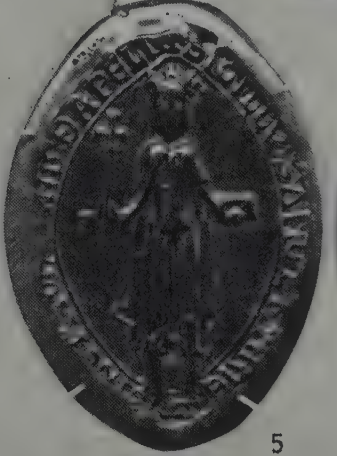
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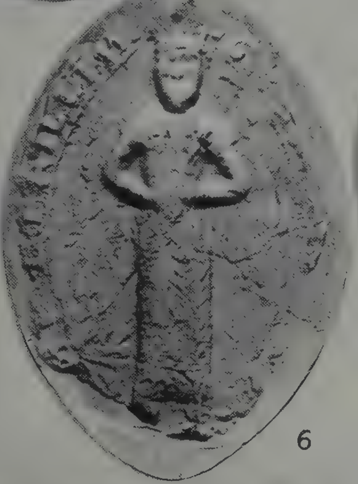
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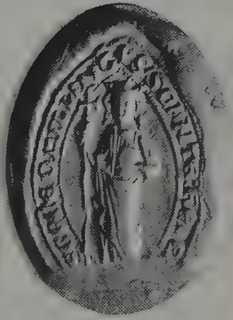
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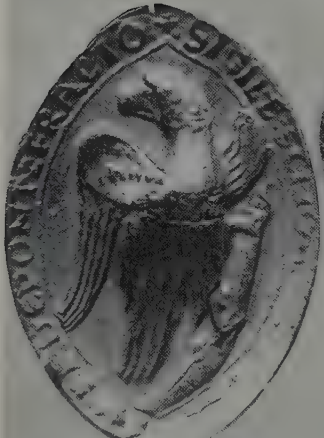
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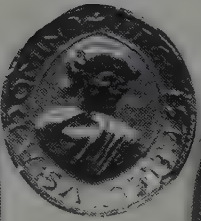
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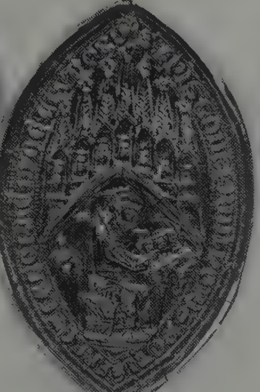
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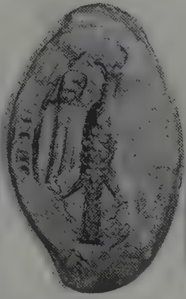
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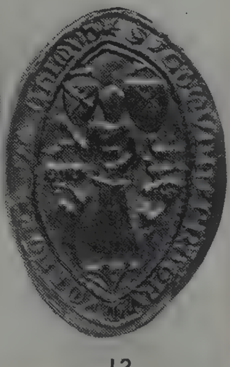
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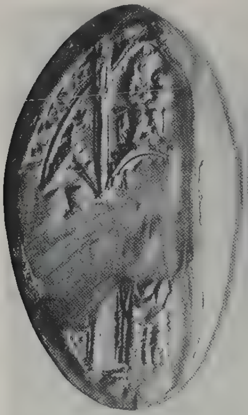

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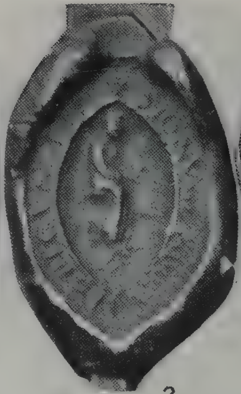

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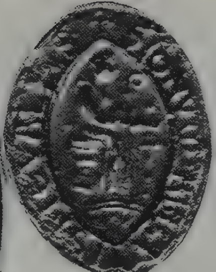

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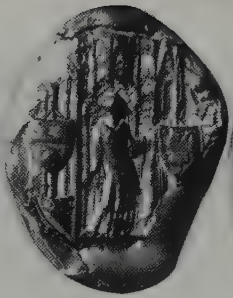

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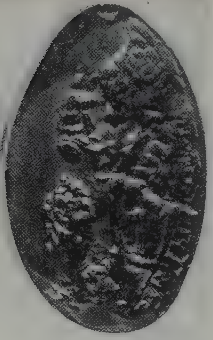

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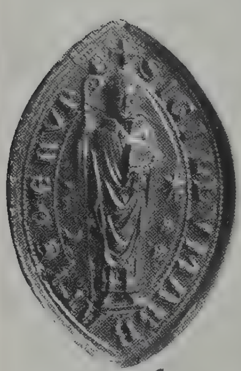

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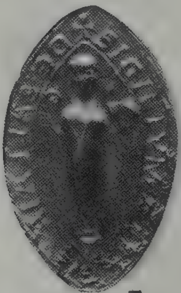

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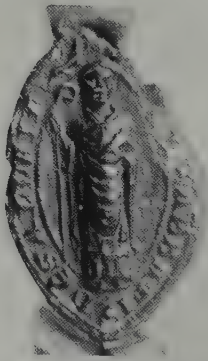

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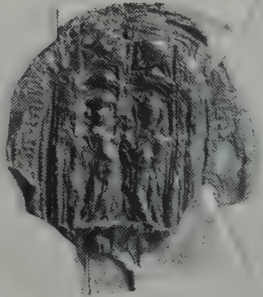

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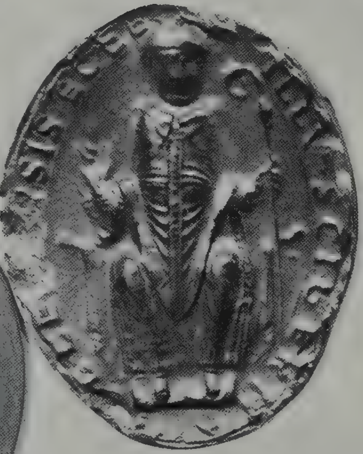

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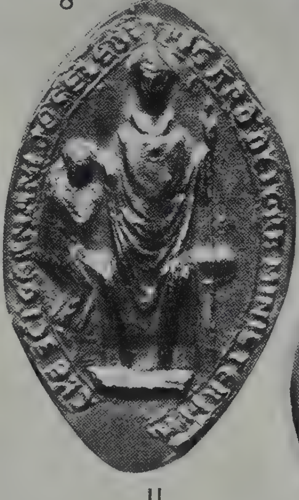

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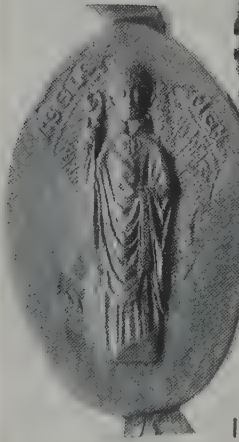

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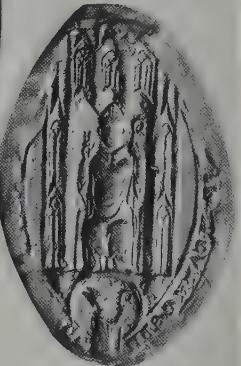

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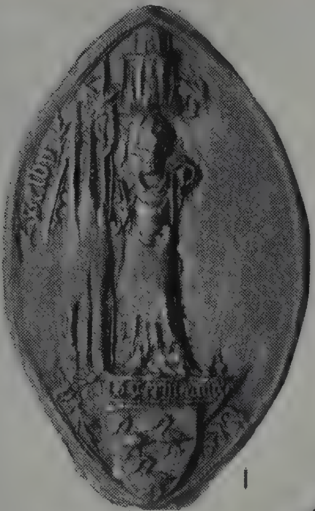
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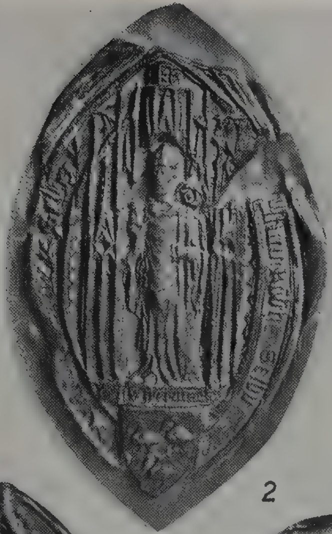
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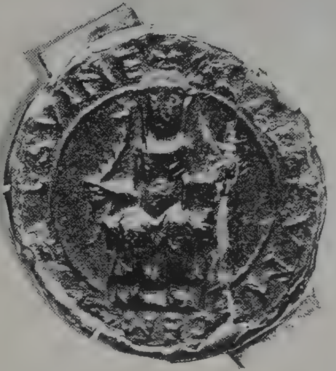
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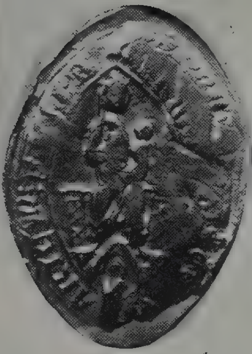
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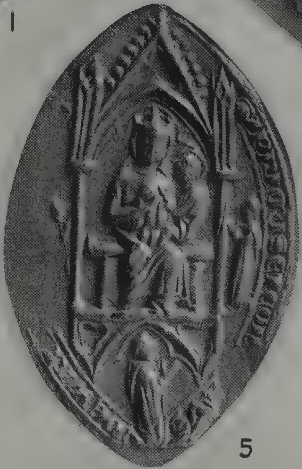
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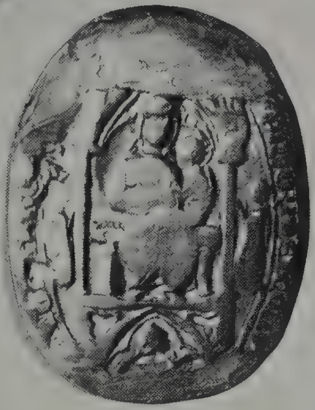
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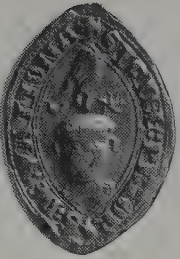
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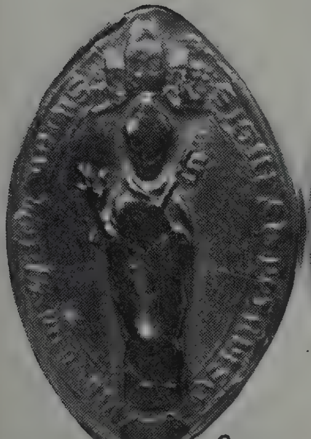
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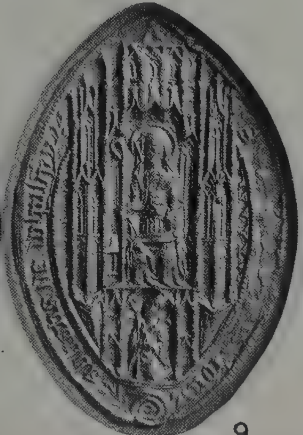
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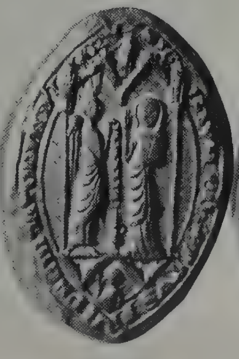
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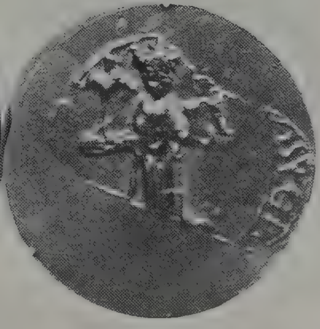
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II.—*Notes on the Origin of the Doric Style of Architecture.* By GEORGE JEFFERY, *Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A., Curator of Ancient Monuments in the Island of Cyprus*[1]

Read 1st May 1924

THE adjective 'Doric', as applied to a certain well-defined style of art, has become a convention of such long standing, and so widely spread, that to question its appropriateness would be both meticulous and embarrassing. At the same time its origin affords considerable ground for speculation. It may, as Mitford suggested in the eighteenth century, have expressed to the ancients the idea of an out-of-date, old-fashioned style, at a time when the Athenians were introducing the Ionic or Asia Minor fashions on the Acropolis. At the same time it is difficult to imagine or explain why the Dorians, always regarded as a rude or rustic element in the formation of the conglomerate Greek world of the first millennium B.C., should be credited with the invention of the most refined form of architecture ever known, or how Phidias came to select it for enshrining his sculpture at the Parthenon. We must, perhaps, presume that the unintentional honour conferred upon the Dorians may have been due to some phase of that inter-racial and political antagonism between different factions which constitutes so much of the history of ancient Greece. The term 'Doric Art' must have originated long after the erection of the Parthenon, if it was used in any sense as an expression of reproach or contempt, and its connexion with the people from the north who invaded the Peloponnesus *c.* 1100 B.C. can only be of the very vaguest. In any case, it will continue to be a synonymous definition of the 'Ancient Greek Architecture' for ages still to come. A certain parallel may perhaps be drawn between the terms 'Doric' and 'Gothic'. To the ancients, the severe simplicity and conventionalism of the earliest Greek art was condemned by the votaries of a more luxurious style imported from Asia, and was branded with a name implying inferiority, just as in the days of Vasari and Michelangelo the name of 'Goffa', or 'Gothic', was applied to the most splendid monuments of medieval art. The opinions of a later time have in both cases reversed the course of public taste, and the so-called Doric and Gothic rank together—with an interval of two thousand years between—as the two greatest developments of man's aesthetic nature. The Dorians and the Goths have perhaps about equal rights to confer their names upon these two great achievements.

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[1] Extracts from a paper communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, which contained also an extensive survey of early religious monuments in Cyprus, and a fuller description of the temple site at Curium than could be conveniently printed here.

Recent criticism of the subject (*vide* Brit. Mus. *Early Iron Age Guide*, 1925, and S. Casson, in *Antiquaries Journal*, i, 199) has tended to an identification of the art culture of Ancient Greece, in its pottery and metal-work, known as the Geometric or Dipylon Style, with the Central Europeans of the Iron Age. These Central Europeans were apparently traditionally known as 'Dorians', and they became an historical people on settling amongst the ruins of their invasion of the prehistoric Mycenaean civilization of Attica and the Peloponnesus. But the artistic capacities of these people are still to some extent unknown, and there is little in the art culture of the earlier Iron Age to suggest the spirit of the so-called 'Doric Architecture' of later centuries, beyond a certain element of regularity and symmetry.

Architecture consists in the display of forms and methods of building construction, with a particular view to their refinement of proportion and execution; without such qualifications mere utilitarian buildings are not architectural. The Doric temples are pre-eminently examples of true architecture, yet at the same time the methods and principles of their construction are strangely difficult to understand from a modern point of view.

Whoever the Dorians were, they perhaps gave the Aegean world aesthetic principles in architecture which were entirely unknown to the people amongst whom they settled towards the end of the second millennium B.C. These aesthetic principles, which must have been in the course of development in an ephemeral form during the twelfth–sixth centuries, were turned into the stone and marble monuments which still survive to attract the study and admiration of all mankind. The *ne plus ultra* of the style seems to be the Parthenon of Athens, but the extraordinary refinement of aestheticism in the proportions and detail of this stupendous work of art is carried to a point in which all traces of the origin are lost.

The Doric style is peculiarly architectonic, and differentiated from those methods of building monuments which rely for much of their interest or beauty on the accessories of sculpture and painting. The earlier temples were, so far as we know, remarkably plain, and their decorations were largely made up of terra-cotta ornaments attached to certain parts with metal pins or nails. Sculpture in pediments or metopes could only be introduced after the general construction of temples had developed into stone and marble in place of the primitive timber and brickwork.

We study the traces of the great architectural monuments of antiquity in a manner which has become almost meticulous—we measure and calculate, and attach technical names to the different parts of the 'Order' which would, perhaps, somewhat astonish the ancient architects, could they but know or appreciate our modern ways of thought in such matters. It is very unlikely that the Greeks worked upon any such definite ideas as we seem to detect in their creations. The countless books which have been written during the past few centuries on Greek and Roman architecture would, perhaps, be to a great extent unintelligible to the builders of the monuments in question, and it is most improbable that Vitruvius, whose great work, with all its rules and regulations, synchronizes with the opening of the Christian or modern era, had any predecessors. In other words, Vitruvius represents the advent of that new eclectic taste of the Roman Empire which was eventually to produce the aesthetic formulae of modern civilization.

The ancient Greek thought of the design of his temple in the terms of rules of the utmost strictness—such rules as we can hardly realize at the present day—but these rules, or perhaps they should be called instincts, did not prevent his varying every detail in an astonishing way without interfering with the typical character. Until the period of the Parthenon it seems doubtful whether a preliminary plan of the edifice would be thought of—the plan on the site would develop out of much discussion amongst the masons employed and the committee interested in the matter, just as in the case of a modern Orthodox church building, where, until recently, no 'architect' would be employed: no plans were actually drawn.

In studying a localized style such as the Doric it is of great interest to find what may be called the natural survivals from almost prehistoric times still lingering in the district in question. This is due to the fact that in the Levant the principles of organic development associated with the arts and crafts of Europe are practically non-existent. The very slight variations between different Levantine districts or countries are merely due to circumstances of climate, available materials, and more especially the presence of foreign colonists. But this last-mentioned factor in the matter is of little permanent importance; the foreign element always tends to be absorbed, so far as the art of building is concerned.

Two hundred and fifty years ago one of the earliest accounts of the art of building as practised in the Near East was written by the traveller Thevenot; the following is Lestrange's translation (*Thevenot's Travels*, 1686, pt. ii, p. 84):

> The houses 'are built of bricks baked in the sun, dawbed over with Clay mingled with Straw, and then whitecast over with a very fine and white Plaister which they get out of the neighbouring hills from a stone that being burnt is crushed and broken with a great Rowler drawn by a Horse.' The coarse gypsum used all over the Levant is here referred to. 'The floors of their rooms [are] of Joists on which they lay planks, and over them a Mat or Store, and then a lay of Reeds which they cover with Clay half a foot

thick. But they observe to mingle Salt with the first lay of Earth that the Worms may not get into the Timber underneath . . . they make their Lime of Stones which they burn as we doe. . . . They sift the Lime into a sharp heap, then they sift Ashes upon it, and that in almost as great a quantity as the Lime. . . . They turn over again the Mixture that they may well mingle and incorporate the Ashes and the Lime, and so turn it over from one side to another several times. . . . I wondered to see these people when they prepared their Lime that they were not afraid to burn their feet going barefooted upon the Stuff. After that four of them stand round the heap and beat the Stuff with Sticks somewhat crooked. They beat this Stuff with one hand two and two over against one another singing "Ya Allah, Ya Allah", keeping time to this tune which seems essential to the trade. In this manner they beat every heap four or five times. . . . When every heap is sufficiently beaten they strow chop't Straw upon it such as they give to Horses, so that the Lime is all covered with it, with that they pour into the middle of it Buckets of water and mingle all together, and when it is all reduced to a kind of soft mortar they fall a beating anew . . . when they are to use it they work it with a great deal of water and mingle therewith about half the quantity of Straw that was employed in the first working of it. . . . When that Stuff is well made it lasts above thirty years, and is harder than stone.'

The above description of house-building—in which it will be observed that nothing in the form of a tiled roof or masonry is referred to—holds good at the present day for the ordinary village style all over the Levant, and it doubtless represents the type of house in which the passed-away races of mankind have lived from times immemorial. In such houses the earliest communities of 'Dorians' passed their existence, for we have no trace of any more substantial architecture, at least after the disappearance of the Minoans from the Aegean, with their somewhat monumental palaces or community-houses.

The domestic building of the Levantine countries has always been of the temporary unsubstantial character above described, but the religious monuments of all kinds have at all times been particularly impressive by their apparent indestructibility, and especially so since the sixth century B.C.

The earlier Doric temples with their sun-dried brickwork and their wooden colonnades would closely resemble the modern Levantine house; at some period not easy to define, the 'Doric' style developed in a remarkable manner, but unfortunately we have practically no exact evidence how or when that development took place.

Temples in the Doric style must have existed in Cyprus during the historical period in which the style was in vogue, otherwise the remarkable rock-cut tombs of Nea Paphos[1] would never have come into existence—it is obvious that rock-hewn imitations of architecture would not occur in a country where the models for imitation were non-existent.

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 159.

The extreme paucity of examples of Doric temples in Cyprus can only be explained by a theory that, representing an exotic taste, their existence would depend upon the presence of western Greeks in the island, and that the period of their introduction was comparatively late, and belongs to the fashion of constructing such monuments in marble, later than the fourth century B.C. The destruction of anything in the shape of marble columns or sculpture was a mere matter of course amongst the Byzantine builders of the Middle Ages. Hence, as already remarked, the astonishing fact that in the whole island of Cyprus only one capital of a Doric column in white marble survives at the present moment, and is preserved in the little Musée Lapidaire at Nicosia (fig. 6). This marble capital formerly stood on the column of granite removed by the Venetians from Salamis to form their commemorative monument in Nicosia in A.D. 1550. It was placed in the Musée when the Venetian monument was re-erected in 1913.

i. DORIC CAPITALS ON ANCIENT SITES IN CYPRUS

Recently, however, a few Doric capitals in commoner stone have been noted, and deserve careful study. A little to the north of the site of ancient Curium, on the south-west coast of Cyprus, at a place called '*'s ton Apellan*' or '*'s ton Apollo*' lie the ruins of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, thus described by Dr. Ludwig Ross (*Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln*, iv (*Reisen nach Kos . . . u. d. Insel Cypern*), 1852, Halle, p. 176–7). 'I found here plain drums of pillars 50–70 cm. in diameter, and Doric capitals with two very broad and flat bands. . . . The great ruins of the temple proper lie somewhat more to the west. . . . One can trace for some distance the foundation of the walls of the temple court,' which 'seems to have included four or five other smaller buildings'. General L. P. di Cesnola, who excavated here between 1860 and 1870, also noted 'columns in white marble and bluish granite . . . lying scattered in every direction. The largest measure 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter; the next in size is 2 ft., and the smallest 16 in.' (*Cyprus, its Cities, Temples, and Tombs,* London, 1877, p. 343). The site has since been almost completely devastated by stone-seekers, but among other architectural fragments surviving are two capitals of unusual type and exceptional interest.

The prostrate columns lay in sectional drums of 2 ft. diameter (exact measurement) but of very various lengths, some portions measuring as much as 7 ft., others 4 ft. 6 in., and the majority about 3 ft.; the average would appear to have been about 4 ft. 6 in. Entasis is hardly perceptible, although the columns must have tapered upwards to the capitals, which are only 1 ft. 10 in. in diameter below the apophygè. The capitals identified with the columns were of the small-moulding type characteristic of the later style, and their proportions were very small compared with the width of the columns. The abacus is of ordinary type, but the echinus, although delicately and well formed, is exceptionally reduced in size.

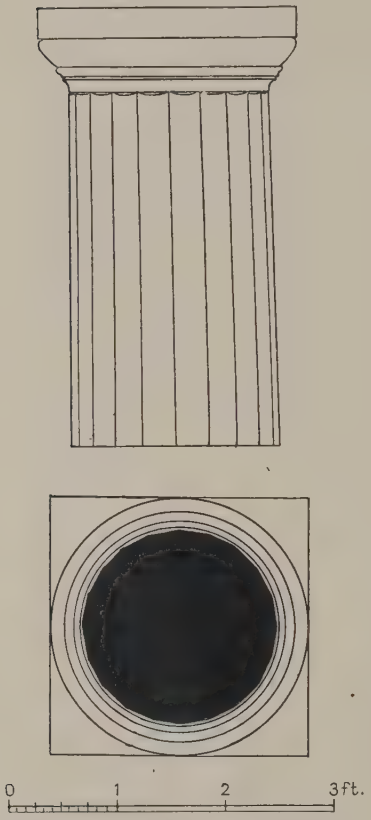

Fig. 1. Capital of limestone column, Temple of Apollo, Curium, Cyprus.

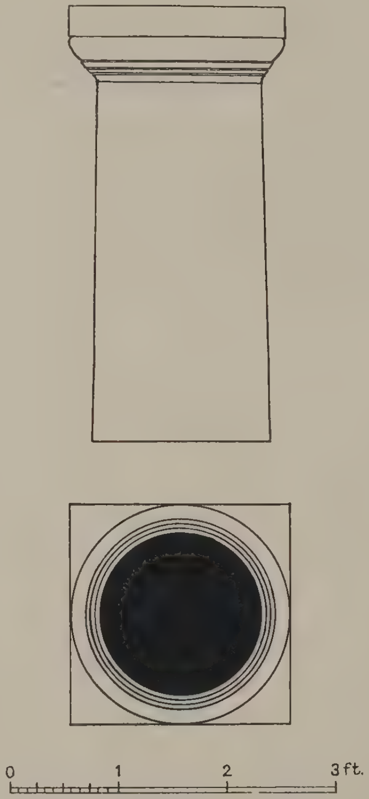

Fig. 2. Capital of limestone column, Temple of Apollo, Curium, Cyprus.

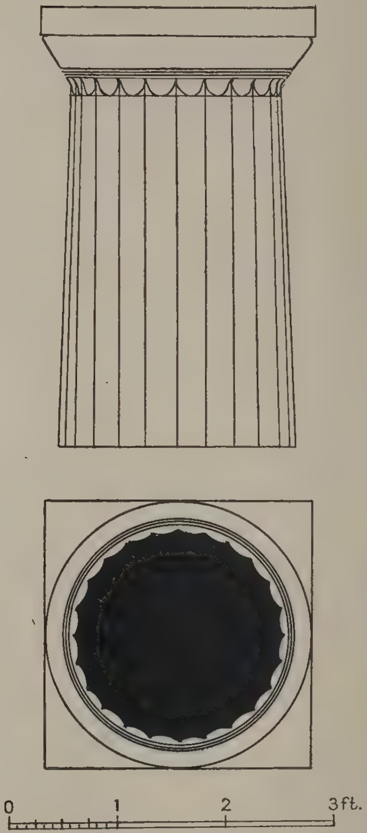

Fig. 3. Capital of marble column, Betestan Collection, Nicosia. Provenance unknown; probably from a fifth-century temple of native marble.

On the site of the temple there were two varieties of Doric capital (figs. 1 and 4^1). One, which appears to be the original or older form, has an echinus which springs from a quirked ogee moulding above the apophygè instead of the more usual fillets or annulets of this style. The survival of an early and primitive form seems therefore indicated. The other (figs. 2 and 4^2) is designed more on the 'Parthenon model', and (as described by Dr. Ross) consists of an echinus above two broad annulets and the customary apophygè. The columns to which these capitals belonged seem not to have been fluted. The capital of Parthenon type fitted a column of only 1 ft. 6 in. diameter.

The presence of two varieties of capitals, equally full of character and evidently having formed parts of the same building, suggests the idea of a restoration or addition, unless there was an inner colonnade slightly different from the external peristyle. The difference between these two capitals would, however, not have been greater than is observable in the Heraeum at Olympia.

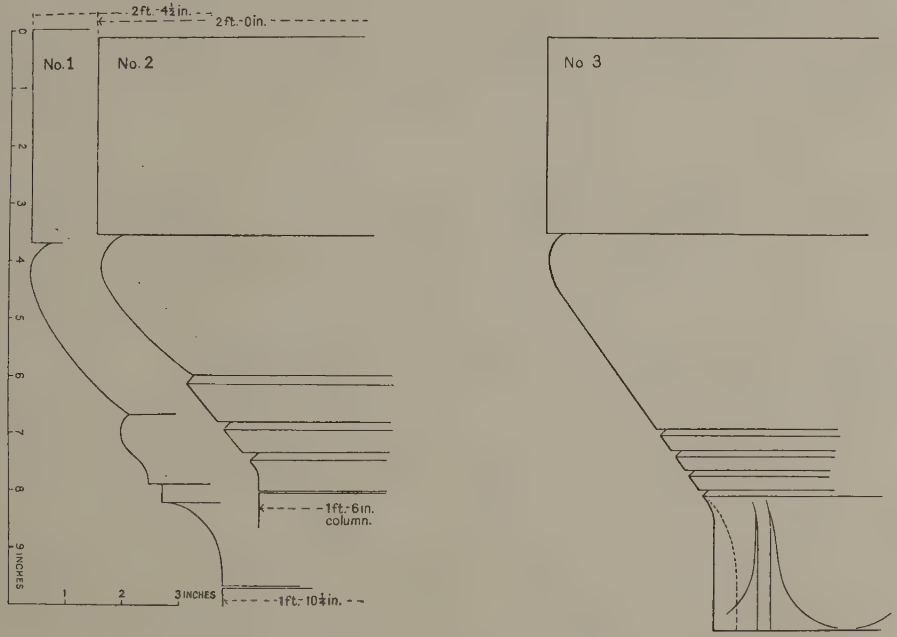

Fig. 4. Details of profiles of capitals, figs. 1, 2, 3. (⅓)

Of these two varieties the 'Parthenon model' (figs. 2 and 4^2) does not demand more particular notice, but by the other and perhaps older example certain considerations seem suggested.

In the first place this capital (figs. 1 and 4^1) does not resemble in its profile any of the well-known examples of European Doric. It is thoroughly Doric in character, but at the same time the echinus starting from a quirked ogee makes a considerable difference, and perhaps it is not unreasonable to imagine some far-off relationship between this exceptional form and that of the famous columns of the 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae.[1] It is noticeable that in both cases the apophygè is much larger than is usual in Doric capitals, and in the capitals from Curium there is the same bold projection as at Mycenae. But the principal resemblance between the two is the profile immediately above the apophygè, which in neither case is an echinus.

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[1] Now in the British Museum; Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, Berlin, 1923, nos. 202, 203: compare the column above the Lion-gate at Mycenae, Bossert, nos. 195, 236; the gem, Bossert, no. 321 c; and the capitals at Cnossus, Bossert, nos. 36–9, as restored by Sir Arthur Evans.

A compromise appears to have taken place in the other capital of Curium (figs. 2 and 4^2). The moulded part below the abacus divides exactly in halves: the lower portion suggests Mycenaean origin, whilst the upper is a pure Greek echinus. As such, it is perhaps unique.

One fragment only of the architrave or trabeation of this temple has apparently survived (unless other portions are below the soil). It measures only 1 ft. 5 in. in width, and, although so small, it is moulded on both sides, showing that it was intended to be seen from below, or from both sides. It could hardly have been used over the columns of 1 ft. 10 in. width, but may have belonged to those of the 1 ft. 6 in. variety. Its late style of moulding would also harmonize with the 'Parthenon model' of capital; but in the later type the architrave always projects over the face of the columns. The edges of blocks and mouldings are still clean and uninjured except by human violence.

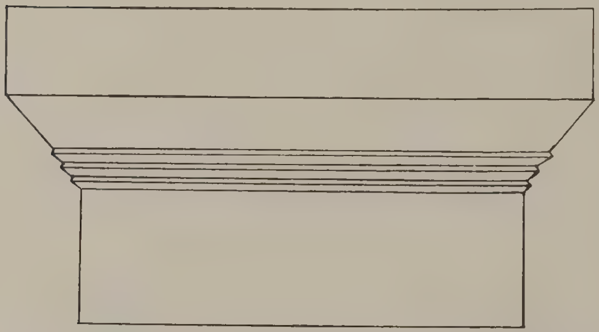

Fig. 5. Capital of circular column, Hyle, illustrating the use in Cyprus of the normal 'Roman Doric' capital in which (1) the convex echinus has been replaced by the straight profile of a truncated cone: (2) the concave apophygè has been replaced by triple annulets. *Same scale as fig. 6.*

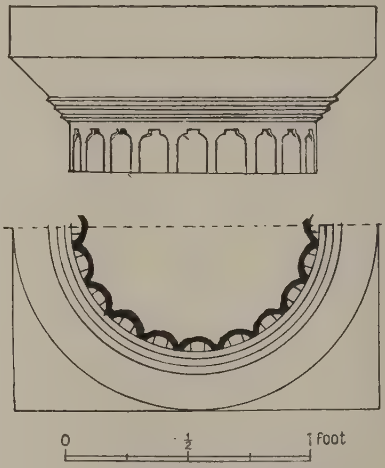

Fig. 6. Small capital, Nicosia Museum. *Scale for figs.* 5 *and* 6.

The preservation of such remains of the Hyle temples as still exist may be attributed to the distance of the site from the populous centre of Limassol, and the earlier Amathus, and to the fact that the buildings were not of marble. The only marble temple in the Doric style yet traced in Cyprus is that one of which neither the name, the history, nor even the site is known. It is represented by the capital of one of its columns still preserved in Nicosia (figs. 3 and 4^3).

ii. ARCHAIC ROOF-CONSTRUCTION IN CYPRUS

In Cyprus it is very difficult, if not impossible, to form any idea of the dates of ancient buildings. Styles and methods of construction seem to have continued in use through long ages, without any evidences of development such as are customary in European countries, and the date of a building can only be guessed by the presence of some detail which has evidently been imported from a foreign source. The almost total absence of all dates and inscriptions on Byzantine churches is one of their unfortunate characteristics, and renders comparative study very difficult.

At first sight the little village churches of the mountain region, with their high-pitched tile-covered roofs, their wooden gables, and almost total absence of windows, have very much the appearance of the barns which still survive in the north of Europe from a style of construction previous to the scientifically trussed roofs of the Middle Ages. They are, however, different in one respect: the European barn is usually built upon 'crucks', which start from a little above the floor level; whilst the Byzantine church roof of Cyprus, although never trussed in the medieval or modern sense, is always constructed from the level of about three to five metres above the ground; in other words, on the top of a wall. This distinction makes a very great difference in several particulars.

In the 'cruck' system of construction there is of course no tie-beam to be considered, as the feet of the principal rafters rest on the ground: but a tie-beam becomes imperative in the Cyprus churches, although it is adopted in a singularly unscientific and imperfect way. As used in these Cyprus roofs it is little more than a tie between the numerous wall-plates placed above and under it, forming a sort of timber sheathing to the top of the wall. It serves to tie the two side walls together, and the wall-plates make a strong base to resist the thrust of the principal rafters which carry the whole weight of the roof on their upper extremities.

Such a remarkable way of building a roof—much as a child builds a house of cards—suggests the survival of very early conditions. In other words, it suggests a mode of constructing primitive habitations in a manner different from the Cretan and Mycenaean style of flat terraced roofs. The chief advance consists of raising the whole construction on to the top of the two side walls.

The process of building these roofs seems to have been as follows: on the top of the side walls were laid two wall-plates, one on the inside and one on the outside edge; on these wall-plates a series of tie-beams was disposed, averaging three metres apart. The tie-beams then received two more wall-plates on their upper surfaces, and were notched to all four plates, two beneath and two above. The space between the wall-plates was then packed with masonry and pieces of wood, forming a solid compact mass, with short lengths of wood uniting and bolting together the two wall-plates on the inside to the two on the outside of the wall: the wall itself being about 60 cm. or 1·00 m. thick.

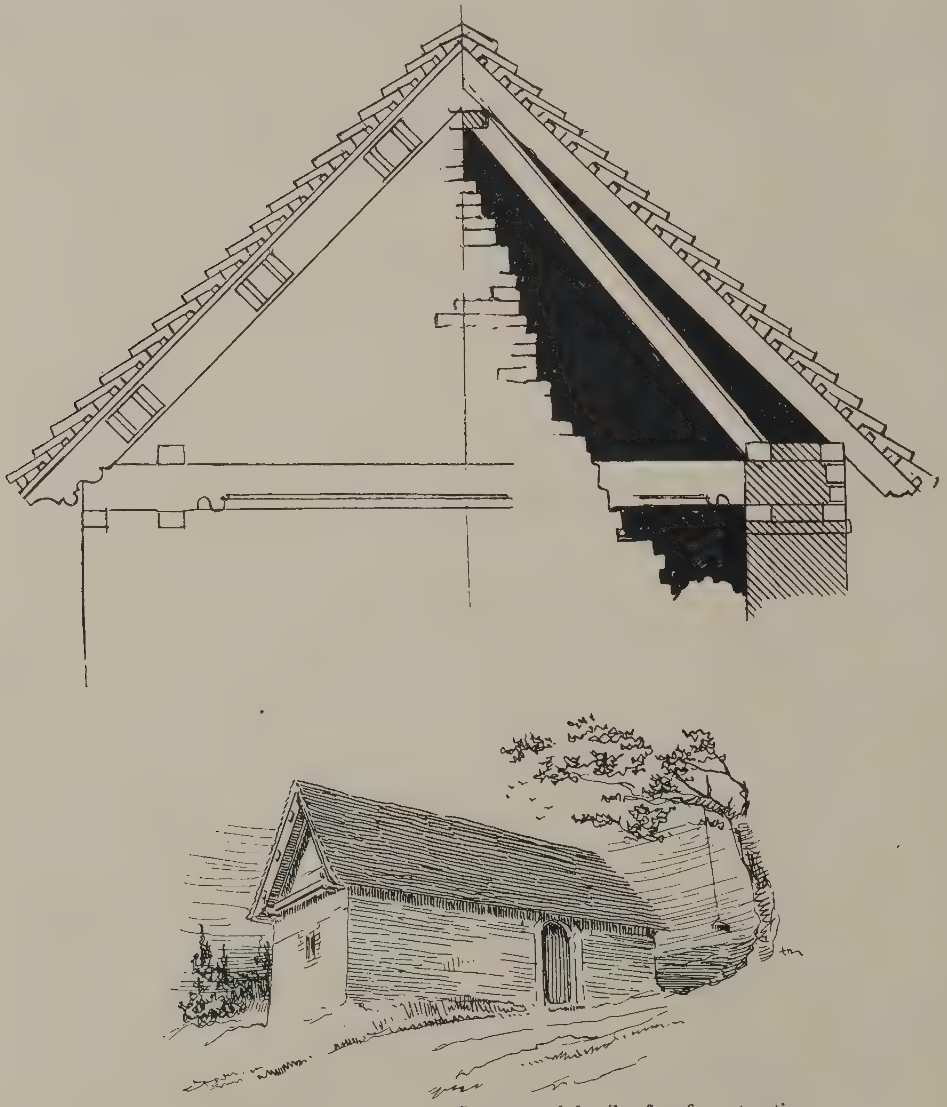

Fig. 7. Church at Kato Platraes, Cyprus, and details of roof construction.

Upon the upper plate, inside the wall, rest the notched feet of the principals, which are only about 25 or 30 cm. apart, and serve only for the support of a heavy ridge-piece, and for the construction of the boarded ceiling. This boarded ceiling seems to have been laid on the principals before the outer or common rafters were added, each board fitting between two rafters and being sometimes decorated with thin mouldings nailed on the underside against the rafters, as in fig. 16, below.

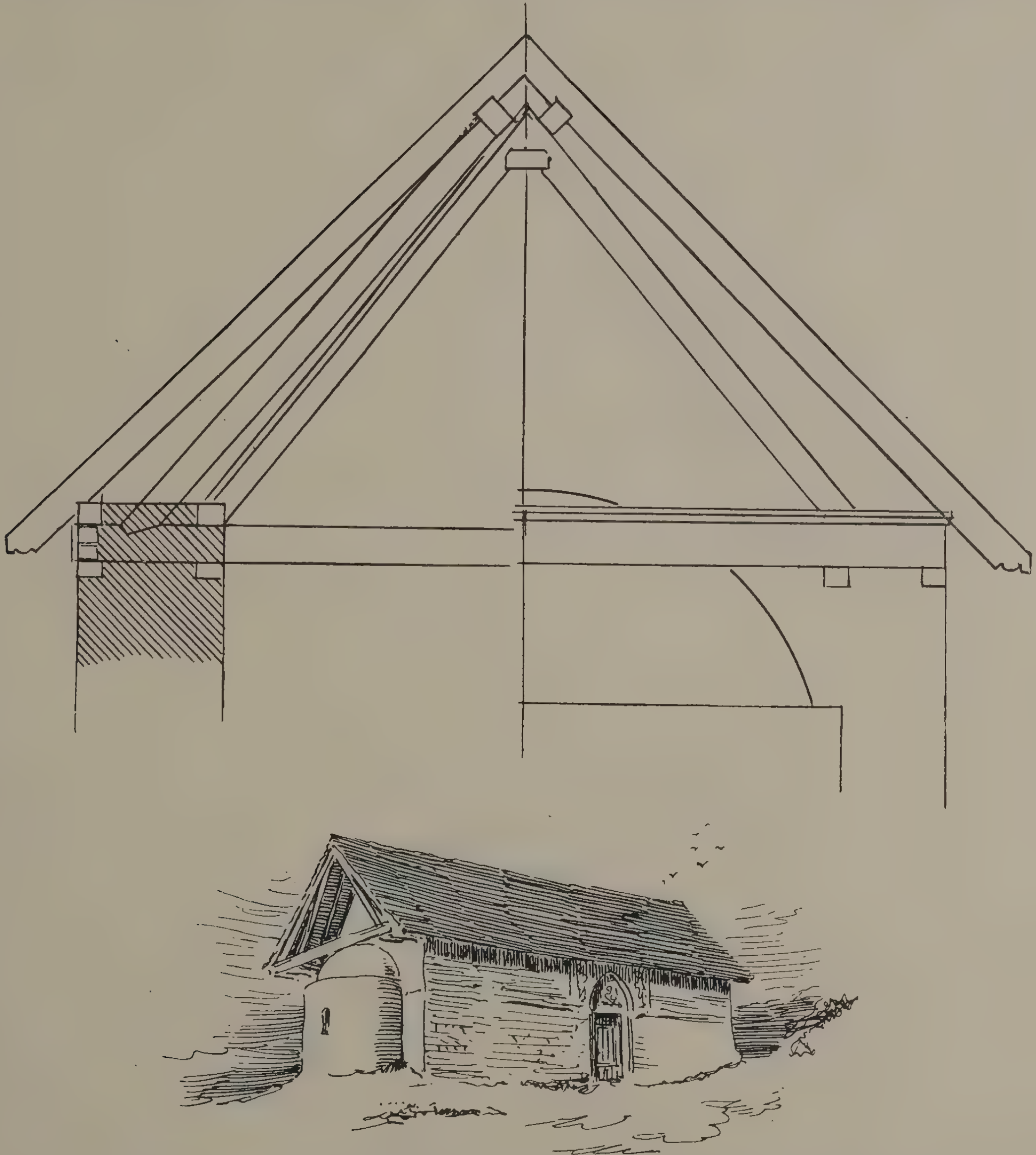

Fig. 8. Church of Agios Theotokos, Galata, Cyprus, and details of roof construction without a truss.

The ceiling being completed, the outer or common rafters were laid with their upper ends on the ridge-piece, and their feet notched on to the *outer* wall-

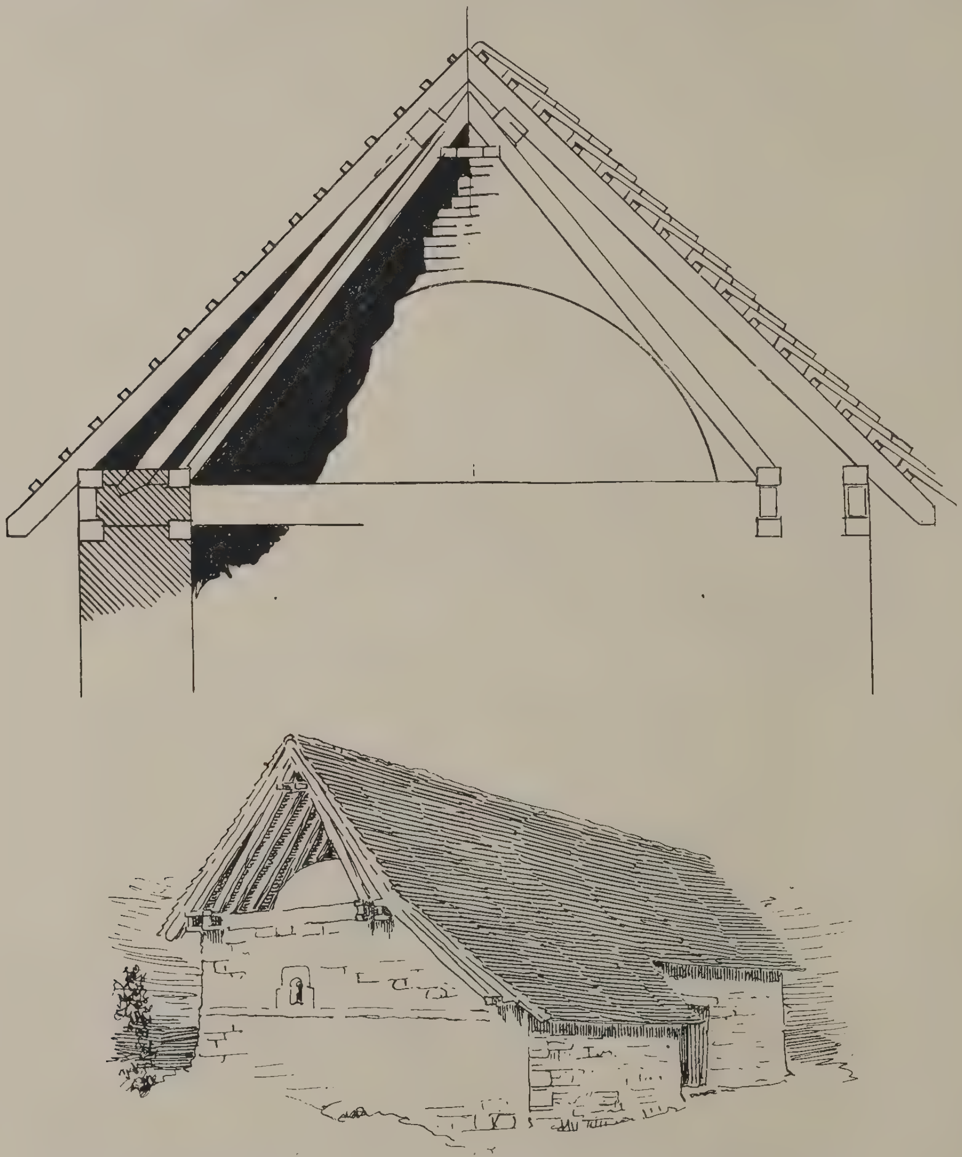

Fig. 9. Church of Agia Paraskevi, Galata, Cyprus, with details of roof construction without a truss.

plate, and on to these common rafters the laths for tiling were nailed, and the timber framing of the roof was then complete.

In some cases a kind of purlin may be noticed between the two sets of rafters, but it has no use as a true purlin; it merely serves to keep the two series of rafters together.

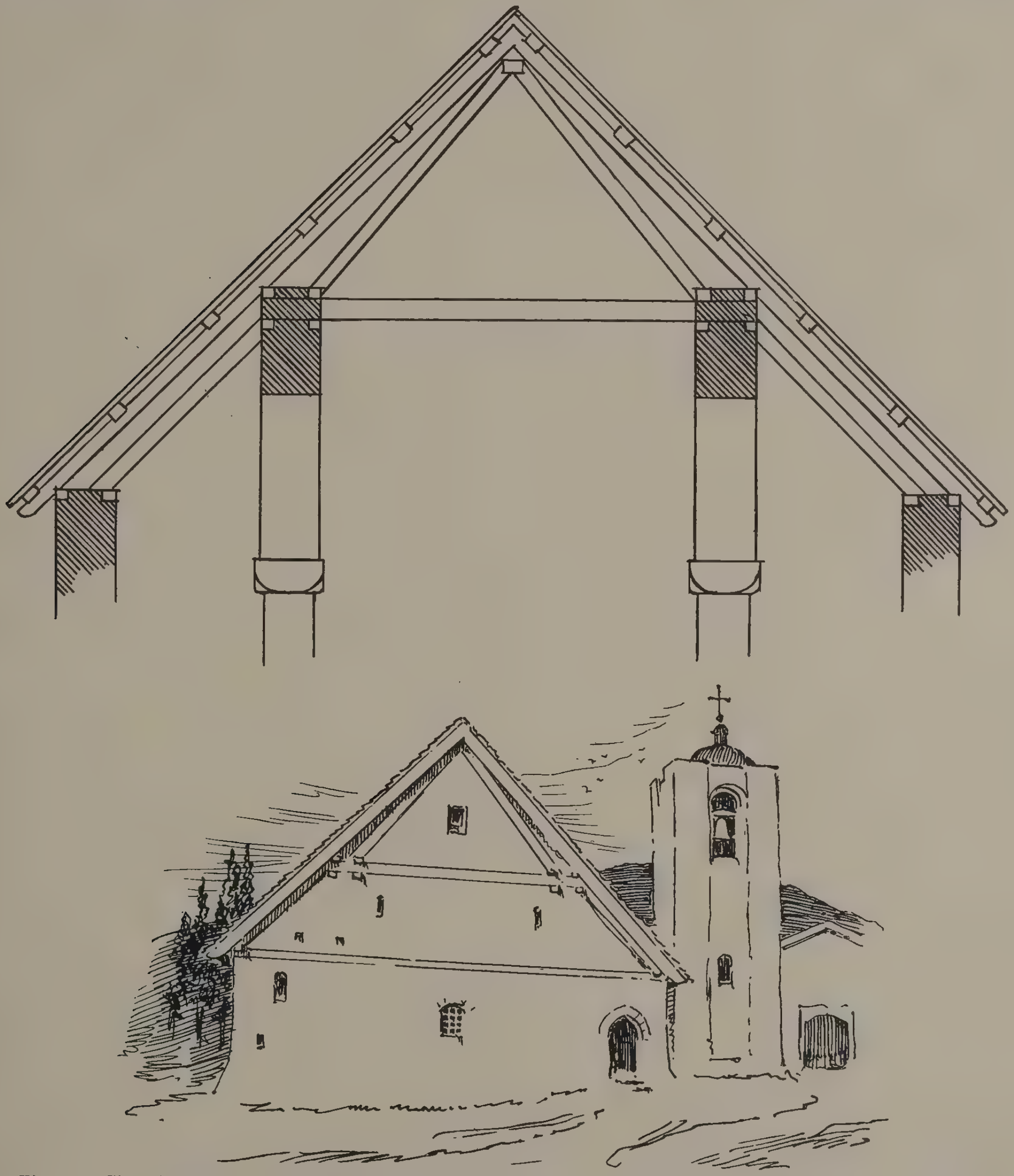

Fig. 10. Church of the Panagia, Kilani, Cyprus, and details of roof construction without a truss. Compare the modern house-roof, fig. 15.

Such a method of construction as is above described cannot of course be adopted for roofing spans of more than 5 to 6 m., and the angle at which the principals are inclined must always be at least 45 degrees. The walls must also have a considerable thickness to resist the pressure on their top inside edge. The system does not appear a very stable or scientific one, yet there are examples of these roofs which seem to be centuries old, and which continue to answer their purpose.

The slightness of the timbers used in these roofs is very remarkable; the principals are rarely more than 20 by 15 cm. in section—the only heavy pieces are the tie-beams which bind the base of the construction together. Young pines have been sacrificed without number to form the rafters, and the older stems, which required greater efforts to fell and shape, have been reserved for the tie-beams, which are always carefully squared, and decorated with mouldings or chamfers. The boarding of the ceilings has been formed by splitting the planks and roughly finishing them with the adze.

Sawn timber for building was probably almost unknown in Cyprus until the coming of the English fifty years ago: even the medieval European settlers were probably content with the same primitive ideas of carpentry as above described; their churches were, however, built invariably in the more monumental vaulted style of southern Italy. Since the English occupation, strenuous efforts have been made to check the wholesale destruction of the forests which had been customary from ancient times until 1878, and the more recent buildings have been supplied with the same sort of young tree-trunks imported from Asia Minor, where, of course, no restriction in such matters is observed under Turkish rule.[1]

In framing these roofs, wooden pins have been used by the older builders and so their work has been preserved. In such few modern examples of the style of construction as exist, where iron nails and bolts have been introduced, the structure has, of course, fallen into untimely dilapidation.

To cover the timber roof construction above described, a heavy coarse kind of tile was used, with a hook projection at its upper underside. The dimensions of these tiles average 20 cm. by 30 cm., by 4 or 5 cm. in thickness. The custom seems to have been to make these tiles in a kiln, constructed on the site of the building operations, and they are sometimes marked underneath with the name of the place and the date. They were laid on the tile-battens without mortar, except at the hips and ridges.

The building materials of these old village churches are entirely local, and before the British occupation nothing for the purpose was imported. At the present day all this is changed, and the modern village builders would be at a loss without their imported French tiles, German tools, and English ironwork. The old methods of building are now almost extinct in all parts of the island —the modern towns are built under the influence of Europeans or of much-travelled natives—and certainly no new or modern village church will ever again be built in the singular style which was continued into so late a period as the middle of the nineteenth century.

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[1] Sir Samuel Baker in his *Cyprus in 1879*, says: 'I have never seen pitsaws used, but as a rule, should a beam or stout plank be required, a whole tree is adzed away to produce it, and great piles of chips are continually met with in the forests where some large tree has thus perished under this exhaustive process.'

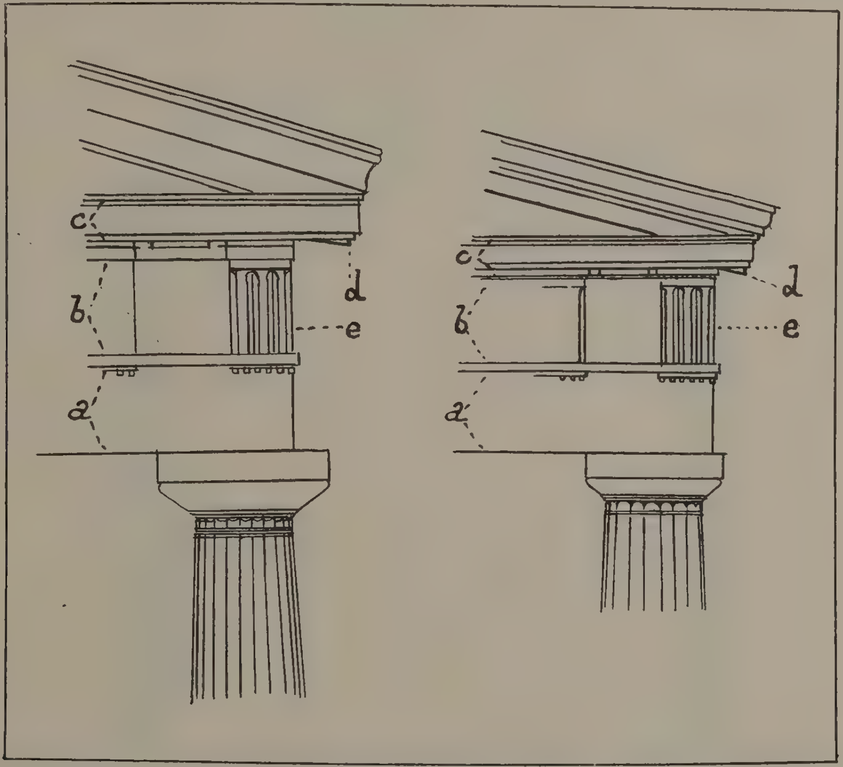

Fig. 11. The two types of Doric, Sicilian and Athenian. A temple at Girgenti and the Parthenon, representing the earlier and later forms of the style. After Viollet-le-Duc; not to scale.

The island of Cyprus, hitherto so little influenced by modern ideas, affords a study of the close analogy and resemblances which certainly exist between the primitive temples of paganism in the Levant and the comparatively modern religious edifices, built in the same district, if not by the same race of people.

When we come to consider the details of construction in the church and in the temple, the survival of forms and methods is most remarkable. A plain wall of mud-brick must be identically the same in either case, and the mode of covering the parallelogram chamber, required for the sacred purpose, with a permanent rain-proof roof is also practically the same in both.

Hitherto writers on architecture seem to have only conceived it possible that the ancients must have constructed their temple roofs with regular 'king-post trusses' on the most modern principles; but this was due to the absence of study and observation by travellers of the modest little shrines which dot the hills of Cyprus.

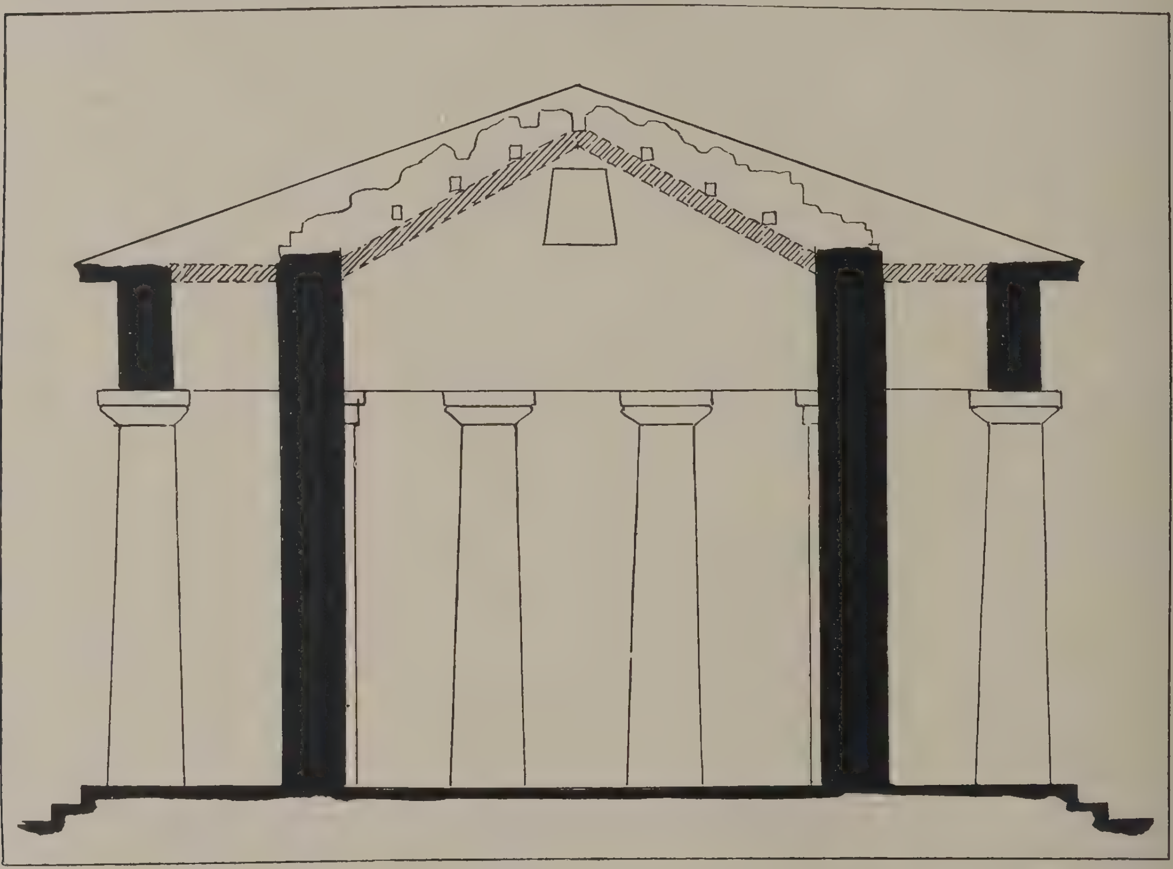

Fig. 12. Temple of Concord, Girgenti (Acragas). Suggested restoration of the wooden roofs in the Cyprus style, without a truss; not to scale.

By examining the accompanying drawings of Cyprus churches of various dates (figs. 7, 8, 9, 10), it will be observed that the mode of roofing above described suggests at once the outside appearance of the Doric cornice and entablature. The building up of the top of a wall to support the thrust of the rafters (untrussed), with four wall-plates and cross-pieces, is easily dissected in its marble representation (fig. 11) into: the lower wall-plate forming the epistyle or architrave (*a*); the frieze or plain surface of the wall (*b*) reappearing above the epistyle; and the cornice proper (*c*) formed by the upper wall-plate and the ends of the rafters (on their sides) partly concealed by the mutules (*d*) pegged on to their undersides. The triglyphs (*e*), a row of which must of necessity always occupy the frieze of the Doric Order, and without which it would lose the particular character differentiating it from all other types of architecture, demand a particular explanation. This is a feature not very clearly defined on the Cyprus churches, but there appears on most of the surviving gables

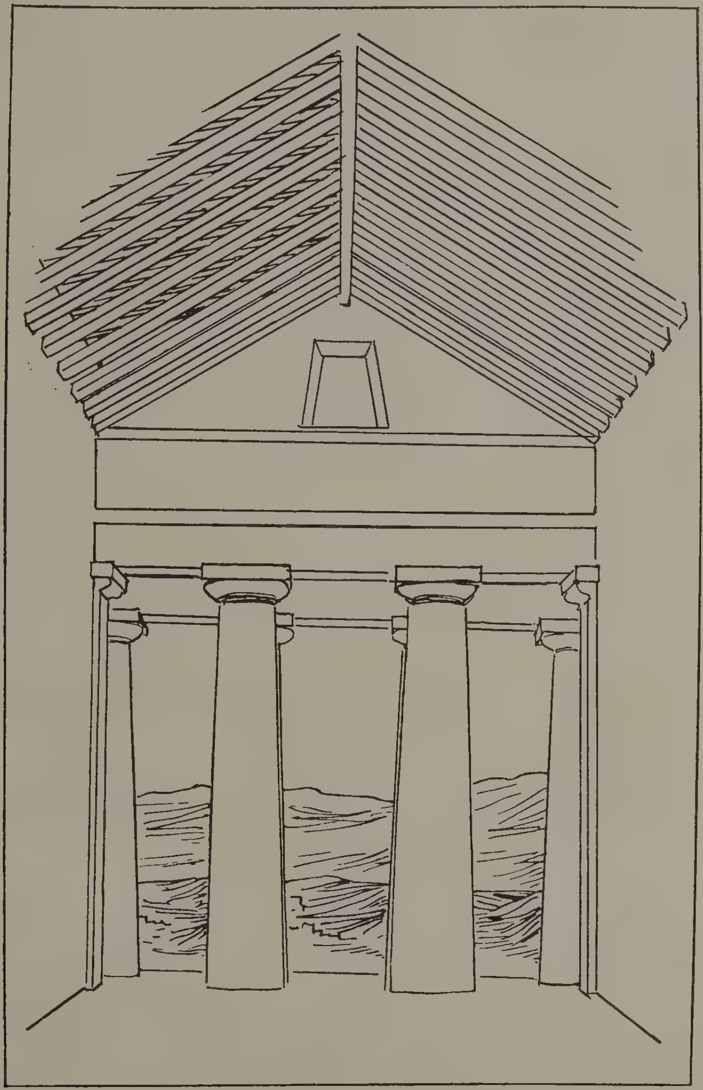

Fig. 13. Temple of Concord, Girgenti (Acragas). Suggested restoration of the interior of the cella, showing a wooden roof and ceiling in the Cyprus style, without a truss.

a precisely similar decoration, with an object in view which is probably the same as that of the ancient builders: this is the moulded block of wood intended to relieve the plain surface of the barge-board; and at the same time prevent the plank from warping and twisting.

M. Choisy, in his ingenious *Histoire de l'Architecture* (1899), advances a theory of Doric which approximates closely to what may be studied at the present day in Cyprus, but his idea of the triglyph comprised of small slips of wood fitting into mortises at the top and held below by pins seems needlessly elaborate and improbable. It is much more credible that the triglyph should have been a piece of board decorated with flutes, or even in its very origin the tile which it becomes in the terra-cotta covered temples of an early time.

M. Choisy imagines the slips of wood which he shows in his diagram to have served as the strengtheners or straighteners of the fascia-board of the frieze. This idea is quite consonant with the way in which the gable-boards of the Cyprus churches are treated; they are decorated with a piece of wood as an ornament and a strengthener—that is to say, to prevent the long outside board from warping and buckling in the heat of summer and the damp of winter. Added to which, of course, the play of light and shadow on this long narrow surface adds much to its ornamental appearance. These pieces of wood are merely square with angle mouldings on two sides.[1]

Whether the original temple cells had a fascia-board between the lower and upper wall-plates, or the space was merely plastered and painted like the wall beneath, is a matter which can never be decided, as no example of the original model survives. It must be confessed that in the Cyprus churches the fascia-board is non-existent, and therefore the use of the strengthener is out of the question. The piece of wood which binds together the wall-plates on either side of the wall is, however, everywhere in evidence, and appears without doubt as the *regula* of the Doric Order.

The cornice proper (*c*) is merely the copy in marble of the rafter-ends or boarding, and demands neither description nor explanation. The wooden origin of the mutules, with pegs for attaching these small pieces of board to the rafter-ends, is self-evident. This treatment of the projecting rafters does not, however, occur on the little Cyprus churches of modern days.

In support of this theory it is unfortunately impossible to cite more than one or two examples of ancient temples which still survive with traces of the same construction. The Temple of Concord, Girgenti (figs. 12, 13), still preserves its pediments to the interior cella and to the peristyle practically complete, and within the former may be detected the outline of its *ceiling*, which was evidently of the angular ridge-roof, not flat. In a manner precisely similar to the Cyprus church, this ceiling with its more acutely inclined rafters has evidently carried the external roof of the tile rafters or boarding in accordance with the flatter outline of the external gable or pediment over the peristyle.

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[1] Another reasonable supposition suggests itself: that the triglyph may have merely been first introduced at the time when terra-cotta coverings not merely to wood and mud-brick were in vogue, but also to the stone-work. In other words, that whilst the general design of the Doric temple displays its timber and mud-wall construction, the triglyph may be a survivor of its elaborate terra-cotta decorations.

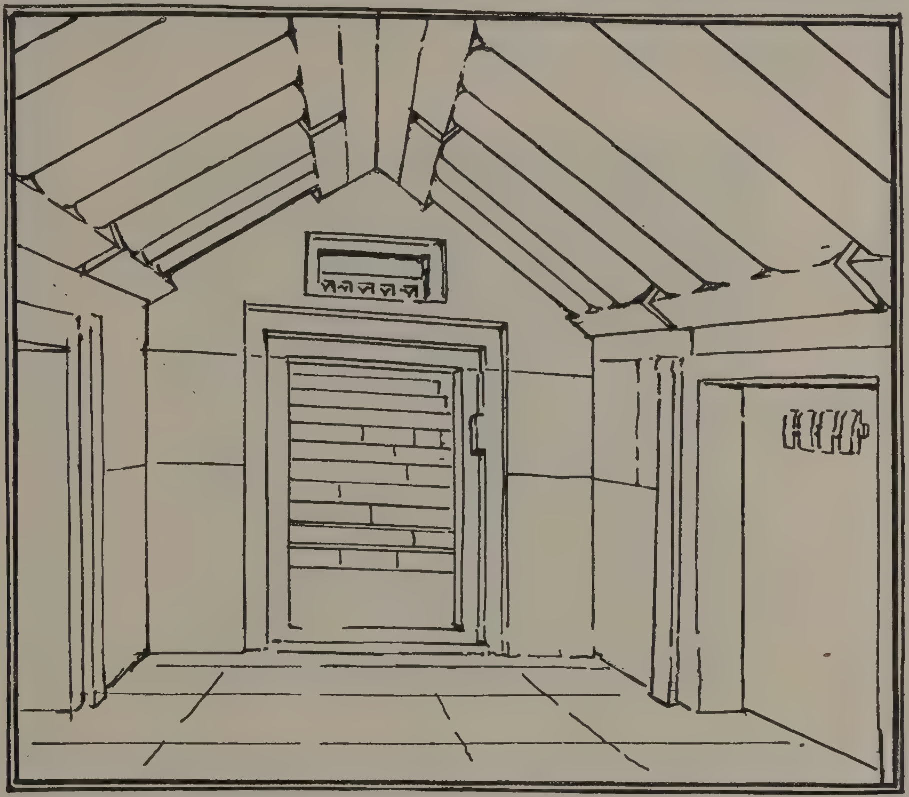

Fig. 14. Interior of Great Tomb, Tamassos, Cyprus. A masonry tomb copied from a house or temple of timber construction, the ceiling formed of large stone blocks cut into the form of tree-trunks: note also the window-frames modelled on carpentry.

That the ancients conceived their monumental buildings as roofed with slabs of timber merely pitched against each other without any kind of scientific carpentry is clear enough from the Etruscan and Cypriote tombs, of which latter the illustration of the Great Tomb at Tamassos near Nicosia (fig. 14) may be taken as a sample. These tombs represent undoubtedly the most monumental ideas of the period, but give an impression of having been modelled on wooden construction. The Tamassos tomb with its wooden-looking ceiling has been copied from some temple interior. The curious underground temple of the so-called ‘Birthplace of Apollo’, in the island of Delos, has a close resemblance to this form of tomb, but seems more masonic in conception.

Remains of a very remarkable example of ancient temple construction appear to survive on the summit of Mt. Elias, or Ocha, near Carystus, in the southern extremity of the island of Euboea. Here ‘Mr. Hawkins of Sussex’ discovered a temple in 1797, of which he has given an account as it appeared in his time (referred to in Murray's *Hand-book for Greece*, 1884).

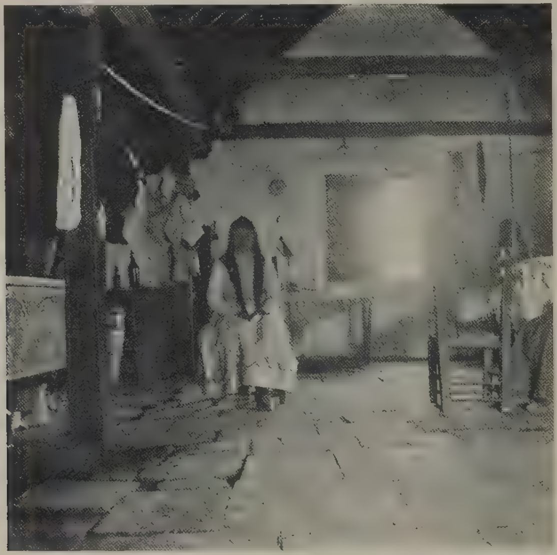

Fig. 15. Interior of village house, Lazania, Cyprus. There is no truss in the construction of the root. The construction is similar to that of the church roof at Kilani, fig. 10.

The temple was evidently a non-peristylar structure consisting of a cella measuring internally 30 ft. 6 in. by 16 ft. with walls 4 ft. 4½ in. thick. The entrance was a doorway in the middle of the south front, with a small window on each side. Over the door lintel, which surmounted an opening 6 ft. 4 in. high, was a narrow oblong aperture (resembling that in the Tamassos tomb). Door and windows were slightly wider at the bottom than at the top. The important peculiarity of this temple surviving for our study was the construction of the roof, of which a sufficient fragment remained to allow of description. It was formed, according to Mr. Hawkins, of inclined slabs of stone meeting together at its apex and joined by another horizontal row. These slabs were supported at their lower ends by a cornice formed by a course of projecting stones on the top of the side walls. But it seems evident that Mr. Hawkins must have been deceived as to the character of the roof-covering. No walls, even 4 ft. 4½ in. thick, could have withstood the thrust of two slabs of stone covering a span of 16 ft. meeting at the apex of the roof. What Mr. Hawkins really saw must have been the traces of the wooden roof apparently of a type precisely similar to the church roofs of Cyprus above described (p. 52), or, as has already been pointed out, such a roof and ceiling as may still be traced within the pediment walls of the Temple of Concord at Girgenti.

The above description corresponds in a remarkable manner with the Cyprus tombs and with the 'Birthplace of Apollo' in Delos, and shows that this system of construction was widespread in Greek lands. This temple of Mt. Ocha has been identified as a Heraeum, and in its neighbourhood, but nearer the sea-shore, are remains of other ancient temples or tombs of a smaller size but similar construction.

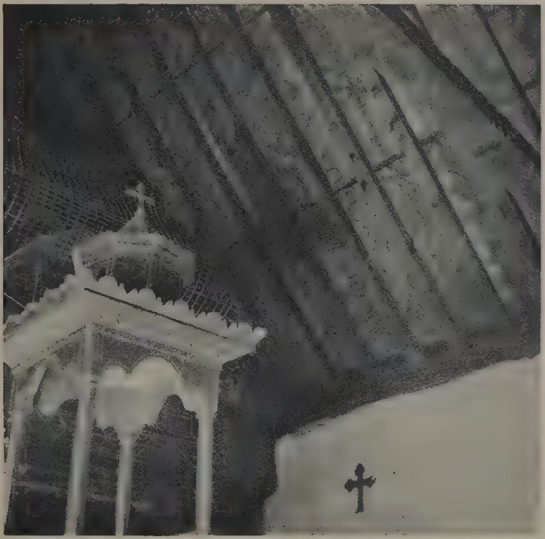

Fig. 16. Ceiling of church, Lazania, Cyprus. The boarding fits in between the principal rafters and is decorated with patterns in primary colours. There is no truss in the construction of the roof.

The use of balks and slabs of timber laid flat instead of on edge effectually prevented any kind of trussed or framed roofing, and at the same time confined the coverings of chambers to very small spans and areas. Everything goes to prove that the cella of a temple was either ceiled with a flat boarded ceiling such as may be observed in the ordinary Levantine houses of the present day, or it was ceiled in a way in which the little churches of Mt. Troodos were treated until within the last few years. The total absence of all scientific carpentry in a temple necessitated the subdivision of the cella by colonnades to allow of the centre part being roofed over—even the Parthenon with a cella of 64 ft. in width had a nave of only 30 ft. clear.

The aesthetic principles of the Doric style are based on its imitative character—on its adaptation of a totally different material for the purpose of rendering the principal monument of the community more permanent and worthier of its purpose. But the infinite superiority of the ancient Greek architects over those of neighbouring and contemporary peoples lay in their sense of propriety and good taste in this imitative process—in other words, their natural aesthetic refinement and culture preserved them from the crudeness of the Etruscans, the puerility of the Asia Minor tomb builders with their imitations of wooden houses, and the rigid hieratic conventionalism of the Egyptians.

It is true that no wooden column of a temple, or anything suggestive of a wooden form for such a column, has ever been found, nor does the stone and marble type of Doric column suggest anything wooden; but still we have the statement of Pausanias that he saw one of the wooden columns of the Olympia Heraeum surviving into the second century A. D. What was this column like? Was it square or round, or did it resemble the columns of Eleusis, and taper downwards?

The principal scope and purpose of the foregoing remarks and notes has been to elucidate as far as may be possible the somewhat vexed and complicated question: how were the Doric temples roofed, and what general principles of construction are there to be detected in the conventionalisms of the 'Doric Order'? To the present writer it seems feasible to trace the beginnings of such a style of architecture in an analogy with the methods adopted at the present day—or within a short time back—by a primitive people living under much the same conditions of climate, superstitions, and general mode of life as the race which originated the style. The modern Greek-speaking native of Cyprus may have but a slender claim to descent from the famous ancients, but at the same time it must be admitted that those ancients were a very mixed and hybrid type of humanity, and they would have but a dubious posterity in any case. The mode of building houses, whether for gods or men, must have always been subject to climatic and physical conditions which remain the same under all circumstances, until influenced by what we call modern 'fashion', and civilization. Like the food of a country, or the materials for human clothes, the art of building continues to be practised in much the same manner from age to age, in the locality of its origin, and by an affiliated race. The little Byzantine churches of Cyprus, with their timber roofs and construction, with their uncongregational minuteness of dimensions, suggest to the most casual observer a close analogy with the cellas of the ancient temples, and when these little structures, as is often the case, are surrounded with a so-called 'verandah', used generally for a night's lodging by the pilgrims to the shrine, the resemblance to a peripteral temple is obvious.

It should be noted that the later Byzantine architecture of Cyprus, of the plains and in the neighbourhood of the Latin settlements and towns, is strongly marked by a copying of European fashions. But this only accentuates more clearly the contemporary survival of an older form of art. This older style was quite unaffected by the introduction into the island of pure French architecture and the building of the cathedrals of Nicosia and Famagusta; beyond the abovementioned copying of a very imperfect character in the immediate neighbourhood of the Latin settlements, mere ornamental details, not influencing construction, were the only features imitated.

Discussion

Mr. Toy said it was natural to expect that in a place like Cyprus, remote from Greece, the methods adopted from that country were not fully developed. The Cypriote columns were about 2 ft. in diameter and were not to be compared with those of the Parthenon, which measured 6 ft. 2 in. across. He agreed that the idea of the capitals came from Greece, but he did not recognize the Parthenon contours; and the method illustrated on the screen was medieval rather than classical. He did not think that any building of considerable span could withstand the thrust without tie-beams.

The Chairman (Lord Crawford) desired to express the thanks of the meeting to Prof. Myres for condensing the paper for reading, and for his lucid interpretation of Mr. Jeffery's views. The Society was, as on several former occasions, indebted to Mr. Jeffery not only for his paper, but also for his continued zeal for archaeology in Cyprus and his devoted protection of its monuments.

Prof. Myres pointed out that though in some of the largest Greek temples there certainly was an internal colonnade to assist in spanning, there was no reason to suppose that an elaborate roof of truss construction was in use in Greek antiquity. The Parthenon had an internal colonnade, but the temple at Samos had no internal support for the roof, its span of 70 ft. being carried only with tie-beams. The Cypriote church-roof had no king-posts, but numerous tie-beams, and the weight was distributed on the upper surface of the walls by means of multiple wall-plates. Mr. Jeffery's view was that in dealing with a larger building the wall was not thickened indefinitely, but supplemented by an external colonnade; and if the rigidity of the structure were maintained, that arrangement would carry a considerable weight.

The two varieties of archaic capital (figs. 1, 2, and $4^{1,2}$) in limestone from the Temple of Apollo at Curium were new and very important links in the chain of development from the Mycenaean to the Doric capital. When they were compared with the late Doric capital from Hyle (fig. 5) and the small capital (fig. 6) now in the Nicosia Museum, it was evident how complete was the eventual disappearance both of the convex 'echinus' profile of the upper member of the capital (replaced by a merely truncated cone) and of the concavity of the lower member, represented only by triple annulets as early as the Athenian and Sicilian capitals in fig. 11.

The marble capital (figs. 3 and 4^{3}) in the Betestan Collection at Nicosia, considerably later in the same chain of development, was nevertheless early enough to exhibit a slightly convex 'echinus' profile in its upper member; and supplemented the triple annulets below it by a slightly concave apophygè. What was peculiar in this capital was that the fluting of the shaft was continued throughout the concave apophygè instead of ending before it began; the transition being effected by a petal-like downward curving expansion of the concave profile, within each fluting, instead of an upward curving encroachment of the fluting itself. This was no doubt reminiscent of the flower-like modelling of the concave lower member of some Mycenaean capitals (e. g. from the Treasury of Atreus, now in the British Museum; Bossert, *Alt Kreta*, Berlin, 1923, nos. 202, 203); though it had to be remembered that in Egyptian, Syrian, and Persian architecture similar 'lotus-petal' capitals were frequent, and might have influenced the capitals of Cyprus within the Hellenic period.[1]

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[1] For other Doric capitals resembling those discussed by Mr. Jeffery see *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii, 3, 1, p. 33, and fig. 41 (Paris, Boccard, 1923).

III.—*Armour from the Rotunda, Woolwich, transferred to the Armouries of the Tower, 1927.* *By* CHARLES FFOULKES, *Esq., B.Litt., F.S.A.*

Read 9th March 1928

In the year 1814, when the Allied Sovereigns visited London, a tent-like building was erected in Carlton House Gardens on the north side of St. James's Park, wherein the Prince Regent entertained his royal guests. The structure of this building is, I believe, of interest to architects, as it embodies structural details which, although common to-day in factories and exhibition buildings, were considered to be somewhat of a *tour de force* in the early nineteenth century. The building is circular, 116 ft. in diameter, enclosing about 10,600 sq. ft., the roof being composed of girder ribs meeting in the centre and resting on brick walls. It was originally covered with thin boarding and painted canvas, but in recent years the roof has been covered with lead and a central supporting pillar has been added. In 1819 the Rotunda was removed, by the order of the Prince Regent, to Woolwich Common, near the Royal Artillery barracks, to serve as a model room, or store, for examples of artillery. A small contemporary model of this building is exhibited in the London Museum.

The control of the Museum was first vested in the commandants of the garrison, and in 1859 it passed to the newly formed Select Committee of Ordnance, and in 1870 was placed under the Committee of the Royal Artillery Institution. The original catalogue of 1822, like that of the Tower Armouries of the same date, is vague in the extreme and gives little information respecting the contents, for we find such entries as '64 halberts, pikes, lances, &c.', and again '81 swords of various descriptions and nationalities'. Shortly after the re-erection of the Rotunda, the Prince Regent deposited some weapons which had formed part of his collection at Carlton House, and at the same date certain unspecified items were stored there, probably pieces of artillery which had been saved from the Fire which destroyed the Repository at Woolwich in 1802. Included with these were a number of early bronze cannon dating from the reign of Henry VIII to Queen Anne, which had been sent to Woolwich from the Tower in 1805.

The Tower at this period was full to overflowing with armour and obsolete weapons, and a state of historical chaos reigned until in 1825 Sir Samuel Meyrick took the matter in hand and rearranged the whole collection in the regrettable excrescence known as the 'New Horse Armoury', which was built on to the south side of the White Tower to contain the arms which had been shown in 'C' store and other parts of the Tower precincts. The building was demolished in 1883.

This great accumulation was further increased in 1826 by a shipload of armour of North Italian make brought from Malta, which was stored in the Bowyer Tower till, in 1861, many half-suits and helmets, together with some thousands of weapons, were distributed by the War Office among fortresses and military establishments of the kingdom for decorative purposes. These issues, to the number of about 32,000 pieces, have recently been transferred on Inventory Charge to the Armouries of the Tower, whereby many pieces of historical interest have been rescued from barrack walls.

I may here state that the vast accumulation of arms and armour formerly placed on the walls of Edinburgh Castle, as so-called decoration, was removed last year and the Castle hall now presents the appearance of an armoury rather than that of a marine store. Similar improvements in Dover Castle have recently been effected.

Difficulties in the Tower were still further increased by the Fire of 1841, which destroyed the great Store House of William III, and these difficulties continued until 1914, when the whole of the White Tower was given up to the armouries as we see them to-day.

These brief notes are necessary in order to show how the Rotunda Museum at Woolwich came to be filled with large numbers of weapons and pieces of armour of the greatest historical and technical interest, entirely unconnected with the science of artillery. I assume that few Fellows of this Society have visited this valuable collection, but those that have done so will appreciate the difficulties of access. It is only the motor of to-day that has made visits to the Rotunda convenient and easy.

The artillery section of the Museum contains a series of English bronze cannon, many finely decorated with heraldic designs, pieces by Arcanus of Cesena, who flourished between the years 1523 and 1542; by John and William Owen of Carisbrook, who made the gun now in Carisbrook Castle; by John and Thomas Mayo, who worked for Queen Mary; and by the Pitt Family, gun-founders to Charles I. After this date William III and his successors seem to have employed Dutch and German gun-founders.

The foreign guns include a beautiful piece decorated with delicate Gothic tracery of Hungarian origin, dated 1535, a French gun bearing the cipher of Diane de Poitiers, and many early guns of German, Spanish, and Maltese provenance. There are also innumerable models of artillery, including the Royal Train of Artillery, the originals of which were destroyed in the Fire at the Tower. Amongst the other exhibits are models of fortresses, about 140

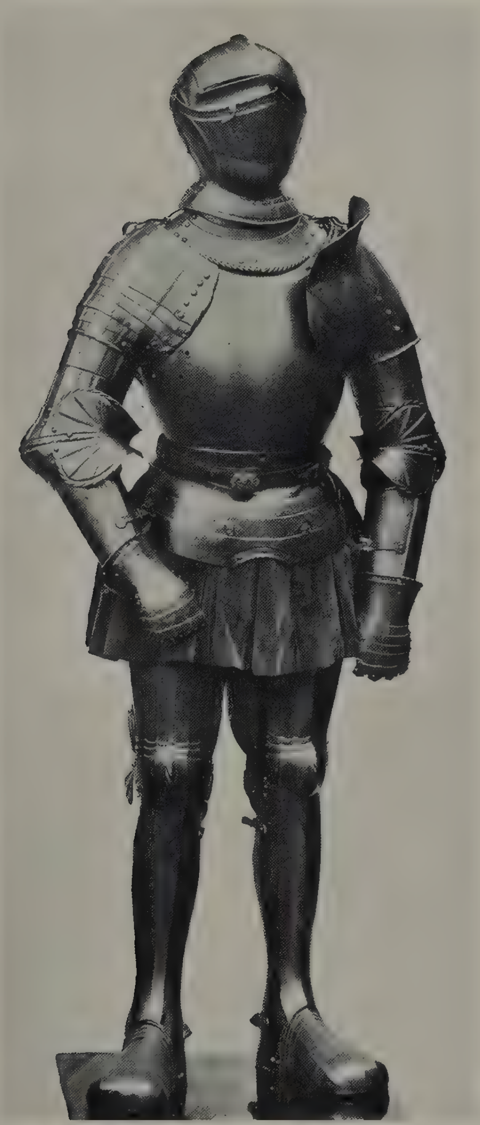

Fig. 1. Armour of the Duc d'Uze (?)

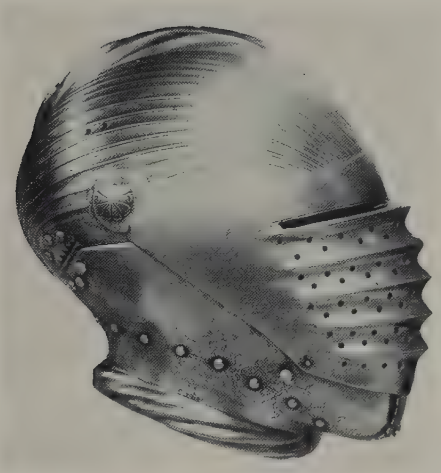

Fig. 2. Maximilian close helmet

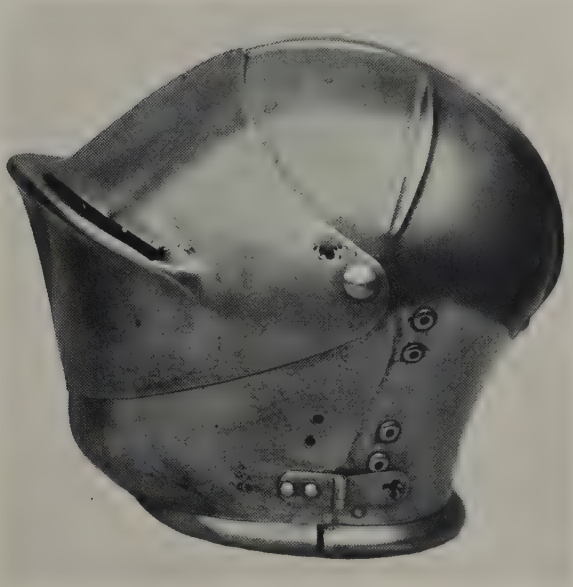

Fig. 3. Helmet for the joust

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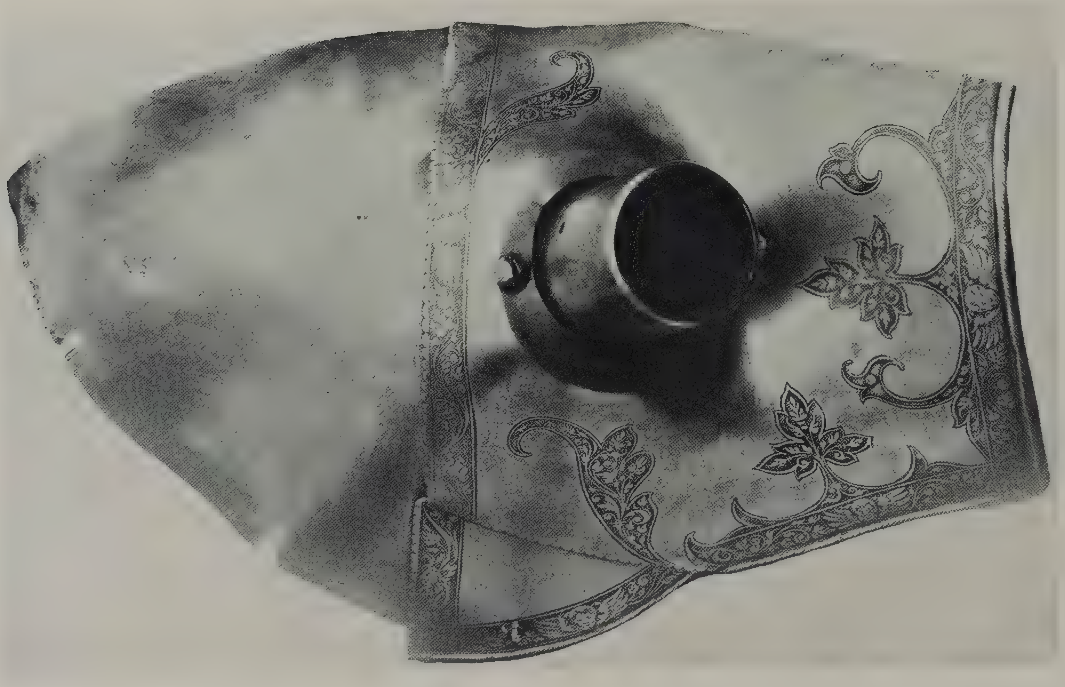

Fig. 1. Vamplate for the joust

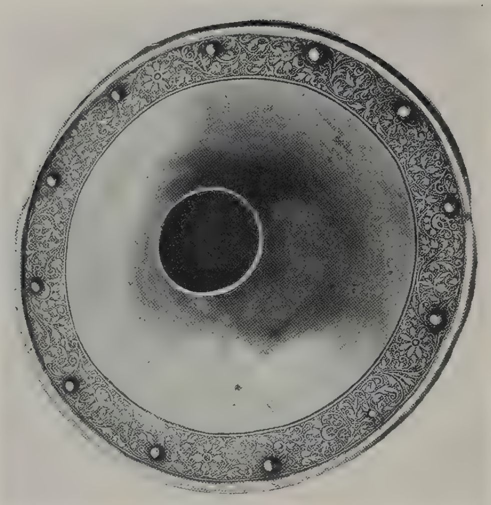

Fig. 2. Vamplate

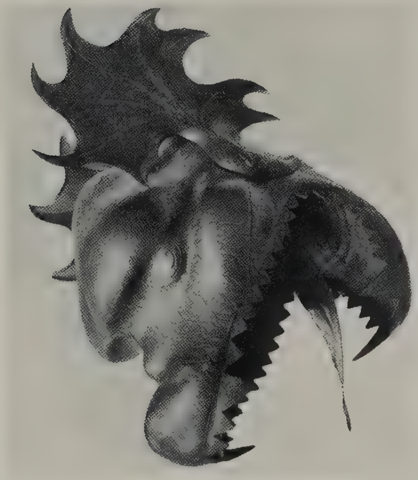

Fig. 3. Tail-piece for horse

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prehistoric flint and bronze weapons, 300 weapons of aboriginal races of Africa, Polynesia, and other countries, and over 60 models of ships and naval equipment.

To us, however, the principal interest lies in the armour and weapons of European origin, which I propose to deal with under the dates of acquisition. The first important additions to the collection were acquired in 1815. These, besides armour and weapons, include a large number of service fire-arms and swords which form an almost complete record of the development of military equipment in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Many of the foreign cannon which I have alluded to above appear to have been acquired at the same period.

The first important piece of the 1815 addition is a suit of early sixteenth-century armour commonly called the 'Bayard' suit (pl. x, fig. 1). The tradition that it belonged to the Chevalier Bayard was current in Meyrick's day, for he mentions it in his work on ancient armour, but up to the present time I have been unable to find any satisfactory evidence to substantiate the claim, nor can I find any record that armour attributed to Bayard was preserved in any European collection. At this date, in the scanty lists respecting these acquisitions preserved in the Rotunda, two suits are mentioned, one of the Prince of Valois and one of the Duc d'Uze. Major Orde-Brown, who worked with enthusiasm at the Rotunda about 1890, was of the opinion that the Valois suit was not acquired. It would therefore appear that the so-called Bayard suit is that mentioned in the records as the armour of the Duc d'Uze, which incidentally seems to have been valued at 400 francs. It is of early sixteenth-century type, russeted with bands of gilding, the only parts missing being the tassets. It is light in material but graceful in design, the surfaces being left with the hammer marks and not glazed. Particular interest lies in the leg armour which is extremely fine in line and general construction. The neck guard on the left pauldron is formed from the front plate turned upwards and is not riveted on, as is found in the case of most suits of this period. The wearer must have been an exceptionally small man, for the cuirass measures only 33 in. on the outside, so that, allowing for clothing, his waist measurement must have been about 26 in.

The next important piece is the fluted close helmet of the type known as Maximilian (pl. x, fig. 2). Baron de Cosson, in that invaluable *vade mecum* of armour lovers *Helmets and Mail*, rightly describes this as of magnificent form and workmanship, for it is undoubtedly one of the finest specimens of this particular class of helmet in this country, if not in Europe. The technical skill displayed in the fluting of the crown and the great roped comb can only be described as superb. There are traces of engraving of grotesque figures, originally gilt, on the upper part of the visor, and there is a collar of roses engraved round the neck. The original lining of the cheek plates, of buff leather, is still in place. There are several other helmets, one for fighting on foot in the lists, rather reminiscent of the helmet of Henry VIII in the Tower, and one which is of particular interest, for it appears to be a connecting link between the great helm and the armet, and may be literally described as a 'helmet' (pl. x, fig. 3).

The great tilting vamplate of the middle of the sixteenth century is of shield-like form with two plates, with a heavy lance-socket in the centre (pl. xi, fig. 1). The lower plate is richly engraved with foliations and cherubs' heads, in excellent condition and originally gilt. At the back is a heavy hook which engaged on a strap round the neck to take the weight off the hand. This piece weighs 13 lb. 12 oz. There is another small circular vamplate (pl. xi, fig. 2) on which the margins are engraved with delicate foliation.

A very rare piece in armouries in this country is the tail-guard for a horse, in the form of a monster's head, of extremely fine workmanship (pl. xi, fig. 3). There are two of these in the Vienna Collection of horse armours of Maximilian I and Rupert of Pfalzgrafen, and another from the Meyrick Collection is now at Hertford House.

The swords are of various dates from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. One collection is labelled as taken from the Hungarian insurgents under Kossuth in 1849, and was purchased for the Rotunda at a later date.

The staff weapons are mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of them are almost in mint condition, browned, engraved, and gilt, showing the arms of Louis XIV. Others have the armorial bearings of Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, and two or three, which must have come from the Tower, bear engraved designs similar to those still in the armouries. One partizan shows a monogram containing the letters 'HENRY' and the date 1540.

The wheel-lock pistols are fine specimens, particularly those of early type with 'onion' butts. There are arquebuses inlaid with brass, mother-of-pearl, and antler (pl. xiv, fig. 1, *a*), and a unique example of an ingenious contrivance to avoid inconvenience of winding up the wheel-lock for each discharge (pl. xiv, fig. 1, *b*). Here the wheel is replaced by a steel quadrant fixed to a spring which is turned back, and on the trigger being released strikes downwards upon the pyrites. It is strange that such a practical precursor of the flint-lock should not be more common. Many of these pieces came from the Prince Regent's cabinet of arms in Carlton House. After 1815 there are but few pieces described in the catalogue as purchased or presented till the year 1863, when the Rotunda received a tilting-helm.

This is no other than the 'Brocas' helm (pl. xii, fig. 1) which to English students of armour at any rate is the most notable example of its kind. It is generally considered to be of English make influenced by German design, but it has a restrained dignity in line which is wanting in German examples of this period. Baron de Cosson described it as probably English from its similarity to the Petworth helm, and added that it is perhaps the grandest helm in existence. This helm was exhibited before the Archaeological Institute in 1864 and again in 1880. It was sold at the Brocas sale in 1834 for £6 to an unknown Norfolk collector who presented it to the Richmond Museum. When that collection was broken up it passed to Mr. Harrod, Secretary of the Norfolk Archaeological Society, and from him to Mr. Bayfield, who, according to Hewitt, lent it as a model for the gates at Sandringham. I have never seen these gates, but on careful examination of large photographs I can find no trace of the helm. It was purchased for the Rotunda by General Lefroy, Secretary of the Royal Artillery Institution, in 1863. The Brocas helm has been described by Baron de Cosson in *Archaeological Journal*, xxxvii, by John Hewitt in *Archaeological Journal*, xxi, and by Sir Guy Laking in his work on European armour, but as it has never been the subject of discussion before this Society I take leave to draw attention to one or two points which seem to have escaped these writers. As we would expect in jousting-helms of this period, the front portion is of heavier metal than the back and there is a strong turn-over at the lower edge of the ocularium, the upper part being reinforced by a strip of metal. The two sides are pierced with rough holes similar to those on the helm in the Wallace Collection, which the writers I have mentioned considered were made for ventilation. It is, however, strange that the armourer craftsmen of those days who produced such a magnificent piece of work should have left rough burrs on the

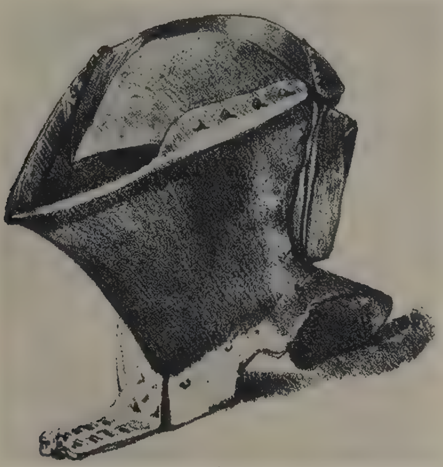

Fig. 1. The Brocas helm (from the catalogue of the Brocas sale).

inside which could easily have been removed, and must have been of some inconvenience to the wearer in putting the helm on and off over his padded cap. I may here mention that the size of the helm is small and it is a matter of difficulty for the average man of to-day to get it over his head. In the *patine* there are marks on each side showing that two thin plates were attached vertically, probably with rivets, through the holes I have just mentioned. Neither Baron de Cosson nor Sir Guy Laking noticed these marks, and I can suggest no reason for these additions. The illustration on fig. 1 is taken from the original catalogue of the Brocas sale, lent to me by the courtesy of our Fellow Dr. R. Williams.[1] It shows a plate fixed at right-angles to the helm, but this and its fellow on the other side were probably removed before 1844,[2] as Hewitt mentions these plates 'probably for suspension', but they are not illustrated on the woodcut which accompanies his article in *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxi. On the left side of the neck splay a piece has been broken off, according to Baron de Cosson, by a lance blow. Now, unless there was a flaw in the metal it would take a very heavy blow from a sledge-hammer to make such a fracture, and I feel certain it is not the effect of a lance, which would surely splinter before it broke the metal. I would rather suggest that an alteration has been made by the same unskilled hands—possibly the village blacksmith's—that pierced the ventilation holes and that he did not finish his job cleanly. This indentation was probably to take the attachment of the *poire*, or pear, of wood which hung from the cuirass and took the shock of impact from the tilting-shield. One of these pears is exhibited on the armour of Philip I of Castille at Madrid. The staple on the back is certainly for a strap, as the bars are rounded to prevent chafing of the leather and the front locking staple passed over a series of double pins on the breast. There are six pairs of holes in the staple, so there would be an equal number of pins, or possibly a lesser number, so as to allow for adjustment upwards or downwards (fig. 2). These pins would be pierced to allow a linch-pin to fasten the staple securely. A similar fastening is shown on the helm of Philip I before alluded to, and on the jousting armours in the Arsenal of Venice and on another armour in the Vienna Collection attributed to Gasparo Fracasso. All these are of the end of the fifteenth century, which is the period to which the Brocas helm belongs. The weight is 22 lb. 4 oz.

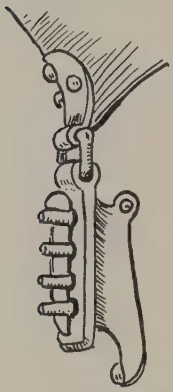
Fig. 2. Detail of helm adjustment (Arsenal, Venice).

The next addition of note is that of the collection of early Italian armour and a few weapons from the Island of Rhodes. This was purchased by General

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[1] See also fig. 6 and pl. xv.

[2] Removed in 1864. See appendix *infra*, p. 70.

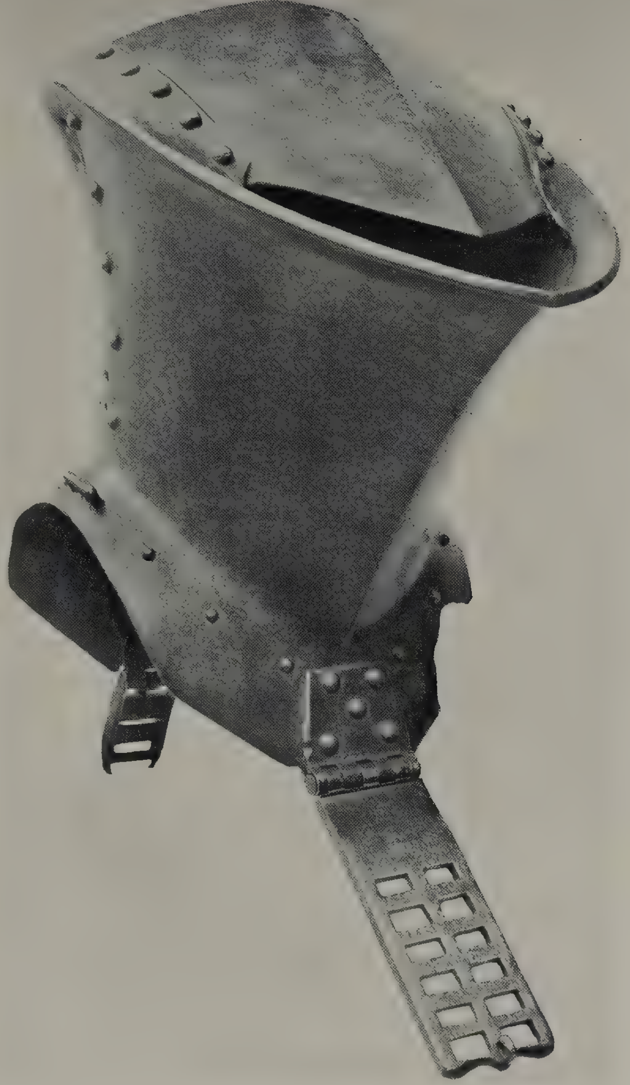

Fig. 1. The Brocas helm

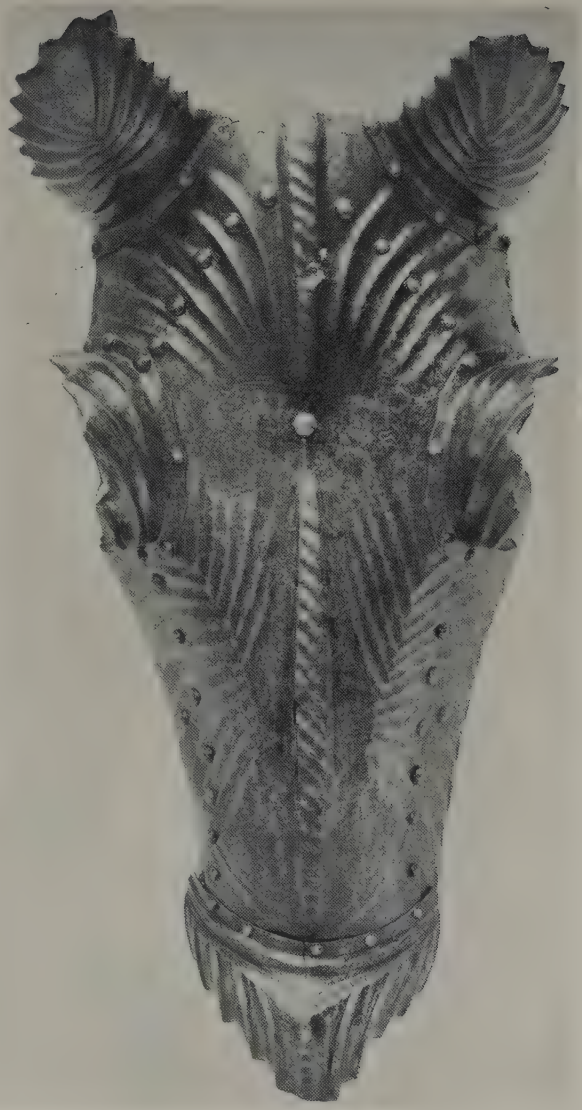

Fig. 2. Chamfron, late 15th century (from Rhodes)

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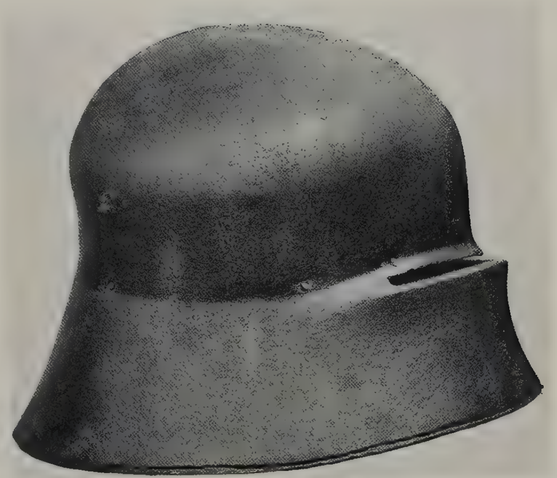

Fig. 1. Early 15th century (from Rhodes)

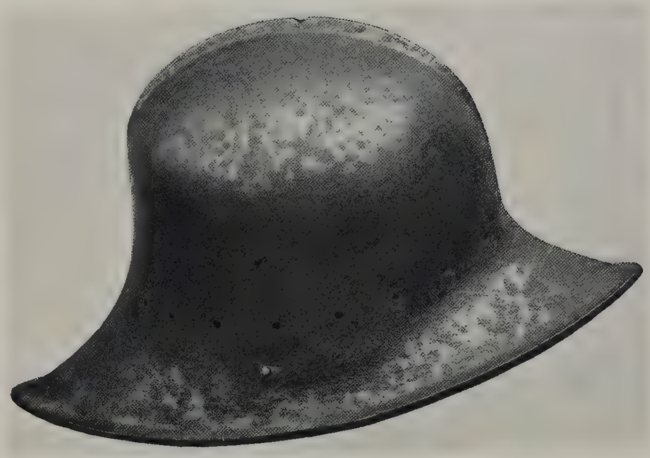

Fig. 2. Chapel de fer, 15th century (from Rhodes)

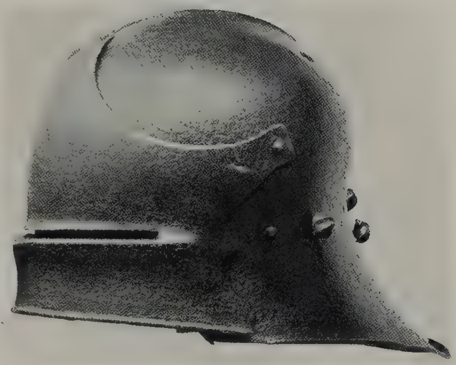

Fig. 3. Italian sallade, 15th century

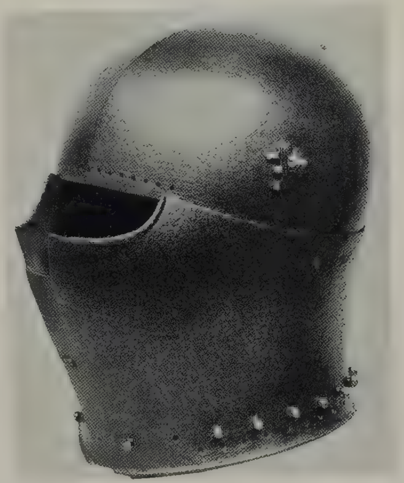

Fig. 4. Armet, late 15th century
(from Rhodes)

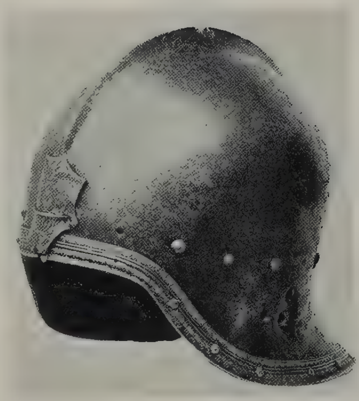

Fig. 5. Italian sallade, 15th century
(from Rhodes)

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Sir J. H. Lefroy, who was appointed First Secretary of the Royal Artillery Institution in 1838. In 1855 he was sent to the Mediterranean to report on the hospitals established during the Crimean War, where incidentally he was the means of discovering the first periscopes classified as being 'unidentified hospital stores'. During a later tour of inspection in 1866 he acquired the great Dardanelles screw gun in exchange for one 10-inch and one 8-inch Armstrong gun, and also certain arms and armour which he had previously examined in the castle of Rhodes. These were presumably from a store abandoned by the Knights Hospitallers when the island was captured by the Turks in 1523. This store must have been very similar to that discovered in the castle of Calchis, on which I had the privilege of addressing this Society in February 1911 (*Archaeologia*, lxii). General Lefroy left behind him an interesting autobiography giving minute details of his hospital inspections, but he dismisses the purchase of this armour in two lines, so that it is impossible to tell the exact locality in which it was stored: nor are we informed whether he bought the whole collection or only a part. Included in what is now known as the 'Rhodes armour' is a large number of fine Gothic breast and back plates, leg pieces, pauldrons and visors of sallades; but the chief interest lies in the sallades and the early armet (pl. xiii, fig. 4). The latter, which may be dated about 1470, has unfortunately lost its visor, but it is of particular interest as it preserves the original latten *vervelles*, to which the camail was attached. Baron de Cosson states that these *vervelles* on the early armet are of the greatest rarity. The armourer's mark is a hand in the act of benediction (fig. 3). There is no trace of the disc on the back which is one of the salient features of the helmet of this period, but there is an interesting detail in the small plate at the nape of the neck which works on sliding rivets, presumably to allow the wearer to move his head back.

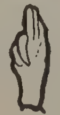


Fig. 3. Mark on armet (pl. xiii, fig. 4).

Pl. xiii, fig. 3 is a fine Italian sallade with adjustable visor held in place by a spring clip. It still preserves the large hollow-headed rivets which, though rare on helmets, occur on some monumental effigies.

The close-fitting sallade (pl. xiii, fig. 5) has a latten margin and plume pipe and was probably covered with velvet or other fabric, but even in its present condition it is a very beautiful specimen of Italian workmanship of the latter part of the fifteenth century. It bears a mark, apparently crossed keys, which is probably the sign manual of an early branch of the Negroli family (fig. 4).

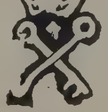


Fig. 4. Mark on sallade (pl. xiii, fig. 5).

Pl. xiii, fig. 2 is an example of the type which is generally called 'chapel de fer', or by some writers an 'open sallade'. It is of extremely fine workmanship forged in one piece, with the rivets which held the lining wanting. It bears the mark of a fleur-de-lis.

Pl. xiii, fig. 1 is an early type of sallade, probably of German or Flemish origin. As very few examples of this type have survived, and as it is not often shown in contemporary illustrations, it is impossible to assign its nationality with any degree of certainty.

There is also a good example of the German type of sallade with laminated tail, and a Venetian sallade based on the helmet of ancient Greece which bears a mark apparently that of the Missaglia family (fig. 5).

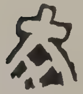


Fig. 5. Mark on Venetian sallade.

Space will not allow me to mention all the Gothic body armour with its fine and delicate flutings and graceful lines, as there are so many pieces deserving of notice, but exception must be made for the early Maximilian breast-plate (pl. xiv, fig. 3). This can only be described as a superb example from the hand of a master craftsman. The bold roping and the sharp and deep fluting place this piece amongst the finest examples of the armourer's craft of the sixteenth century. The upper portion is engraved with figures of the Virgin and Child, St. Sebastian, and another saint who may be St. Francis or St. Christopher, the whole having been silvered.

There are two other breast-plates of similar make, but in not so good a condition.

There are many elbow cops, knee cops, portions of gauntlets, visors of sallades, and two leg pieces, one of which (pl. xiv, fig. 4) is worthy of special notice as it has a wide fan plate at the knee and the upstanding guard at the top of the cuisse, obviously intended to deflect thrusts from below. The lower margin of the jamb has traces of floriated decoration.

Pl. xiv, fig. 2 is the remains of a pauldron, to the upper plate of which a thin strip of steel is riveted. This is probably for strengthening the thin metal rather than for providing a guard for the neck, and can hardly be considered to be the precursor of the high upstanding neck guards of the sixteenth century. A similar reinforcing piece appears on the picture of St. George by Pisanello in the National Gallery.

Pl. xii, fig. 2 is an extremely fine Gothic chamfron, which shows that the inventor of the modern corrugated iron had been forestalled in the fifteenth century, for in this piece the armourer has realized that by fluting his mail he increased its rigidity without adding to its weight, and at the same time he produced channels and ridges which would deflect a direct thrust. The last piece (pl. xiv, fig. 4), is a combination tool of the sixteenth century probably used in an armourer's workshop. All these pieces are in the condition in which they were received from the Rotunda, and I am given to understand that but little has been done to them in past ages beyond occasional oiling. They have therefore escaped the drastic burnishing from which the armour at the Tower suffered so acutely before Lord Dillon was appointed Curator.

And now, having briefly noticed these remarkable pieces, it is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to me to state that they have all been deposited in the Tower Armouries by the Committee of the Royal Artillery Institution. Negotiations connected with their transfer began in 1913. They were dropped during the War and were recently revived, with the result that this splendid collection was placed on exhibition in the Tower in December 1927. I must take this occasion to say that their transfer has been entirely due to the far-seeing and public-spirited action of General Evans, Secretary to the Royal Artillery Institution, and his Committee.

In the spacious days of the early nineteenth century admission fees to the Tower were credited to a purchase grant, and from this about fifty pieces were bought at the Bernal sale. A few pieces were purchased from time to time at other sales, but no further additions were made until 1914, when His Majesty the King graciously transferred some portions of the Greenwich armours which had been removed to Windsor by James II. This transfer from the Rotunda totals over two hundred pieces and includes specimens of great excellence, beauty, and rarity. In this country it is comparatively easy to arouse public opinion when paintings by foreign masters come into the market which it is desirable to preserve, but no indignation can be aroused when three superb armours made for Englishmen by an English school of craftsmen are allowed to pass to the United States without protest. This generous transfer from one museum to another is worthy of the highest appreciation, for it points the road which others might follow, not merely for the advantage of any particular museum, but for the education of the public and for the convenience of the serious student. It is not often that this Society has an opportunity to examine the fine details of armour, for these are generally kept closely guarded in private collections or museums, or they pass through the auction room preparatory to a sea voyage; but the coming of the Brocas helm with its splendid brethren to a final resting-place in the Tower was considered such an event in the history of the Tower Armouries that I was able to obtain permission from Sir Lionel Earle, Secretary to H.M. Office of Works, and from General Evans, of the Committee of the Royal Artillery Institution, to exhibit these pieces before you this evening, and I feel sure that I am voicing the opinion of this Society in recording our sincere thanks for this exceptional privilege.

APPENDIX

The Brocas Helm. By J. G. Mann, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

In his paper read before the Society on 9th March 1928 Mr. ffoulkes drew attention to some rather puzzling features of the Brocas helm, and in particular to the marks left by the removal of two projecting flanges or 'wings' from the sides. In this connexion it may not be without interest to publish an autograph letter from John Hewitt (1807–78), the well-known writer on armour, which is pasted into a scrap-book compiled by the late A. W. Morant.

A. W. Morant, Esq.,
Plumstead Road,
Norwich.

War Office,
2 *Mar.* 64.

Dear Sir,

Accept my best thanks for the beautiful drawing of the Helm. I observed those notches behind, but have not the slightest idea what they mean.

The buckle is as puzzling. I can only guess that it might have been to help in fixing the mantling. But what are guesses worth?

The helm seems clearly to be the Brocas one. The dabs of iron at the sides were so evidently abortions that I had them knocked off at once. This disclosed the old air-holes, thus:

[*rough sketch*]

I have exhibited the relic at the Archaeological Institute and I expect I shall engrave it in the Journal. Should I be able to do so, I shall take care to send you a copy of the print.

Dear Sir,
Yours truly,
J. Hewitt.

Accompanying the letter is a photograph of the helm before the removal of the 'dabs' (fig. 6) and a tracing of some outline drawings with measurements (pl. xv). Below is written in Morant's handwriting ''Tilting Helmet once in the Brocas Collection, then the property of Henry Harrod Esqr. at whose sale it was purchased by A. W. Morant and sold to the Artillery Museum at Woolwich where it now is'.

Morant is best remembered as the continuator of J. W. Papworth's *Ordinary of British Armorials*, published in 1874. His scrap-book contains an extensive and interesting collection of tracings from illustrations of arms and armour in English and Continental books and journals, and a large number of loose plates from Meyrick, Stothard, Cotman, Asselineau, &c., pasted in. The tracings are executed with great care and skill, in some cases being touched with colour, and testify to his keen devotion to the subject. The album was purchased from a bookseller a few years ago for a small sum by our Fellow Mr. S. J. Camp, Keeper of the Wallace Collection, for the office library at Hertford House.

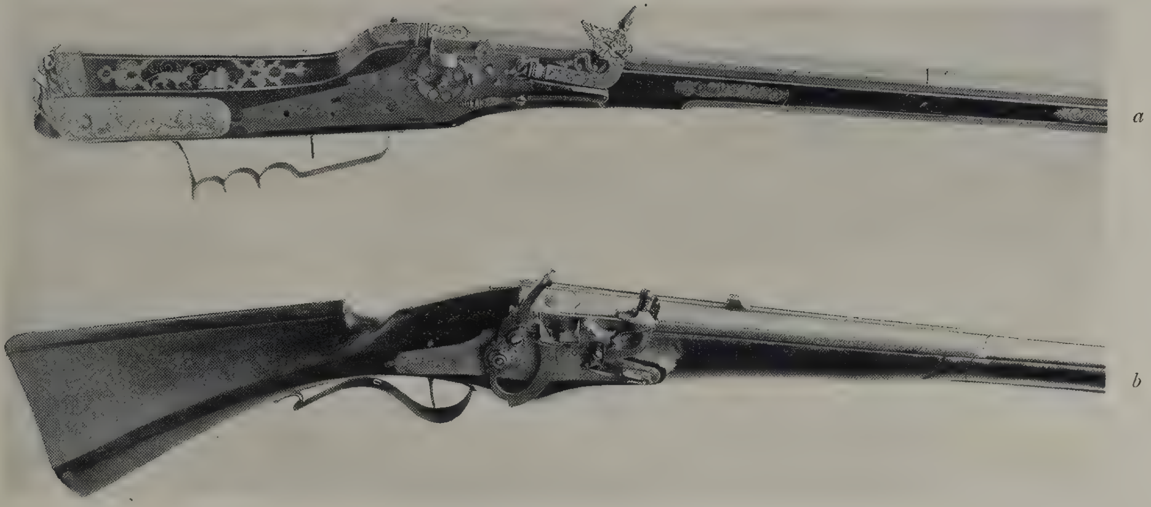


Fig. 1. *a.* Wheel-lock arquebus ; *b.* Flint-lock arquebus with quadrant steel

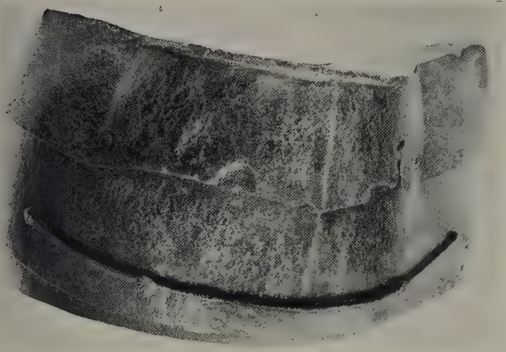


Fig. 2. Pauldron, 15th century (from Rhodes)

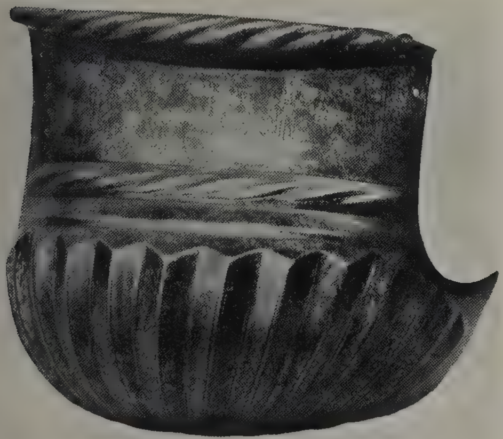


Fig. 3. Fluted breast-plate, early 16th century

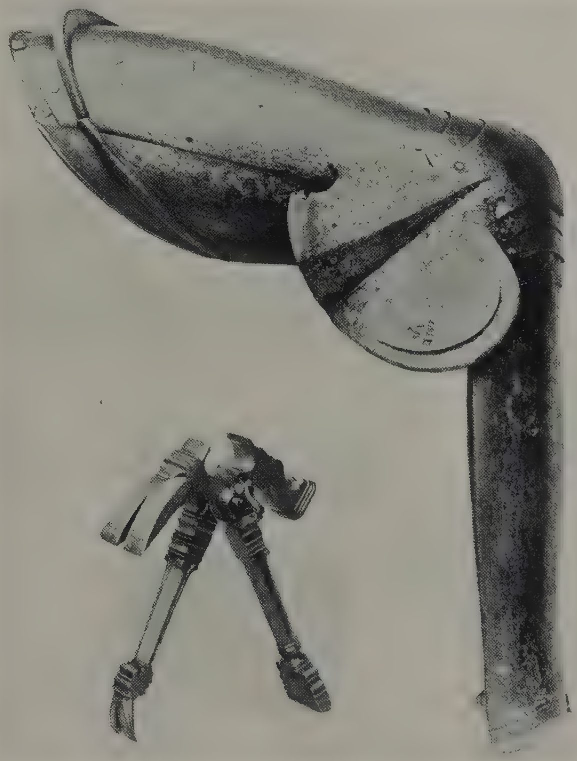
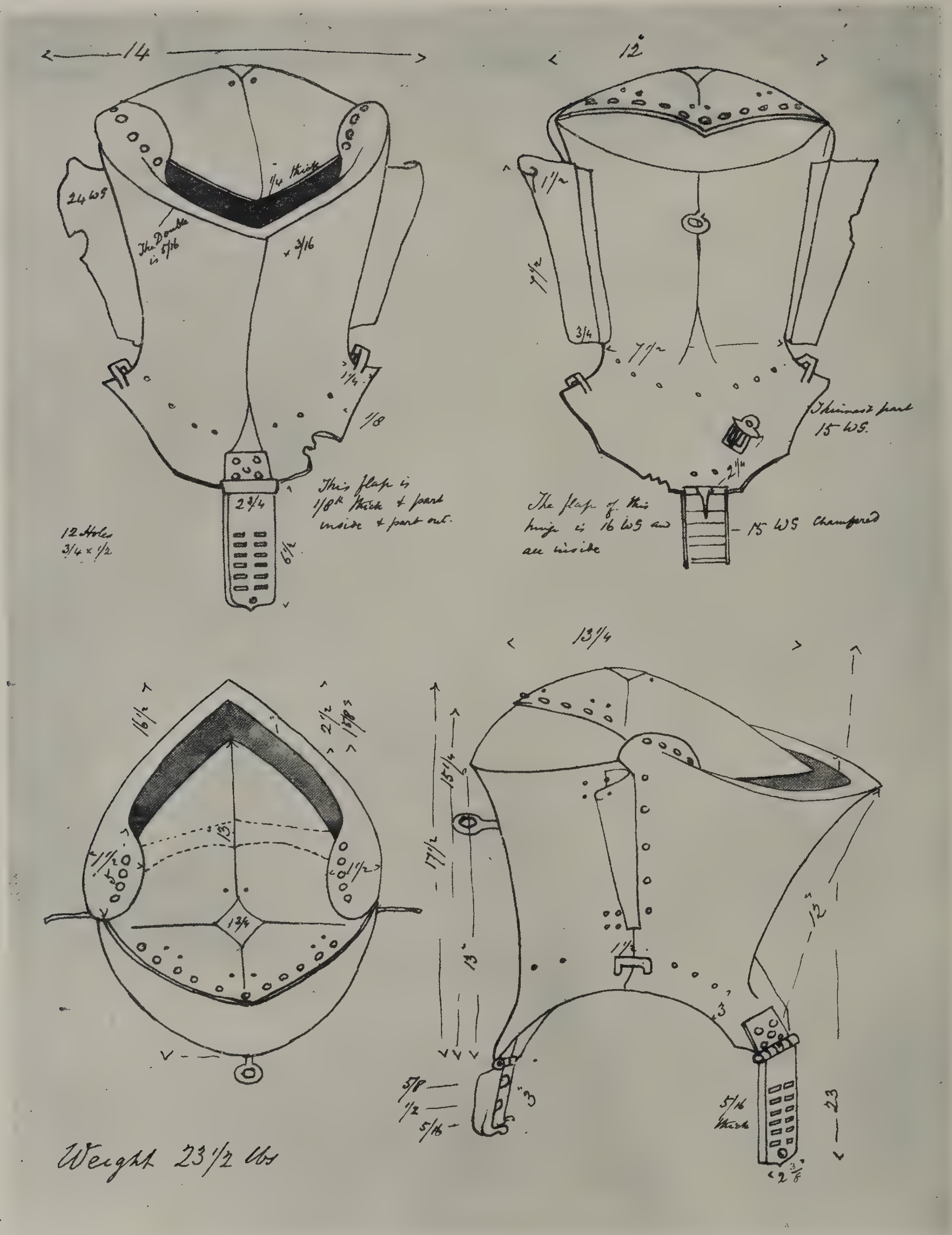


Fig. 4. Armourer's pincers. Leg piece, 15th century (from Rhodes)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928


14
24 WS
1/4 thick
The Double is 5/16
× 3/16
1 1/4
1/8
2 3/4
6 1/2
This flap is 1/8th thick & part inside & part out.
12 Holes
3/4 × 1/2
12"
1 1/2
7 1/2
3/4
7 1/2
Thinnest part 15 WS.
2 1/4
The flap of this hinge is 16 WS and all inside
15 WS Chamfered
16 1/2
2 1/2
1 5/8
13
1 1/2
1 1/2
13 1/4
13 1/4
17 1/2
15 1/4
13"
1 1/4
12"
3
5/8
1/2
5/16
3
5/16 thick
23
2 3/8
Weight 23 1/2 lbs

Drawings of the Brocas helm, *c.* 1864, by A. W. Morant, in the Library of the Wallace Collection

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

Discussion

Mr. Mann said there were few papers for amateurs of armour, and there had been no such display since the days of Meyrick (d. 1848). Every one must regret the absence of Baron de Cosson, who was living abroad: his catalogue of helmets, including several from the Rotunda, printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xxxvii, had become a classic. The collection formerly in the distant Rotunda had at last found a worthy home. He must challenge the author's opinion that the Brocas helm was of English make with German influences. Till further evidence came to light, the palm must be yielded to South Germany in the matter of tilting-helms, and there was a fine series at Vienna. The cross-keys mark on the sallade had been identified as that of the Negroli family, who were connected with the Missaglias. One suit of 1450 in the armoury of the Trapp family at Churburg in Tyrol bore twenty-two impressions of nine different stamps including the cross keys, a fact explained by de Cosson as due to the employment under the Missaglias of specialists for different parts of the suit. It was interesting to find that some of the pieces from Rhodes were not of Italian manufacture, an indication of the international character of the Order; the twisted rivets were an international feature appearing on effigies in England and Spain and elsewhere. On the superb Maximilian breast-plate the figures traced on the edging, such as the Virgin, St. Christopher, and St. Sebastian, were repeated by North Italian armourers about 1500. Most fluted armour existing at the present day was German. In the thirties the Tower Armouries bought heavily when good material came on the market, and it was deeply to be regretted that funds were lacking at present. He agreed that the curious strip was not the beginning of the upstanding neck-guard, but was needed to give rigidity. The armour which General Lefroy brought over from Rhodes could only have been a portion of what was there. A quantity of armour of similar character was purchased

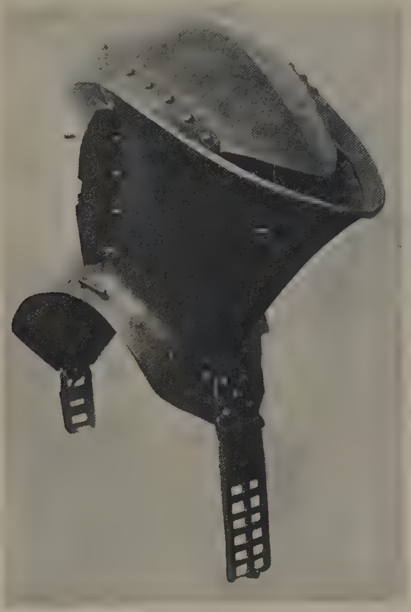


Fig. 6. The Brocas helm, as it was *circa* 1840 (from the album of A. W. Morant in the Library of the Wallace Collection).

there a number of years ago by M. Bachereau, of Paris. Most of this was now believed to be in America.

Mr. Kruger Gray congratulated Mr. ffoulkes on his paper and exhibition. It was a pleasure to see and above all to handle such pieces, and such warlike things appealed more to him than prehistoric relics. The Brocas helm which was the chief attraction weighed no less than 22 lb., and its narrowness from front to back was a striking feature: it must have belonged to a man of slight build. He preferred an English origin, as German pieces had more swing, as in Dürer's drawings. The curious holes at the side could not be for ventilation and were seldom if ever omitted: they were probably for lacing. It was one of the last heraldic helms, carrying a crest, not a plume; and the loops at the sides were simply for attaching the shoulder-pieces. He trusted that the paper would be printed and adequately illustrated in *Archaeologia*.

The President had been interested by the demonstration and recalled two points in the author's general remarks. The size of armour was an old problem, and it must be remembered that tilting was a dangerous pastime: therefore it was rash to assert that any feature was inaccurate because it was not understood. The wearer's life might depend on any detail of equipment, though parts outside the danger zone might be of flimsy construction. The figure on the breast-plate must be German, not Italian, as the costume showed. He agreed that armour was a human study, and conveyed the Society's appreciation of Mr. ffoulkes's paper as well as his admirable and prolonged activities at the Tower. The transfer of the Rotunda Collection was a great reform, and the authorities at Woolwich, as well as Sir Lionel Earle, deserved the gratitude of all armour-students.

Mr. ffoulkes in reply said that the Committee of the Royal Artillery Institution had been most helpful, and desired to make the Tower Collection of use for educational purposes.

IV.—*Roman London: Its initial occupation as evidenced by early types of Terra Sigillata.* *By* T. Davies Pryce, *F.S.A., and* Felix Oswald, *D.Sc., F.S.A.*

Read 24th November 1927

In the absence of historical and epigraphic references to the earliest origin of the Roman occupation of London there is perhaps no material that can be of greater assistance in furnishing evidence on this subject than the red-glazed ware of the Roman Imperial period—the *Terra Sigillata*—comprising both the Italian Arretine ware and the Gaulish so-called 'Samian' ware, and this paper is devoted to a critical study of the earliest types of this class of pottery that have been found in London, to a consideration of their distribution, and finally to a statement of the conclusions which may be drawn from this evidence.

In the first place it is necessary to point out that this evidence is very incomplete, for London, in the nature of things, has not been subjected to any methodical excavation, and therefore the pottery, accidentally found by workmen in the course of sporadic and (archaeologically) fortuitous digging for the foundations of new buildings, cannot possess the same historical or chronological value as in the case of sites that have been scientifically and systematically explored, such as Silchester, Caerwent, or Wroxeter. Moreover, these desultory excavations due to building operations have seldom been the subject of careful record, with a few notable exceptions, such as those on the sites of the old General Post Office and of King William Street, published by our Fellow Mr. F. Lambert, in *Archaeologia*.[1] Hence considerable caution has to be exercised in drawing conclusions from the distribution of this pottery; for a particular locality, owing to chance excavation and careful recording, may come into undue prominence compared with other places, perhaps of equal importance, which have not possessed these advantages.

Although much of this pottery which has been discovered in London is accessible to study, owing to its having been preserved in the British, Guildhall, London, and Bethnal Green Museums, as well as in the offices of City Companies, yet a great deal has been scattered over the country, either in other museums, as at Oxford and Cambridge,[2] or has become unfortunately inaccessible by passing into private hands. It is therefore probable that some material, both Italian and Provincial, is unavoidably excluded from this investigation.

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[1] Vol. lxvi, p. 225 seqq.

[2] Also Scarborough, Cardiff, and Plymouth.

Even with these reservations it is hoped that our plates will reveal enough evidence on which to base the conclusions of this paper.

I. Italian Ware

In dealing first of all with the Italian red-glazed ware, it should be pointed out that it was the prototype of the Provincial or Gaulish *Terra Sigillata*. The flourishing period of the Italian potteries may, with confidence, be assigned to the years 30 B. C. to A. D. 15. It was thus pre-eminently the ceramic product of the Augustan age, and during this period Italian ware was extensively exported to the Provinces. At Haltern, which was occupied from 11 B. C. to A. D. 16, Italian fabric, both Arretine and Puteolan, was alone represented, but from this date onwards it became increasingly exposed to the successful competition of the South Gaulish potteries. Although the activity of the Italian potteries continued down into the Nero-Vespasian period[1] their products had, even in the home market, to contend with a vigorous importation of South Gaulish ware. Moreover, it is certain that by the time of the accession of Claudius (A. D. 41) *the exportation of Italian ware to the Provinces as a contemporary product, through the ordinary channel of commerce*, had practically ceased (see p. 99).

The Italian Sigillata is discussed under the two headings of potters' stamps and pottery types.

(*a*) *Stamps*

The stamps of the Arretine potters, AMAR, ATEIVS, CORNELIVS, HILARVS, SECVNDVS, and ZOILVS have been recorded in London.

AMAR (fig. 1). No exact parallel to this stamp can be discovered, but those of ΛMΛ and ΛMΛR occur at Arezzo and Rome, respectively (*C. I. L.* xi, 6700, 25; xv, 4950).[2]

ATEIVS (fig. 3). More than one hundred stamps of Ateius and his slaves occur at Haltern in the Augustan period (11 B. C. to A. D. 16). The stamps of Ateius and Ateius/Xanthus have been found at Mont Beuvray, which was abandoned *circa* 5 B. C.

More than twenty-one of his impressions have been found at Sels (period Augustus–Caligula).

He is represented at Xanten and in the early period at Wiesbaden, both of which sites date from the reign of Augustus. In the legionary camp at Neuss, first occupied *circa* A. D. 25, this potter is only represented by the stamp of his slave Xanthus, *in planta pedis*, and is here regarded as a 'survival'.[1] Rarely, and then quite certainly as a 'survival', a solitary stamp of this potter may be found on a site initially occupied in the reign of Caligula, as at Grimmlinghausen (*C. I. L.* xiii, 10009, 55). In Britain, the stamps of Ateius and his slaves also occur ten times at Silchester, once at Pleshey, Essex, and once at Foxton, Cambridgeshire.[2] The London stamp with its label in the form of the sole of a foot dates from the first third of the first century A. D.[3]

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[1] See imitations of the Gaulish form 29 by the Italian potter L. R. PISANVS, Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine*, i, p. 113 ff., and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pl. IX.

[2] *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

CORNELIVS (fig. 8). This well-known potter worked at Arretium chiefly in the Augustan period. This dating is demonstrated by the character of his decorated work, the provenance of his stamps, and by the fact that a vase from Cincelli, signed by his slave RODO, has, as part of the decoration, the head of the young Octavian and the inscription *AUGUSTUS*.[4] His stamp occurs at Haltern. His usual signature is P. CORNELIVS, but stamps in which the P. is omitted, as on the London vessel, occur at Arezzo (*C. I. L.* xi, 6700, 214, 215, 250). As some of these are *in planta pedis*, they should date from the first third of the first century A. D. No evidence of a demonstrably Claudian provenance is forthcoming.

HILARVS (*Archaeologia*, xxiv, 202; xxvii, 152). This stamp occurs in the Augustan period at Haltern, where it is classed amongst the older Arretine fabric. In the period Augustus–Caligula at Sels it is found in combination with the stamp of Ateius, i. e.,

$$\frac{\text{CN. ATEIVS}}{\text{HILARVS}} \text{ and } \frac{\text{ATEI}}{\text{HILARI}} \text{ (C. I. L. xiii, 10009, 49).}$$

This stamp also occurs in combination with those of M. PERENNIVS (*C. I. L.* xv, 2, 5420), C. MEMMIVS (*C. I. L.* xi, 6700, 382), and ANNIVS (*C. I. L.* xiii, 10009, 21), all of whom were well-known Arretine potters of the Augustan period.

Probably the latest impression is that of HILAR FECT (*C. I. L.* xiii, 10009, 140), in the Rodez Museum.

SECVNDVS (fig. 15). Closely similar stamps occur in the Augustan period at Haltern ($\substack{\text{SECV}\\ \text{NDI}}$ [5]) and at Rome ($\substack{\text{SEC}\\ \text{VNDI}}$ and $\substack{\text{SECV}\\ \text{NDI}}$, *C. I. L.* xv, 2 : 5560 b), also in the early period at Xanten.[6] No evidence of a Claudian provenance is forthcoming.

ZOILVS (fig. 2). Zoilus was a slave of Ateius. The Z is frequently reversed in the stamps of this potter as at Haltern (Loeschcke, no. 114) and Sels (CN. ĀEI ΣOII).[1]

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[1] *Bonner Jahrbb.*, 111–12, pl. xxxvi, 24.

[2] See Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, ii, 2.

[3] This type of stamp does not occur on Arretine ware of the first century B. C. It came into vogue in the early years of the first century A. D.; only two stamps *in planta pedis* occur at Haltern.

[4] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1894, 49.

[5] S. Loeschcke, *Keramische Funde in Haltern*, no. 193.

[6] *Bonner Jahrbb.*, 116, 330.

The chief points of chronological significance in this list of potters are that the stamps of ATEIVS, CORNELIVS, HILARVS, SECVNDVS, and ZOELVS occur in the Augustan period at Haltern, those of ATEIVS, ZOELVS, and ATEIVS/XANTHVS at Mont Beuvray, *ante* 5 B. C., and those of ATEIVS, HILARVS, and ZOILVS at Sels in the period Augustus–Caligula. Rarely, the stamps of ATEIVS have been found on sites which have a later initial dating, e. g. Neuss (A. D. 25) and Grimmlinghausen (A. D. 40). In both these instances the stamps are regarded as 'survivals', that is, as pieces of older pottery brought to the sites by individual soldiers, and not as evidence of a commercial importation of Arretine ware at these particular dates.

The potters ATEIVS, CORNELIVS, HILARVS, SECVNDVS, and ZOILVS worked in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and it is highly probable that their activity had ceased by the end of the third decade of our era. For reasons already stated, these stamps, as occurring in London, should be assigned to the period late Augustus–Tiberius.

The period of activity of the potter AMAR cannot be so definitely assigned.

(*b*) *Pottery types*

Fig. 1. The cup stamped AMAR, Loeschcke's[2] type 8 and Ritterling's[3] type 5, was found at Leadenhall Market and is now in the London Museum. The absence of rouletting on the rim and wall-moulding, so usual in Augustan examples at Haltern, indicates a somewhat later or Tiberian date.

Fig. 2. Cup stamped ΣOIL = ZOILVS, Loeschcke's type 11, the prototype of the Gaulish form 27, from which it is distinguished by its rouletted wall and the applied dolphins on its flat or truncated rim. Found in Lombard Street; now in the Guildhall Museum.

Fig. 3. Cup or bowl stamped ATEI *in planta pedis*, Loeschcke's type 12, the prototype of Dragendorff's[4] Gaulish form 24/25. Found at London Bridge Station; now in the Bethnal Green Museum. The stamp in the form of the sole of a foot and other considerations indicate a date some time within the first third of the first century A. D.[5]

Figs. 4 *and* 5. Two plates from London, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 164–5, with flat

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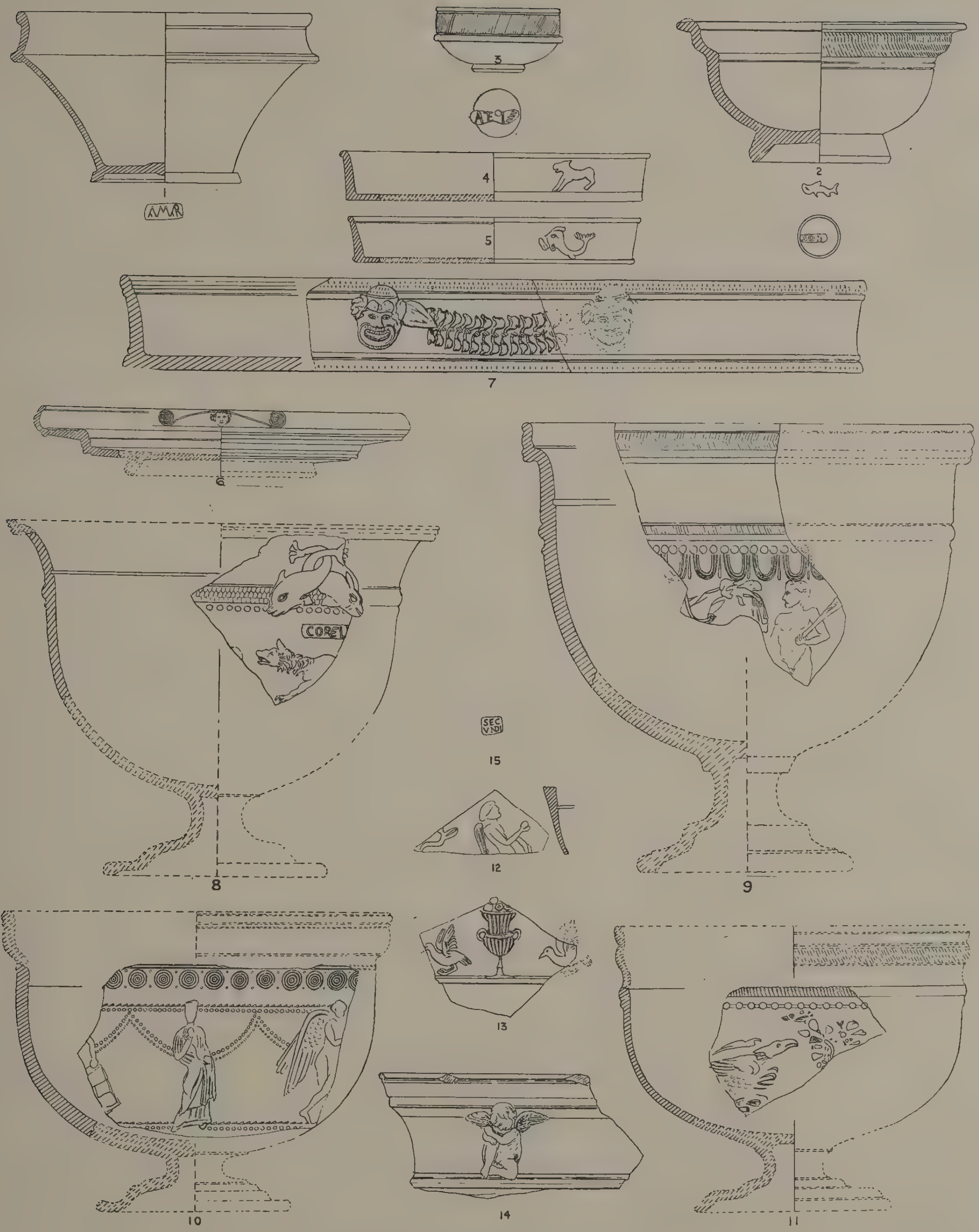
[1] The stamp **ZOILVS** is later than that of **ZOELVS** and should be assigned to the period late Augustus–Tiberius.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] E. Ritterling, *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim.*

[4] H. Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrbb.*, 96 and 97.

[5] Stamps *in planta pedis* continued to be produced in Italy in the Claudian period, but not by the potter **ATEIVS.**



ARRETINE WARE (slightly under ½) *F. Oswald del.*

1. Cup, Loeschcke 8 and Ritterling 5, stamped **AMAR**, Leadenhall Market (London Museum).

2. Cup, Loeschcke 11, stamped **ꓢOIL**, Lombard Street (Guildhall Museum).

3. Cup, Loeschcke 12, stamped **ATEI** *in planta pedis*, London Bridge Station (Bethnal Green Museum).

4. Patera, Dragendorff 22, London (British Museum, L 164).

5. Patera, Dragendorff 22, London (British Museum, L 165).

6. Patera, Loeschcke 4ᵇ, London (London Museum).

7. Patera, Dragendorff 22, London (London Museum).

8. Crater, stamped **CORNEL[**, Southwark (?) (British Museum, L 160).

9. Crater, London (British Museum, L 159). Style of **CORNELIVS**.

10. Crater, London (British Museum, M 2363). Style of **CORNELIVS**.

11. Crater, London (British Museum, L 162), Southwark (?). Style of **CORNELIVS**.

12. Crater, London (British Museum, L 163).

13. Crater, New Street, E.C. (British Museum, L 166).

14. Crater, London (British Museum, L 161).

15. Stamp, **SECVNDI** on flat bowl. London (British Museum, L 167).

bases and vertical walls, like Dragendorff's form 22. Unfortunately they are imperfect, the centre of the plates being missing and revealing no stamps, but they are typically Arretine, and show the usual applied figures, a dog and a dolphin, respectively.

Fig. 6. A delicately profiled plate, found in London; now in the London Museum. The vessel has the curved rim and internal groove of Loeschcke's type 4 b; on the wall are the spiral imitation handle, so common at Haltern, and a centrally placed mask.

Fig. 7. A large plate with flat base and vertical sides, found in Tooley Street, Southwark; now in the London Museum. Both the rim and the base are rouletted. The wall is decorated with applied theatre-masks connected by a wreath of small dolphins like those on the cup by ZOILVS. Similar comic masks are not uncommon on Arretine ware.[1] The plate may be regarded as Tiberian in date.

In the British Museum there are seven fragmentary examples of Italian craters which have been recorded as having been found in London. Some of these have been restored in the drawings after Arretine craters at Mainz and Haltern.

Fig. 8. Crater stamped by CORNELIVS, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 160. Found in London, 1837, probably in Southwark. The vessel has an everted rim and its wall is divided into two zones by a hatched moulding. On the upper zone are two intertwined dolphins which also overlap the moulding. Similar dolphins occur at Arretium.[2] Beneath the moulding are the stamp of the potter and a wolf to l. The date of the piece is late Augustan to Tiberian, for similar stamps of this potter (without the initial P) occasionally occur *in planta pedis.*

Fig. 9. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 159. Found in London.[3] The everted rim is rouletted[4] and the wall is divided into two zones by a rouletted moulding.[5] Beneath the moulding is an ovolo surmounted by a row of large beads, a common feature in Arretine ware.[6]

Then follow the figure of a man with a club (? Hercules), and an object probably representative of the lion's skin frequently depicted by CORNELIVS and his slaves.[7] The same man occurs on a fragment of Italic ware from Arezzo, now in the Ashmolean Museum. Rouletting of the rim and the wall-moulding is characteristic of the decoration of many craters of the Augustan period. The vessel may with confidence be assigned to the late Augustan–early Tiberian age.

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[1] See G. H. Chase, *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, figs. 108, 142.

[2] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 7.

[3] C. R. Smith, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv, 16.

[4] Cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 1, 2, 4; xxvi, 1, 2.

[5] *Ibid.*, ii, 1, 2, 4.

[6] Cf. R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919, text-fig. 4, M. PERENNIVS, and *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 105.

[7] Cf. Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 99 and fig. 113.

Fig. 10. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 2363. Found in London. The glaze is pitted externally but smooth internally. The workmanship is poor. The upper border of the design is composed of a series of concentric circles with intervening beads. Closely similar upper borders are seen on two vessels by CORNELIVS.[1] Then follows a double line, composed of repeated cuneiform leaves (rod-chain) and a row of beads. From this line depend festoons of the same type. A draped woman to front and a winged figure to r. interrupt the middle of each festoon.[2] The design is closed by a 'rod-chain' and bead-row. Notwithstanding its poor workmanship, the decoration is entirely Arretine in feeling. The vessel may, with some confidence, be assigned to the first third of the first century.[3]

Fig. 11. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 162. Found in London, 1837, probably in Southwark. The rouletted moulding is succeeded by a bead-row beneath which are depicted an eagle to r. and a spray of fruit and pine-leaves. Fruit-sprays of this character were used by the Arretine potters CORNELIVS and PANTAGATVS.[4] The bowl is typological of the late Augustan–early Tiberian age.

Fig. 12. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 163. Found in London, 1855. Winged figure to r. The internal groove and the contour of the fragment determine the form.

Fig. 13. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 166. Found in New Street, E.C. The raised moulding around the circumference of the bowl is a frequent characteristic of Arretine craters. Above the moulding are depicted a crater, closely similar in form to those on Italic fragments in the British Museum[5] and Boston Collection,[6] and two birds with upraised wings. Probably Italic.

Fig. 14. Crater, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 161. Found in London, 1855. The everted rim is defined below by a raised moulding. On the rim, Eros asleep. Decoration similarly situated is not uncommon in Arretine ware.[7]

Fig. 15. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 167. The base of a cup or bowl stamped by SECVNDVS. Found in London, 1855.

Text-fig. 1. Hemispherical cup (cf. Loeschcke types 6 and 13; O. and P. XLVIII, 3; Ritt., type 8). Found in Leadenhall Street, 1882. Now in the

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[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 55, 56.

[2] Cf. Chase, *op. cit.*, figs. 1 and 69, M. PERENNIVS/TIGRANVS, for similar interruptions of 'rod-chain' festoons by figure subjects.

[3] It is remotely possible that the fragment is a Belgic imitation of decorated Arretine, examples of which have been found in the Augustan pottery at Xanten (*Bonn. Jahrbb.*, 122, pl. LIV, 3).

[4] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 1, 2.

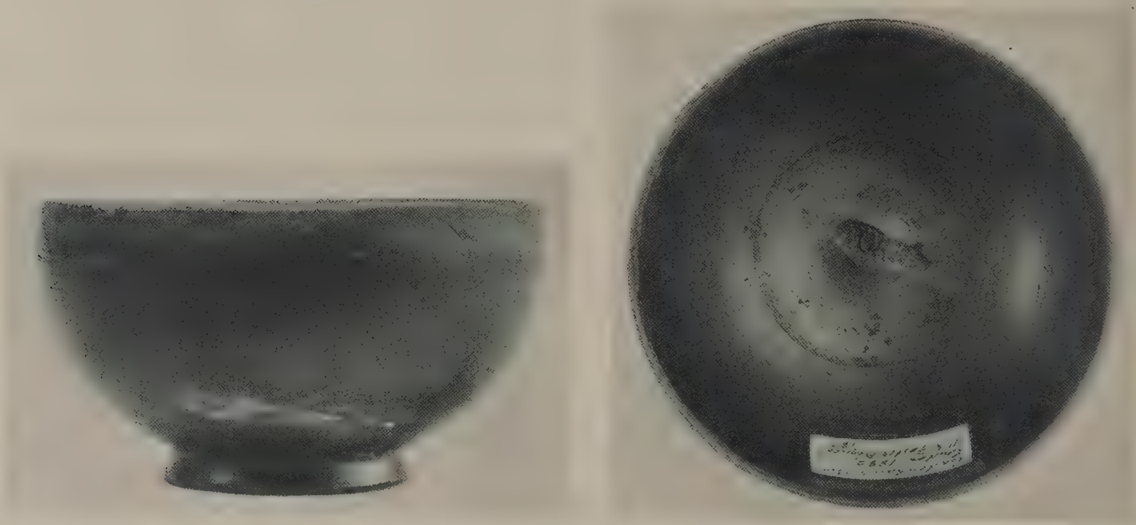
[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 98.

[6] Chase, *op. cit.*, fig. 15.

[7] Cf. Chase, *op. cit.*, figs. 140, 141.

University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. Stamped ΣOILI, *in planta pedis* = ZOILVS.

All these examples of Italian *Sigillata*, with the exception of the doubtful piece, fig. 13, are typologically characteristic of the first three decades of the first century of our era. Indeed, the detail-evidence suggests that the three craters, figs. 8, 9, 11, by CORNELIVS and in his style, were manufactured some twenty years before the Claudian conquest.[1]



Text-fig. 1. Arretine cup from Leadenhall Street in the University Museum of Archaeology, Cambridge. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

II. Provincial (Gaulish) Ware

The Gaulish *Sigillata* may be conveniently discussed in two sections, the first dealing briefly with the stamps of early potters, and the second with early decorated types.

(a) *Stamps of early potters*

The following list gives the names of potters (whose stamps have been found in London), who constitute 50 per cent. of the potters known to have begun to work in South Gaul in the reign of Tiberius, *circa* A.D. 20, and whose decorated types are characteristic of this period, extending, however, in most cases, into the reign of Claudius.

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[1] The two cups by C·AMVRVS and XANTHVS (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 168, 169) and the plate by ANNIVS and three other Arretine pieces, now in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, are not included in our list, for their provenance is not known.

This list comprises 73 stamps by the potters AMANDVS (4), BALBVS (1), BILICATVS (5), COCVS (2), INGENVVS (8), LICINVS (14), LICINIANA (8), MACCARVS (8), POTITVS (1), REGENVS (1), SALVE (3), SCOTIVS (1), SENICIO (15), and SENO (2).

More particularly, it may be pointed out that the potters AMANDVS, BALBVS, BILICATVS, MACCARVS, REGENVS, SALVE, SCOTIVS, and SENICIO worked almost exclusively in the pre-Claudian and early Claudian periods. The terminal date of the activities of the potters INGENVVS and LICINVS cannot be so definitely assigned, for although the major part of their decorated work is typologically Tiberian or Claudian[1] there is some evidence that they continued to work in the reign of Nero. The names LICINIANA and SENO should be equated with LICINVS and SENICIO respectively.

The potter COCVS made some very early and rare South Gaulish forms, closely allied to Arretine types, e.g. Dragendorff 27 with a rouletted wall (also made by VOLVS, found at Rouen) and the cup Ritterling type 5.[2] POTITVS was associated with the Tiberio-Claudian potter VOLVS, e.g. VOLVS II ET POTITIO, at Vaison, and VOLVS SII ET POTITIO, on form 15/17 at Nîmes.

With regard to provenance, it is important to note that the stamps of the potters AMANDVS, BALBVS, BILICATVS, INGENVVS, MACCARVS, POTITVS, REGENVS, SCOTTIVS, and SENICIO have been found at Sels (*ante* A. D. 41) in the period Tiberius–Caligula, in the old layer at Wiesbaden and also in the first occupation of Hofheim (A. D. 40–51).

Finally, we have excluded from this list (so as not to confuse the issue) many potters whose work is *mainly* characteristic of the Claudian period, because there is evidence that their activity extended into the reign of Nero. Their stamps frequently occur in London, and amongst them may be mentioned AQVITANVS, ARDACVS, BASSVS, GALLICANVS, LABIO, MASCLVS, and MVRRANVS. Yet the early work of most of them is certainly pre-Claudian.

(b) *Early decorated types*

The drawings on the plates have been carefully restricted to decorated types which are mainly characteristic first of the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula and secondly of the reign of Claudius; and no decorated piece has been chosen for which either pre-Claudian or Claudian parallels (as at Hofheim) are not extant, thus excluding designs which fall into the Claudius–Nero period. In the first place specimens with decoration chiefly typological of the Tiberian period are described.

Fig. 16. Crater, form Dragendorff 11. Found in Angel Court; now in the

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[1] R. Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919, pls. 40–2, 45–7.

[2] Cf. Loeschcke, types 11 and 8 and the London cup by AMAR, fig. 1.

London Museum. The Gaulish crater is a direct imitation of an Augustan Arretine prototype.[1] The ovolo is full and the tongue plain, both of which features are characteristic of Arretine *Sigillata*. The upright plant ornament with basal arcading is only met with in the earliest examples of provincial *Sigillata*.[2] This type of decoration is copied from an Italic prototype.[3] The Gaulish crater is well represented on the Continent, viz. in the Tiberian period at Bregenz and Sels[4] and in the Claudian period at Hofheim.[5] In Britain only five examples have been recorded, viz. two at Richborough, one at Tong, Kent, and two in London. The decoration of the vessel is essentially Arretine in feeling. It has been restored after a similar crater at Mainz.

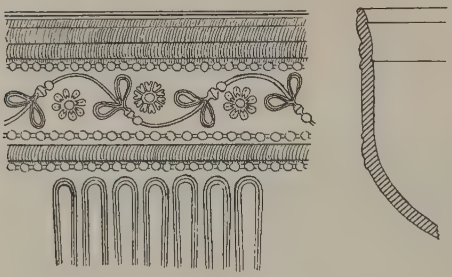
Text-fig. 2. Form 29 from Hod Hill. (½)

Fig. 17. Form Dragendorff 29. Found in Tokenhouse Yard; now in the Guildhall Museum. The boldly everted rim (though an exceptional feature in early examples of form 29) is not a late characteristic, but is identical with the everted rim on a Haltern crater of Augustan age.[6] The wall of the bowl is hemispherical in contour. The upper frieze shows a simple scroll with pinnate sessile leaves and rosettes. This type of decoration in the upper frieze is very characteristic of Tiberian work and occurs on early bowls by ALBINVS, LICINVS, MACCARVS, and VRVOED.[7] It is found on Tiberian forms 29 at Hod Hill (text-fig. 2) and Silchester.[8] The large beads, well spaced, bordering the central moulding, recall those on Arretine ware (see fig. 9). The gadroons of the lower frieze are bold and full as in the earliest provincial ware.

Fig. 18. Form 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 227: probably found in London. A very early specimen with the typically Tiberian, nearly hemispherical contour and small rim in which the rouletted mouldings are nearly equal in size. The upper frieze contains an early, simple, wide scroll with sessile demi-acanthus leaves, whilst the lower frieze shows the volute (nautilus) design with attached acorns on stalks. This volute ornament is characteristic of the work of the

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[1] Cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 3 ATEIVS.

[2] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pls. 40 A, 40 D, INGENVVS at Sels; Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 22, 23.

[3] Cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 10, by NAEVIVS of Puteoli.

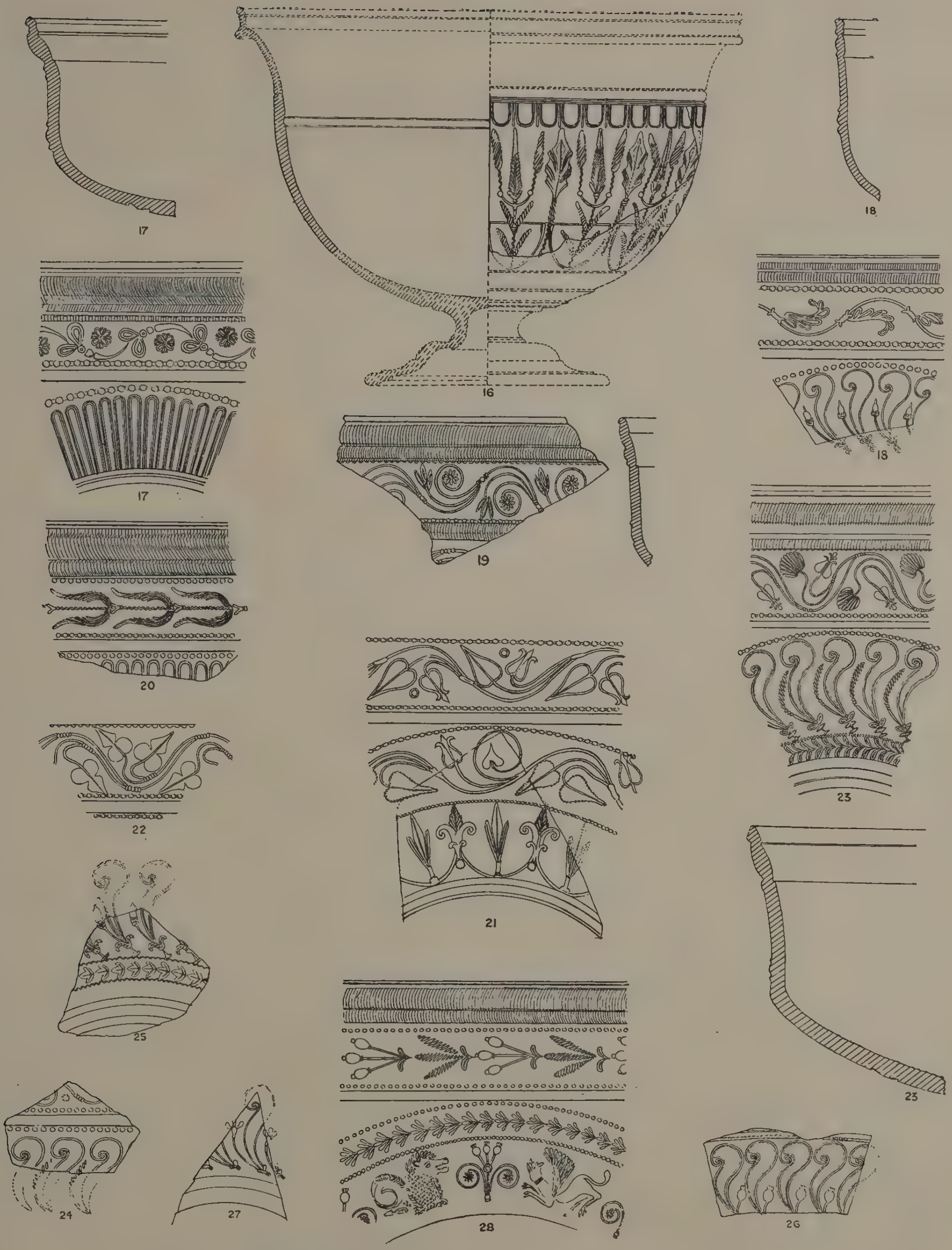
[4] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pls. 1, 2, 3, 4, 41 G, J.

[5] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, Abb. 46, 1, 2, 47, 52, 4 A, B.

[6] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 1.

[7] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 B, 46 D, 51 M, text-fig. 28.

[8] May, *The Pottery found at Silchester*, xi, 2.



F. Oswald del.

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* OF TIBERIO-CLAUDIAN TYPE (slightly under $\frac{1}{2}$)

16. Crater, Dragendorff 11, Angel Court (London Museum). Restored after a similar crater at Mainz.
17–28: Dragendorff Form 29.
17. Tokenhouse Yard (Guildhall Museum).
18. London (British Museum, M 227).
19. National Safe Deposit, Queen Victoria Street (Guildhall Museum).
20. Gracechurch Street (London Museum). Style of SENICIO.
21. London Bridge (London Museum). Style of MACCARVS.
22. Eastcheap (British Museum, M 221). Style of MACCARVS.
23. General Post Office (Guildhall Museum).
24. London (Hilton Price Collection, Society of Antiquaries).
25. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum).
26. London (Hilton Price Collection, Society of Antiquaries).
27. King William Street (London Museum).
28. Gracechurch Street (London Museum).

early potters ALBINVS, AQVITANVS, CANTVS, DARRA, LIBNVS, LICINVS, PRIMVS (early), STABILIO, VRVOED, and VOLVS.[1] This ornament is a direct copy of Arretine work[2] and is especially characteristic of the Tiberian period and to a lesser extent of the Claudian age.

Fig. 19, Form 29: National Safe Deposit Office, Queen Victoria Street; now in the Guildhall Museum. The contour of the vessels is nearly hemispherical. It shows the rouletting of the central moulding, which is a frequent, though not invariable, characteristic of Tiberian examples of this form, as on pieces found at Hod Hill (text-fig. 2) and Silchester.[3] Rarely, rouletting in this situation is found on sites which were initially occupied in the reigns of Caligula or Claudius.[4] It is copied from the rouletted central mouldings of Italian craters.[5]

Fig. 20, Form 29: Gracechurch Street; London Museum. The lyrate, sessile leaf of the straight wreath, on the upper frieze, occurs in the earliest work of the South Gaulish potters and is a copy of an Arretine motive.[6] A similar wreath was used by the potter SENICIO on a Tiberian form 29.[7] This leaf occurs in the work of the potters ALBINVS, AMANDVS, BALBVS, BILICATVS, MACCARVS, SENO, and VAPVSO,[8] and is still occasionally found in the early Claudian period, as at Hofheim.[9]

Fig. 21, Form 29: London Bridge Station; London Museum. The contour is nearly hemispherical and the scrolls display the more open and expanded character seen on early bowls. The basal arcading of the lower frieze is Arretine in feeling and closely recalls the design on a Tiberian 29 by MACCARVS from Augst.[10] For the chronological significance of basal arcading see the description of fig. 16.

Fig. 22, Form 29: Eastcheap; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 221. The fragment of the upper frieze shows the deeply indented leaves which occur on Tiberian forms 29 by MACCARVS and VALERIVS.[11]

Fig. 23, Form 29: Old General Post Office; Guildhall Museum. The heart-shaped or lyrate leaf of the upper frieze occurs in early work, as on a Tiberian 29 by MACCARVS at Basel and a form 30 of the same period at Bregenz,[12] whilst the fan-like or palmate leaf occurs at Aislingen on an early form 29 of archaic character.[1] The repeated volute ornament, of the lower frieze, has already been described under fig. 18. It may be added that it is always combined with a subsidiary stalked plant-motive, both springing typically from a small calyx of two leaves.

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[1] Cf. Knorr, *op. cit.*, pls. 1, 9, 18, text-fig. 18, pls. 46, 66, 79, 84, and text-fig. 28; also *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 5.

[2] Cf. Chase, *op. cit.*, fig. 133 M. PERENNIVS/BARGATES; Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 2 ATEIVS/XANTHVS.

[3] May, *op. cit.*, xi, 1, 2.

[4] Cf. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxv, 7.

[5] Cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, ii, 1, 2, 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, xxiv, 10, NAEVIVS of Puteoli.

[7] *Ibid.*, iii, 5.

[8] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 A, 6 B, 11 A, 14 C, 51 J, 78 A, 80.

[9] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxv, 12 a, b.

[10] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 50 F.

[11] *Ibid.*, pls. 50 E, 81.

[12] *Ibid.*, pls. 51 K, 51 H.

Fig. 24, Form 29: Hilton Price Collection, Society of Antiquaries, London. The lower frieze shows the volute design with an associated spiral leaf, as in fig. 23 and in the early work of the potter DARRA.[2]

Fig. 25, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. On the lower frieze is seen the volute ornament associated with a stalked acorn. This association with an acorn (but with a different base or calyx) occurs on bowls of form 29 by the potters AMANDVS, CANTVS, LIBNVS, STABILIO, and VRVOED.[3] See also fig. 18.

Fig. 26, Form 29: Hilton Price Collection, Society of Antiquaries. On the lower frieze is seen the repeated volute with attached pomegranates (or poppy heads), as at Hofheim[4] and on an early form 29 by AQVITANVS at Vechten.[5]

Fig. 27, Form 29: King William Street; London Museum. The lower frieze shows a volute design combined with a conventional triple bud very similar to that used by the potter VOLVS in a like association.[6]

Fig. 28, Form 29: Gracechurch Street; London Museum. The upper frieze is decorated with a straight wreath very typical of the earliest or Tiberio-Claudian Sigillata. The elements of this wreath, composed of alternating spiral buds and pomegranates, occur in the early work of AMANDVS, BILICATVS, DARRA, SCOTTIVS, and SENICIO[7] and on an early form 29 at Hofheim.[8] On the lower frieze are depicted a lion and a griffin with an intervening upright plant. This lion occurs on Claudian forms 30 at Hofheim[9] and Wiesbaden, and on an early form 29 at Bregenz.[10] The griffin is an early example of an early type and occurs on a Tiberian form 29 in the style of BILICATVS at Basel,[11] also on a typically Tiberian form 29 at Geneva (Deonna, *Vases gallo-romains à glaçure rouge trouvés à Genève*, Anzeiger f. schweiz. Altertumskunde, 1925, p. 210).

Fig. 29, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. The narrow rim lacks the usual rouletting. The straight wreath of the upper frieze is composed of sessile, closely ranged, pinnate leaves (resembling privet) of an early type. In the lower frieze there are the remains of another straight wreath closely similar to that on a form 29 by BILICATVS.[12]

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[1] Knorr, *Die Terra-Sigillata Gefässe von Aislingen*, pl. IV, 4.

[2] Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des I. Jahrhunderts*, text-fig. 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, pls. 7 H, 18, 79 A, text-fig. 28; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 5.

[4] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 2.

[5] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 9 F.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl. 84.

[7] *Ibid.*, pls. 7 E, H, F, 14 B, 32, 72 J, H, 76 B.

[8] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxv, 14.

[9] *Ibid.*, xxvi, 3.

[10] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 89 H, L.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 90 C.

[12] *Ibid.*, pl. 14 B.

Fig. 30, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. The elongated pinnate leaves of the straight wreath on the upper frieze are characteristic of the work of AMANDVS, BALBVS, and SCOTTIVS.[1]

Fig. 31, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. The straight wreath of the upper frieze exhibits the style of SENICIO.

Fig. 32, Form 29: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 1012. The rim is composed of a single rouletted moulding. The straight wreath of the upper frieze is in the style of MACCARVS.[2]

Fig. 33, Form 29: Gracechurch Street; London Museum. The straight wreath of the upper frieze is composed of a peculiar, triangular, dissected ornament, alternating with rosettes. This unusual motive is only known to have been used by BILICATVS (fig. 36). The lower frieze is decorated by a repeated vertical spiral bud, occurring in the same situation as on a Tiberian form 29 by ALBINVS; it was copied by later potters as on a Claudian form 29 by AQVITANVS.[3]

Fig. 34, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. The contour is nearly hemispherical. On the upper frieze is a straight wreath composed of sessile, pinnate, bifid leaves and a stem of coalescent beads. This type of leaf, with a slight third leaf-projection from its lower division, occurs in the early work of the potters BILICATVS, LICINVS, and SCOTTIVS,[4] and is particularly characteristic of the Tiberian period.[5] The vertical upright leaf of the lower frieze occurs on a Tiberian form 29 by INGENVVS at Sels and is frequently met with on forms 29 and 30 of the Tiberio-Claudian period.[6]

Fig. 35, Form 29: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 1004. The straight wreath of stalked olive-berries occurs on a Tiberian form 29 by SCOTTIVS at Mainz.[7] The large and well-spaced beads bordering the central moulding are definitely early in character.

Fig. 36, Form 29, stamped OFIC BILICAT: London; Ransom Collection, British Museum. On the upper frieze is a winding scroll, the stalks of which end in two leaves. The bifurcations of the scroll are masked by doubly bifid 'tendril-unions', which also occur in the work of the potter BALBVS.[8] On the lower frieze is seen the same triangular ornament already described under fig. 33.

Fig. 37, Form 29, stamped LICINVS· F: London; Ransom Collection, British Museum. The scroll on the upper frieze is typically Tiberian, displaying the

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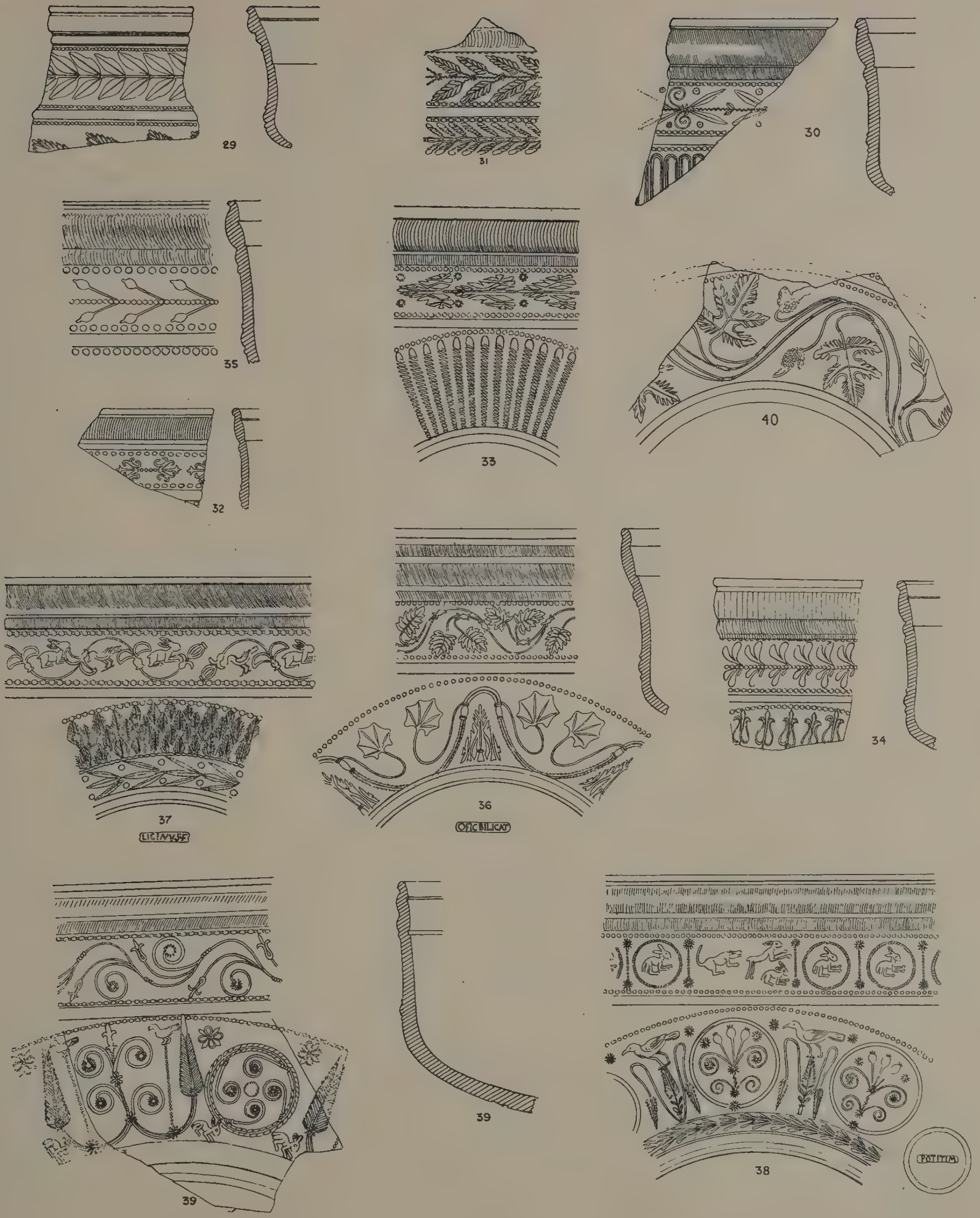
[1] Knorr, *op. cit.*, text-fig. 10. [2] *Ibid.*, pl. 15 H. [3] *Ibid.*, pls. 1 B, 9 K.

[4] *Ibid.*, pls. 92 A, 4 R, 46 C; see also pl. 72 G, form 29, by SCOTTIVS at Vechten.

[5] May, *op. cit.*, xi, 1, a Tiberian form 29 at Silchester.

[6] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 40 D, text-fig. 27, SENICIO, pl. 7 D, style of AMANDVS; see also Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, viii, 1, and Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 21.

[7] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 72 H. [8] *Ibid.*, pl. 11 A.



F. Oswald del.

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* (FORM 29), OF TIBERIO-CLAUDIAN TYPE (slightly under ½)

29. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum).
30. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of BILICATVS.
31. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of SENICIO.
32. London (British Museum, M 1012). Style of MACCARVS.
33. Gracechurch Street (London Museum). Style of BILICATVS.
34. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum). Style of SCOTTIVS.
35. London (British Museum, M 1004). Style of SCOTTIVS.
36. Stamped OFIC BILICAT. London (Ransom Collection, British Museum). Work of BILICATVS.
37. Stamped LICINVS · F. London (Ransom Collection, British Museum). Work of LICINVS.
38. Stamped POTITI M. Lombard Street (London Museum). Work of POTITVS.
39. Leadenhall Street (London Museum). Style of INGENVVS and LICINVS.
40. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of SENICIO.

early sessile pinnate leaves so common in this period. These leaves closely resemble those already described under fig. 17. Hares in the concavities of early scrolls are not uncommon and occur in the work of ACVTVS and BILICATVS.[1] The lower frieze is decorated with imbricate leaves (a common ornament in the Claudian period) and a straight wreath of early type. A row of elliptical, coalescent beads separates the leaves from the straight wreath. This type of bead-row only occurs in early work.

Fig. 38, Form 29, stamped POTITI ᴧA: Lombard Street; London Museum. POTITVS was associated in partnership with the Tiberio-Claudian potter VOLVS (see p. 81). The decoration of the upper frieze with animal figures is more characteristic of the Claudian than of the Tiberian period, but the hare with the striated rump occurs on a Tiberian form 29 by BILICATVS[2] at Wiesbaden. The lower frieze is decorated by alternating plants and medallions, with rosettes in the field. On the central leaf of the plant is perched a bird to l. as used by VOLVS (Déchelette 1032). In each medallion are three pomegranates springing from a double spiral (see fig. 28). Medallions containing upright plant ornaments are frequently met with in the Tiberio-Claudian period[3] and the upright plant with three stalked pomegranates also occurs at Hofheim,[4] Richborough, and other early sites. The design is closed by a straight wreath.

Fig. 39, Form 29: Leadenhall Street; London Museum. The bowl has the dull-red glaze, the almost hemispherical contour and the small upright rim, composed of two nearly equal rouletted mouldings, so characteristic of early or Tiberian examples of this form. The scroll of the upper frieze is similar to that on the lower frieze of a form 29 by LICINVS[5] at Wiesbaden. The lower frieze is decorated with alternating medallions and upright plants. The upright plants display the early basal arcading with Arretine affinities already referred to under figs. 16 and 21. The bird *perched on a row of coalescent beads* occurs in the Tiberian period at Sels.[6] Large rosettes and hares, with striated rumps (see fig. 38), in the field. The bowl is typical of the Tiberian rather than the Claudian period.

Fig. 40, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. The scroll of the lower frieze shows a vine-leaf and grapes which are identical with those occurring on an early form 29 by the Tiberio-Claudian potter SENICIO.[7]

Fig. 41, Form 29: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 234. The scrolls on the upper and lower friezes are the same as those on a Tiberian form 29 by NAMVS,[1] at Mainz, evidently from the same mould. NAMVS was one of the oldest potters at La Graufesenque.

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[1] Cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 6, and Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 A.

[2] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 14 A.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. 14 A, BILICATVS; text-fig. 18, DARRA; 71 E, SCOTTIVS.

[4] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 24.

[5] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 45 A.

[6] *Ibid.*, pls. 40 D and 41 G, both in the style of INGENVVS.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. 76 C.

Fig. 42, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. The decoration of the lower frieze is in the style of the Tiberio-Claudian potter DARIBITVS[2] and the pendent ornaments of the upright plant motive occur on a form 29, in the style of SENICIO, found at Bregenz in association with Tiberian craters.[3]

Fig. 43, Form 29: London; Oswald Collection. The decoration of the lower frieze displays the same peculiar and characteristic gadroons as those on a Tiberian form 29 by MACCARVS at Bregenz.[4] Although this decorative type is early, the contour of the bowl suggests an early Claudian date.

Fig. 44, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. The decoration of the upper frieze is typologically Tiberian, and shows the characteristic sessile, pinnate leaves and also the lyrate leaves which occur on a Tiberian form 29 in the style of MACCARVS at Basel.[5]

Fig. 45, Form 29: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 204. The design of the scroll on the upper frieze is practically identical with that on a Tiberio-Claudian form 29 by NAMVS at Mainz.[6]

Fig. 46, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. The scroll on the upper frieze is of a very early type, depicting single leaves *diverging* from the parent stem, as on a Tiberian form 29 by ALBINVS at Bregenz.[7] The leaves of the scroll are nearly identical with those on a Tiberian 29 by BILICATVS, found in the old layer at Wiesbaden. The 'tendril-unions' are identical.[8]

Fig. 47, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. The elongated pentagonal leaves and spiral buds of the lower frieze closely resemble those on the lower frieze of a Tiberio-Claudian form 29 by SENICIO at Armsheim.[9]

Fig. 48, Form 29: Railway Approach, London Bridge; London Museum. Lower frieze, on which is depicted a straight wreath composed of alternating sessile and stalked, serrated leaves. The stem of the wreath consists of repeated coalescent beads. Straight wreaths of this character, occupying the whole of the lower frieze, only occur in the earliest *Sigillata*,[10] as on a Tiberian form 29 by BILICATVS at Nymwegen.[11] The fragment is pre-Claudian.

Fig. 49, the cylindrical bowl, Form 30: Gracechurch Street; London Museum. The vessel has the squat appearance of early examples and the diameter, at the rim, exceeds the height of the bowl. The lip is thin and the plain band above the ovolo is comparatively shallow. An interrupted and grouped row of beads surmounts the ovolo, as in a Tiberian 30 at Colchester[1] and an early Claudian 30 at Hofheim.[2] The ovolo is full and its tongue terminates in a rosette. The wall is decorated by a scroll, the leaves of which occupy its whole depth. The stalks of the scroll terminate in large leaves, spiral buds, a tri-lobed leaf with three detached 'berries', and a seven-lobed leaf or bud, all characteristic of early work. Large, bifid 'tendril-unions' of the AMANDVS and CATLVS type[3] mask the bifurcations of the scroll. The large leaf has a triangular apex and is identical with that on a Tiberian form 30 at Sels.[4] This type of large leaf with triangular apex only occurs on the earliest *Sigillata*. A smaller leaf of closely similar type is frequently depicted on Tiberian craters at Bregenz[5] and Sels[6] and also occurs in the work of the Tiberio-Claudian potter FIRMO.[7] Typologically the vessel is Tiberian.

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[1] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 61 C.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 31 E.

[3] *Ibid.*, pl. 4 S.

[4] *Ibid.*, pl. 50 E.

[5] *Ibid.*, pl. 51 K.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl. 60 B.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. 1 B.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. 14 A.

[9] *Ibid.*, pl. 76 B.

[10] *Ibid.*, pl. 7 Aa, Bb, Cc.

[11] *Ibid.*, pl. 14 B.

Fig. 50, Form 30: Old General Post Office; Guildhall Museum. The decoration embodies many details used by the potter DARIBITVS[8] and the bowl may be assigned to the Tiberio-Claudian period.

Fig. 51, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. The decoration shows the same lyrate leaf and concentric circles as on a form 29 by BILICATVS, found in the old layer at Wiesbaden, and the wreath is identical with that on another 29 by the same potter.[9]

The following examples are decorated bowls of the early Claudian age, for which parallels can be found on Claudian sites such as Hofheim. They have been figured because (when taken in conjunction with the types already described) they testify to the abundance of early provincial *Sigillata* in London and demonstrate the intensive character of the occupation during the years which immediately followed the Claudian conquest.

Fig. 52, Crater, Form 11: Cheapside; Guildhall Museum. The fragment shows the everted rim and internal and external fluting of the typical South Gaulish crater. The ovolo is surmounted by a wavy line and the terminal of its tongue has a small central depression, as on a Claudian crater at Hofheim.[10] On the wall is seen a scroll-decoration of pentagonal leaves, a spiral bud and a tri-lobed leaf with berries very similar in scheme to that of Claudian forms 30 at Hofheim[11] and to the design on a form 30 in the style of CRESTIO at Mainz.[12]

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[1] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, x, 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, vii, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, 8.

[4] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 21 D.

[5] *Ibid.*, pls. 2 E, 3 M, O.

[6] *Ibid.*, pl. 41 J.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. 32.

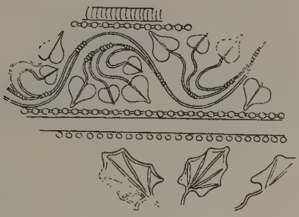
[8] *Ibid.*, pls. 30 B, 31 D, E.

[9] *Ibid.*, pl. 14 A, C.

[10] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, Abb. 46, 1.

[11] *Ibid.*, xxvi, 5, xxvii, 19.

[12] Knorr, *op. cit.*, text-fig. 30.



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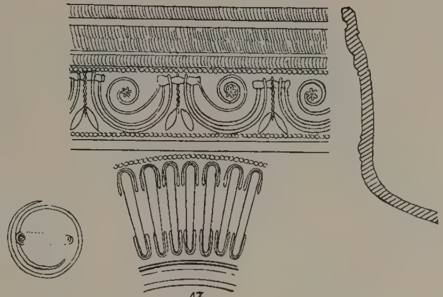

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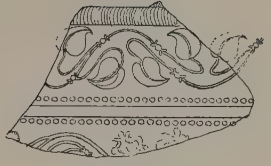

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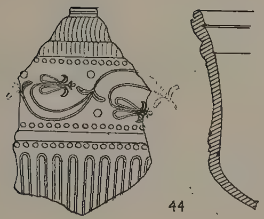

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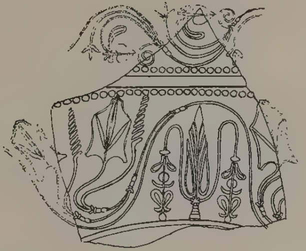

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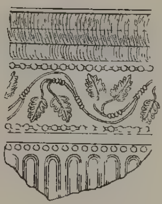

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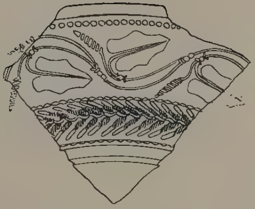

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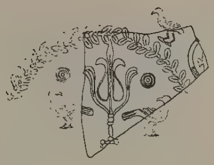

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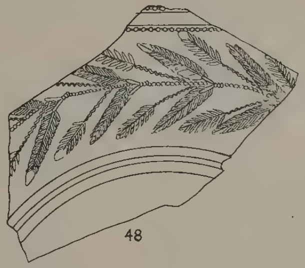

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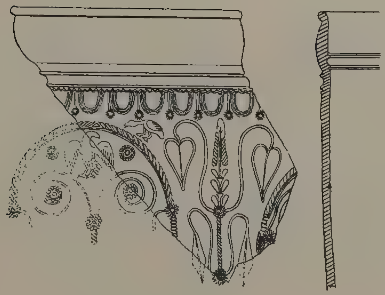

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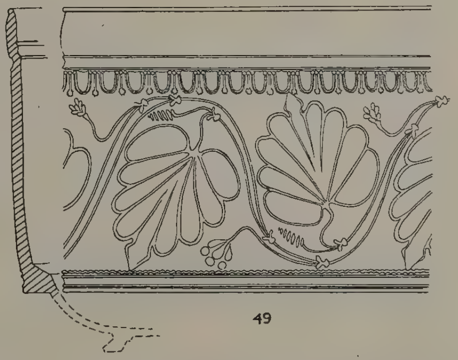

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F. Oswald del.

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* (FORMS 29 AND 30) OF TIBERIO-CLAUDIAN TYPE (slightly under ½)

41–48 : Form 29.
41. London (British Museum, M 234). Style of **NAMVS**.
42. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of **DARIBITVS**.
43. London (Oswald Collection). Style of **MACCARVS**.
44. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of **MACCARVS**.
45. London (British Museum, M 204). Style of **NAMVS**.
46. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum). Style of **BILICATVS**.
47. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum). Style of **SENICIO**.
48. London Bridge (London Museum). Style of **BILICATVS**.
49–51 : Form 30.
49. Gracechurch Street (London Museum). Style of **AMANDVS** (?).
50. General Post Office (Guildhall Museum). Style of **DARIBITVS**.
51. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of **BILICATVS**.

Fig. 53, Form 29: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 257. The lower frieze is decorated with a scroll closely similar to that on fig. 52. This type of scroll is not uncommon in the Claudian period, as at Hofheim.

Fig. 54, Form 29: King William Street; London Museum. Thin ware, good glaze. The lower frieze shows the upright leaf-ornament enclosed in a medallion, characteristic of the Claudian period.[1]

Fig. 55, Form 29: King William Street; London Museum. The interlacing leaves above a festoon-wreath of pinnate leaves on the lower frieze is in the style of INGENVVS, as on a form 29 at Mainz.[2]

Fig. 56, Form 29: London; Guildhall Museum. Fragment of the lower frieze. Good execution. The imbricated scale-pattern is directly copied from beaten metal and occurs on a Tiberian 29 at Orleans and a Claudian 29 at Margidunum.[3] The scyphos in the medallion is an unrecorded type.

Fig. 57, Form 29: King William Street; London Museum. On both the upper and lower friezes are seen the grouped, imbricated leaves so frequently met with in the Claudian period. The anthemion motive of the lower frieze occurs in Arretine ware and in the work of M. PERENNIVS.[4] In South Gaulish ware it occurs on a form 30 at Hofheim[5] and on a Claudian form 29 at Kempten.[6]

Fig. 58, Form 29: King William Street; London Museum. On the upper frieze is seen the anthemion motive (cf. fig. 57). The unusual leaf with scalloped margin in the lower frieze occurs on a Claudian form 29 at Aislingen.[7] The contour of the bowl is approximately hemispherical.

Fig. 59, Form 29: National Safe Deposit; Guildhall Museum. The only example of early Lezoux decoration as yet recorded in London. The lower frieze shows the characteristic straight wreath of ATEPOMARVS, as occurring on his earliest forms 29 in the Plicque Collection, St. Germain Museum.

Fig. 60, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. The decoration is arranged in panels, demarcated by wavy lines with terminal rosettes. The same heart-shaped leaves were used by the Tiberio-Claudian potter NAMVS[8] and occur on a fragment from the same mould which was found in a Claudian ditch at Margidunum, associated with a coin of Claudius.

Fig. 61, Form 30: St. Saviour's, Southwark; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 413. The same ovolo with the large rosette and a closely similar upright plant occur on a Claudian form 30 at Hofheim.[9] This ovolo is used by the early potter CRESTIO,

[1] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxiv, 10, xxv, 9.

[2] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 41 L.

[3] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xxix, 1, 8.

[4] Chase, *op. cit.*, figs. 2, 3, 26, 29.

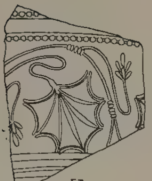
[5] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvi, 4.

[6] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 89 E.

[7] Knorr, *Die Terra-Sigillata Gefässe von Aislingen*, vi, 3.

[8] Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata d. I. Jahrhunderts*, 1919, pl. 61 C.

[9] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii. 11.



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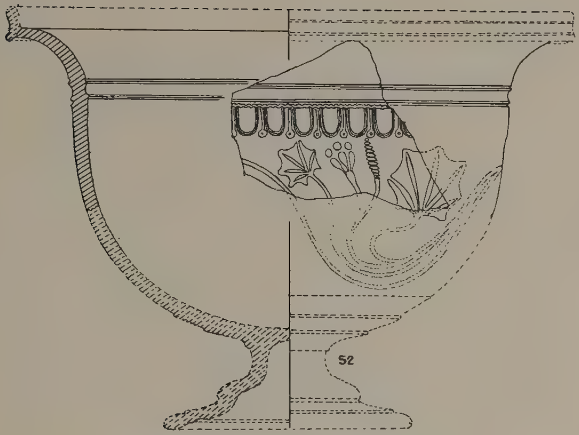

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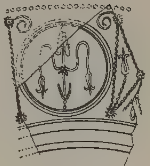

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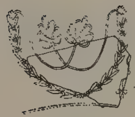

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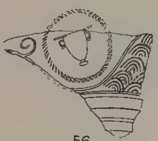

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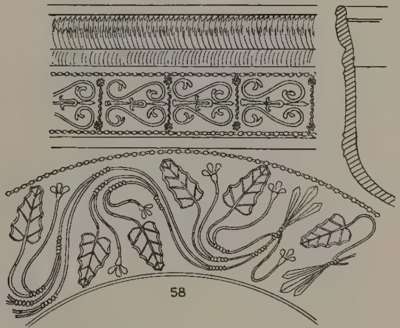

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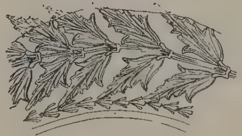

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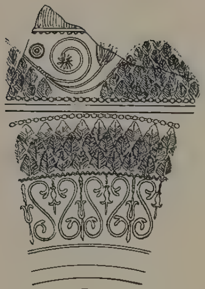

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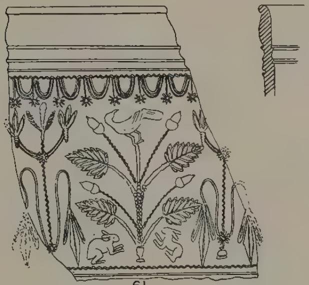

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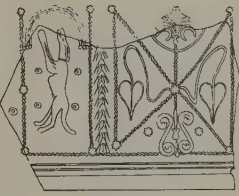

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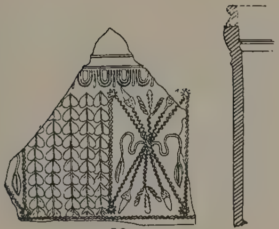

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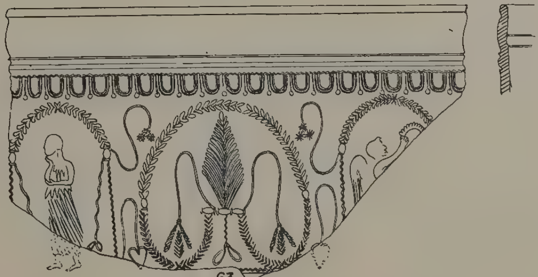

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F. Oswald del.

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF FIG. 59) OF EARLY CLAUDIAN DATE (slightly under ½)

52. Crater. Cheapside (Guildhall Museum). Style of **CRESTIO**.

53–59 : Form 29.

53. London (British Museum, M 257). Style of **CRESTIO**.

54. King William Street (London Museum). Style of **INGENVVS** and **MASCLVS**.

55. King William Street (London Museum). Style of **INGENVVS**.

56. London (Guildhall Museum).

57. King William Street (London Museum).

58. King William Street (London Museum).

59. National Safe Deposit (Guildhall Museum). Style of **ATEPOMARVS**.

60–63: Form 30.

60. London (Guildhall Museum). Style of **NAMVS** (?).

61. St. Saviour's, Southwark (British Museum, M 413). Style of **CRESTIO**.

62. Lombard Street (Guildhall Museum). Style of **CRESTIO**.

63. London (British Museum, M 441). Style of **INGENVVS** and **MASCLVS**.

as at Mainz.[1] The trifid ornaments with backward projecting barbs also occur in the work of this potter.

Fig. 62, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. The same heart-shaped leaves were used by the early potter DARIBITVS,[2] whilst the upper terminal leaf of the cruciform ornament is characteristic of CRESTIO.[3] The custom of placing running animals vertically is an early one and occurs on a crater at Hofheim[4] and on early forms 30 in the style of CRESTIO,[5] INGENVVS, and MASCLVS. Concentric circles 'in the field' are highly characteristic of Tiberio-Claudian work. The anthemion motive of the cruciform ornament has already been noticed under fig. 57.

Fig. 63, Form 30: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 441. The design displays the figure of Penelope (Déchelette, 539, MASCLVS) in an arcade and the early Claudian characteristic of corner-tendrils terminating in three rosettes. The cupid with a wreath occurs on a Claudian form 30 at Richborough (1927). The style, in general, is characteristic of the early work of CRESTIO, INGENVVS, and MASCLVS. Arcading, composed of pinnate leaves, is frequently met with at Claudian Hofheim.[6]

Fig. 64, Form 30: Paternoster Row; London Museum. The small lip and full ovolo are early features. The design of the cruciform ornament is very unusual, e.g. its stalked pomegranates and the arrangement of its central elements. The lyrate leaf is very similar to a leaf on a crater at Hofheim[7] and to those already described under fig. 20.

Fig. 65, Form 30: Old General Post Office; Guildhall Museum. The heart-shaped leaf with voluted base is the same as that on a form 30 of the Claudian period at Hofheim[8] and the design is very similar to that on an early form 30 by MASCLVS at Asberg.[9]

Fig. 66, Form 30: King William Street; London Museum. Large rosettes forming a lower border to the design occur in the work of the Tiberio-Claudian potter VOLVS.[10] They are an evident imitation of the rosette-bordering—both above and below the design—frequently found in Arretine ware.[11]

Fig. 67, Form 30: Lombard Street; Guildhall Museum. The design shows the same early features of Penelope in an arcade and corner-tendrils ending in three rosettes, as those described under fig. 63.

[1] Knorr, *op. cit.*, text-fig. 30.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. 31 D, E.

[3] *Ibid.*, text-fig. 16 E.

[4] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, Abb. 46, 1.

[5] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 39.

[6] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVI, 3, XXVII, 2, 3, 6–8, 10, 18.

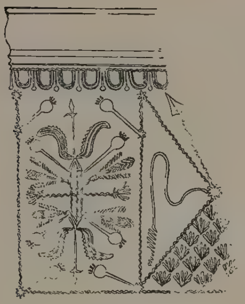
[7] *Ibid.*, XXXII, 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, XXVI, 1.

[9] Knorr, *Die Terra-Sigillata Gefässe von Aislingen*, text-fig. 3.

[10] Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata d. I. Jahrhunderts*, pl. 84 B.

[11] Chase, *op. cit.*, figs. 3, 41, 66, 90, 97, 115, 122–4.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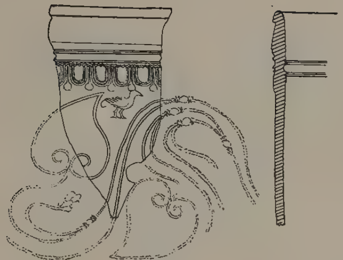
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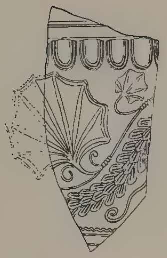
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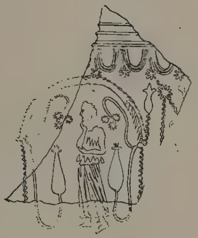
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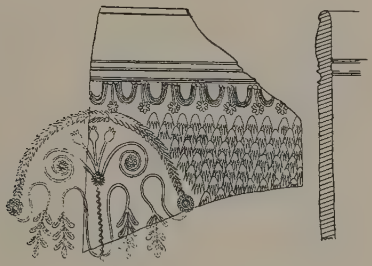
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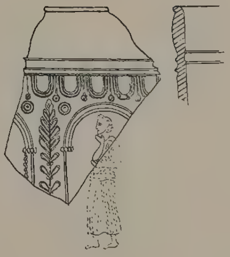
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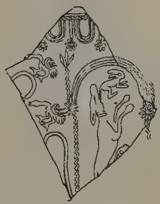
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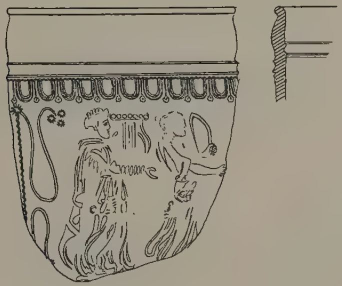
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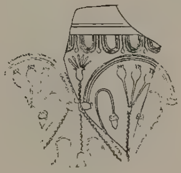
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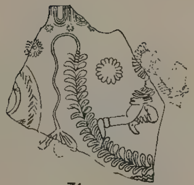
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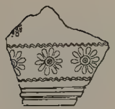
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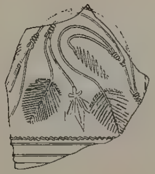
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F. Oswald del.

SOUTH GAULISH *SIGILLATA* (FORM 30) OF EARLY CLAUDIAN DATE (slightly under ½)

64. Paternoster Row (London Museum).

65. General Post Office (Guildhall Museum). Style of **MASCLVS.**

66. King William Street (London Museum). Style of **VOLVS.**

67. Lombard Street (Guildhall Museum). Style of **INGENVVS** and **MASCLVS.**

68. London (British Museum, M 403).

69. London (Guildhall Museum).

70. „ „ „ Style of **INGENVVS** and **MASCLVS.**

71. Leadenhall Street (British Museum, M 421). Style of **MASCLVS.**

72. Phoenix Office. Style of **MASCLVS.**

73. Guardian Office.

74. London (Guildhall Museum).

75. London (British Museum, M 404). Style of **CARVS** and **SENICIO** (?).

Fig. 68, Form 30: London, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 403. The same large palmate leaf occurs on forms 30 at Hofheim[1] and Vindonissa.[2]

Fig. 69, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. The grouping of the beads above the ovolo is the same as that on a Tiberian form 30 in the London Museum and on early examples of the cylindrical bowls at Colchester and Hofheim (see fig. 49). The ovolo and the upright plant ornament are of Tiberio-Claudian type. A closely similar upright plant is seen on a form 30 at Hofheim.[3]

Fig. 70, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. Early type of ovolo with large rosette. Animals, a dog and a hare, vertically placed in the arcade as on a crater at Hofheim.[4] The decoration is in the style of CRESTIO, INGENVVS, and MASCLVS (see fig. 62).

Fig. 71, Form 30: Leadenhall Street; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 421. Small lip. The internal fluting is definitely higher than that on the exterior of the bowl, as on early examples of this form. The decoration is arranged in panels, demarcated by a wavy line with corner-tendrils terminating in three rosettes (see fig. 63) as in the early work of CRESTIO and MASCLVS. The Apollo with the lyre occurs, with similar early associations, on a Claudian form 30 at Hofheim.[5]

Fig. 72, Form 30: London; Phoenix Office. Arcade decoration with an intervening upright, much divided leaf. This type of upright leaf occurs in the work of the early potters AMANDVS, BALBVS, DARRA, and INGENVVS,[6] and on early sites such as Sels and Hofheim.[7] The figure of Penelope has already been noticed under figs. 63 and 67. The small, concentric circles are very characteristic of the work of BILICATVS and other potters of the period Tiberius–Claudius.

Fig. 73, Form 30: London; Guardian Office. The design of the three pomegranates in an arcade evidently came from the same mould as examples in the Claudian period at Hofheim[8] and Colchester, both on forms 30.

Fig. 74, Form 30: London; Guildhall Museum. The early feature of grouped beading is seen above the ovolo. Gladiators in association with garlands occur in the Claudian period at Hofheim.[9] Good glaze and execution. It may be noted that in none of the illustrations of form 30 is there a demarcating line between the ovolo and the design.

Fig. 75, Form 30: London; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 404. The design shows a unique feathery leaf and 'tendril-unions' as used by CARVS and SENICIO.[10]

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[1] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 5, XXVII, 19.

[2] Knorr, *Aislingen*, text-fig. 4.

[3] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXVI, 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, Abb. 46, 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 11.

[6] Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata d. I. Jahrhunderts*, 1919, text-fig. 7.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. 40 A, C.

[8] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 24.

[9] *Ibid.*, XXVII, 3.

[10] Knorr, *op. cit.*, pl. 20 D, E, G, and pl. 75, 12.

It is well known that some of these Claudian types, for instance those used by MASCLVS, persisted and occurred in the work of later potters, but in a very different grouping and style, easily distinguished from that of the Tiberio-Claudian potters who first used them.

Many other decorated pieces of a Tiberio-Claudian type have been found in London, but those already illustrated are regarded as sufficient for the purpose of this paper.

III. Distribution of Early Types

On the map (pl. XVI) are recorded the early types of *Sigillata*, both Arretine and Provincial, which admit of a definite or approximate location.

It has been found impossible to plot many early decorated pieces and a number of early stamps, owing to the fact that they have only been recorded as having been found in London. Owing to the exigencies of space and frequently to imperfect record, the exact 'find-spot' is often not attainable, but approximate accuracy has been obtained. Where the locality of a 'find' is probable but not certain, a note of interrogation has been added.

All the Italian ware (both decorated and plain) of which the provenance is known has been plotted on the map. Six examples have been definitely located, i. e. two in Southwark, three in the district east of the Walbrook, and one outside the walls, in the region of the northern cemetery. To these have been added two other pieces which were probably found in Southwark.

The Provincial examples recorded come with one exception from the South Gaulish potteries, and comprise a number of early decorated pieces and ware bearing the stamps of some of the earliest South Gaulish potters.

Fifty-five decorated pieces and fifty-one stamps have been located.

In considering the distribution of early types in London it is important to bear in mind the reservations mentioned in the early part of this paper (see p. 73). But, so far as present evidence goes, there is undoubtedly a preponderance of early types in the following localities:

(1) Southwark.
(2) An area to the east of the Walbrook chiefly around King William and Gracechurch Streets.
(3) A site immediately to the west of the Walbrook,[1] at the eastern termination of Queen Victoria Street.
(4) The locality of the General Post Office.

Detail-evidence, such as the proportional representation of Arretine ware, suggests that these localities were occupied in the chronological sequence of (*a*) Southwark, (*b*) the district to the east of the Walbrook and that immediately to its west, and lastly (*c*) the site of the General Post Office.

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[1] Possibly in the bed of the Walbrook.

The time-interval between the various occupations appears to have been comparatively slight. It may, however, be stated that the evidence derived from a study of the *Sigillata* indicates, with some clearness, that Southwark and the districts east and immediately west of the Walbrook were occupied at an earlier date than the locality of the General Post Office.

But the distribution of early fabric is not confined to these localities, for a crater of Tiberian type comes from Angel Court (fig. 16), a Tiberio-Claudian 29 from Tokenhouse Yard (fig. 17), and a Claudian crater from Cheapside (fig. 52). Moreover, the stamps of the potters MACCARVS and SENICIO have been found at Baltic House, in the north-east, those of BALBVS and INGENVVS on London Wall, in the north, that of SALVE in Monkwell Street, in the north-west, and that of MACCARVS in Paternoster Square, in the west.

From this widespread provenance of early types it may, with reasonable probability, be inferred that at the date of Boudicca's rebellion (A. D. 60) a considerable extent of the area subsequently enclosed by the walls of Roman London was already occupied.[1]

IV. Conclusions

The conclusions which may be drawn from the evidence afforded by this ceramic material are discussed under the two headings of Arretine and Provincial ware.

(*a*) *Arretine Ware*

As has already been pointed out in Section I, most of the Italic fabric found in London is typologically late Augustus-Tiberius. There is no evidence of the manufacture of any of these pieces in the Claudian age.[2]

Moreover, the frequent references, in Section II, to Provincial ware of Tiberian type demonstrate an already flourishing exportation from the rival South Gaulish potteries in pre-Claudian times. In this connexion it is important to discuss, very briefly, the incidence of Arretine ware on well-dated sites on the north-eastern frontiers of the Empire. At Haltern, in the Augustan period, Arretine ware is alone represented. At Sels, which was occupied in the reign of Augustus (at an earlier date than Haltern) and down into that of Caligula

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[1] The possibility that some of these outlying stamps occurred in association with burnt burials should, however, not be overlooked.

[2] Quite exceptionally the ware of an Arretine potter who was working as late as the Nero-Vespasian period found its way to Britain, e.g. L. R. PIS[ANVS, *C. I. L.* vii, 894.

(A. D. 40),[1] both Arretine and Provincial ware are forthcoming. Upwards of a hundred stamps of Arretine potters and many sherds of the same fabric have been found. Provincial ware of an early or Tiberian type is also well represented. On this site it is evident that for a short time both importations overlapped, but, broadly speaking, the Arretine ware is representative of the period Augustus-early Tiberius, whilst the South Gaulish ware is representative of the period late Tiberius-Caligula.

In the legionary camp at Neuss, initially occupied in the middle of the reign of Tiberius, only a single example of Arretine ware has been found—a plate with the stamp of XANTHVS *in planta pedis*.[2] Here this fabric is regarded as a 'survival'.[3]

At Aislingen, which was occupied late in the reign of Tiberius, the Arretine ware is restricted to the stamp of L. GELLI *in planta pedis* and two other fragments.[4]

At Hofheim, which was occupied in the reign of Caligula (A. D. 40), not a single Arretine stamp has been found, and only three fragments of an Italic character are forthcoming; these are regarded as 'survivals'.[5]

Grimmlinghausen, which was first occupied in A. D. 40, has yielded the stamp of ATEIVS/XANTHVS in late form (*C. I. L.* xiii, 10009, 55). The evidence of these continental sites indicates quite clearly that by the date of the accession of Claudius (A. D. 41) the exportation of Italian ware had practically ceased, its place having been usurped by Provincial *Sigillata*.

In Britain the evidence, in the nature of things, is less clear, but, on the whole, is confirmatory of the above conclusion. A considerable amount of Italic ware found its way to the island,[6] but so far as has yet been discovered it is only *relatively* frequent at Silchester and in London. Silchester (which has been methodically excavated) is known to have been occupied before the Conquest, probably as early as the last half of the first century B. C.,[7] and has produced thirty-two pieces of Italian ware.

Colchester, despite the presence of some definitely pre-Claudian Provincial types, has yielded only one somewhat doubtful piece of Arretine ware.[8]

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[1] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, 249.

[2] *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 111–12, pl. XXXVI, 24.

[3] Communicated by Dr. Josef Hagen.

[4] Knorr, *Die Terra-Sigillata Gefässe von Aislingen*, 5, 16.

[5] Ritterling, *op. cit.*, 201.

[6] See Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, 5.

[7] See May, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and pls. LXXVI, 8, LXXVII, 7; D. Atkinson, *Journal of Roman Studies*, viii, 200. Coins of Eppillus, son of Commius, were inscribed CALLEV, see J. Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, 523–4, and also pl. IV, 1, EPP REX CALLE.

[8] Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.*, xl, 14.

Richborough, though certainly occupied in the Claudian era, has, as yet, failed to yield a single fragment of Arretine ware.

The sixteen or seventeen pieces of Italic ware found their way to London in one or other of the following circumstances:

(1) During the rush of trade which immediately followed the conquest. But as this ware had ceased to be a product of commercial exportation before the accession of Claudius, this view is obviously untenable.[1]

(2) As 'survivals' brought over by individual soldiers or traders. The *relative* abundance of this ware (found in London) as compared with its infrequency on other sites, initially occupied late in the reign of Tiberius and in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, renders this theory improbable.

It has already been pointed out that some of the London pieces of Arretine ware were manufactured about fifteen or twenty years before the Conquest, and it seems scarcely credible that Italian merchants (in the Claudian period) would have brought with them pottery of so early a date.

On the contrary, *Sigillata* seems always to have had rather a short life,[2] types and styles of decoration going quickly out of fashion. At Newstead, for instance, which is known to have been occupied in the year A. D. 79, there is no *Sigillata* that can be regarded as having been made in the reign of Nero or in that of Claudius.

(3) On the balance of the evidence it is therefore highly probable that most of this Italian ware found its way to London during the period of its production and prior to the Conquest, thus indicating something of a pre-Claudian settlement of Italian and other traders.[3]

A number of examples of Italian settlement outside the bounds of Empire might be cited.[4] Drobeta, in Dacia, even styled itself a Flavian munici-

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[1] It has been suggested in support of this view that Arretine ware found its way more readily to a civil than to a military site. But this statement does not rest on any evidential basis; on the contrary, during its prosperous period this ware was abundantly exported to military sites, such as Xanten, Sels, Haltern, and Mainz.

[2] Except, perhaps, during the periods of mass-production of late South Gaul and mid-second-century Lezoux.

[3] The absence of Late-Celtic pottery of the definite Aylesford-Swarling-Welwyn type appears to exclude the possibility of a pre-Conquest London which was primarily and essentially Celtic. On the other hand, the occurrence in London of much coarse pottery of what may be termed Romanized-Celtic type is entirely *consistent* with a pre-Conquest settlement of Italian traders and some inevitable, ancillary, native inhabitants. We refer chiefly to urns of the pedestal type and to vessels with inbent bead-rims, mostly preserved in the Guildhall Museum. A study of this pottery, with a careful investigation of its provenance and the initial and terminal dates of its types, is much to be desired.

[4] Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vii, 42, refers to the expulsion by the Aedui from their *oppidum*, Cabillonum, of Romans 'who had set up there for purposes of trade'.

Cicero, *Pro M. Fonteio* v, 11, states that, as early as 69 B. C., 'Gaul was full of Roman citizens and that all the commerce of the land was controlled by them, and that not a coin was moved there without pality,[1] although this province did not form part of the Roman Empire until the reign of Trajan. In this connexion it is interesting to note the evidence of the penetration of pre-Claudian trade and culture into Britain contained in the pages of Strabo. He states that 'in our own days certain of the princes of Britain by their embassies and polite attentions have secured the friendship of Caesar Augustus, so that they have even put up offerings in the Capitol and have brought the whole island into a state little short of intimate union with the Romans'. He also gives details of imports, exports, and customs dues.

Archaeology tells the same tale, particularly in the discovery of Roman amphorae in Late-Celtic associations at Colchester,[3] Welwyn,[4] and elsewhere. The use of classical devices on British coins and the employment of Roman moneyers by native princes, such as Cunobelin, also testify to a pre-Claudian cultural penetration. In short, the position in reference to a pre-Conquest London was well summed up by the late Professor Haverfield when he wrote that 'during the century which elapsed between the raids of Caesar and the conquest of Claudius Britain was in full and increasing touch with Gaul; Roman traders were finding their way to the island and Londinium may have sprung up then and thus'.[5] In view of the evidence brought forward in this paper the following amendment of the final words of this sentence is warranted—'and Londinium probably sprang up then and thus'. It will, therefore, be seen that the political and economic setting of the period was such as would favour the establishment of trading settlements within the island and, as will be pointed out later, no site was more suitable to some such settlement than London.

(b) *Provincial Sigillata*

Some of the early examples of South Gaulish ware, i. e. figs. 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 39, 48, and 49, might well have reached London prior to the Conquest. But be this as it may, the abundance of Provincial *Sigillata* of Tiberio-Claudian type demonstrates quite conclusively that during the Claudian period London attained to the position of a flourishing community. In this connexion it is interesting to quote the testimony of Tacitus, who states that, at the date of Boudicca's rebellion, A. D. 60 (only six years subsequent to the death of Claudius),

an entry in a Roman book of account' (quoted by J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*, 170).

Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 15, states that during the rebellion of Civilis (A. D. 69–70) the Batavians 'fell upon the settlers and Roman traders who had spread themselves over the country, as in security'. At this date Batavia did not form part of the Roman Empire.

[1] Reid, *op. cit.*, 220.

[2] *Geographia*, ii, 153; iv, 278. The latest event mentioned in Strabo's work is the death of Juba, king of Mauretania; *circa* A.D. 21. His Geography was finally revised in or before A.D. 23.

[3] *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, p. 241.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxiii, p. 4.

[5] *Journal of Roman Studies*, i, 145.

Londinium 'was a place not distinguished by the colonial title, but particularly famed for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce'.[1]

V. Status of Roman London

In this section certain general considerations which are relevant to our inquiry are discussed, more especially those which have a bearing on the status of Roman London. Londinium was neither a colony nor municipality, nor the centre of a tribal unit. Yet, notwithstanding these apparent disadvantages, it quickly became the most important community in Roman Britain. Its rapid growth must undoubtedly be primarily attributed to certain geological and geographical conditions, in the absence of which the historical events of the period must necessarily have had another setting. Situated at the point on the lower Thames where the gravel cap of the alluvial clay *first* approaches *both* sides of the stream and within easy *tidal* access of the sea, Roman London occupied an ideal site of selection for the triple purpose of communication, settlement, and commerce.

A glance at a map of Roman Britain will demonstrate how Londinium was situated on the converging tribal borders of the Catuvellauni, Trinobantes, and Cantii, and how geographical conditions determined its selection as the nodal point of communication by land and sea. There can be little doubt that in Roman times the high-tide level in the London area was definitely lower than in the present day. Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, in an able summary of the evidence upon this question (written for the forthcoming volume on 'Roman London', to be published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments[2]), states that 'the level of high tide must have been upwards of 13 ft. (probably at least 15 ft.) below its present level in relation to the land surface'.[3]

This statement applies more particularly to Southwark. Even as late as the Norman period the tide-level was probably lower than to-day, for we read in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 1141 that 'there was so great an ebb everywhere in one day as no man before remembered, so that men went riding and walking over the Thames to the east of the bridge at London'. It is therefore highly probable that the passage of the Thames in the neighbourhood of London was comparatively easy in the Roman period. This surmise receives considerable support from the narrative of Cassius Dio,[4] who, in his description of the Claudian advance to the Thames in A. D. 43, states that the retreating Britons easily crossed the river by fords known to them near a point where the 'river empties into the ocean and at flood-tide forms a lake'. This description suggests the Pool of London and the neighbourhood of London Bridge.

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[1] *Annals*, xiv, 33.

[2] This volume was published in November 1928.

[3] See also F. C. T. Spurrell, *Arch. Journ.* xlii, 269, and H. Ormsby, *London on the Thames*, 20.

[4] lx, 20.

Dio further states that some troops swam the river and others got over 'by a bridge a little way up-stream'. The mention of a bridge by Dio is suggestive of a pre-Claudian London. It has already been shown by archaeological evidence that Southwark and the district east of the Walbrook were the two earliest areas of occupation, and a pre-Conquest bridge connecting them does not seem improbable.

On the other hand, the mention of a bridge by Dio cannot be adduced as direct and definite evidence, as it might possibly have been constructed during the course of the battle.

It may, however, be reasonably concluded from this account that the army under Aulus Plautius crossed the Thames in the neighbourhood of London Bridge, to be joined shortly by the Emperor Claudius prior to its advance on Camulodunum.

From here, too, it is probable that Vespasian set out with Legion II for the conquest of south-western Britain.

If this view is correct, the advantages of London as a nodal centre of communication had already begun to assert themselves.

It has already been shown by means of archaeological evidence that London was the seat of an intensive occupation in the Claudian period, and we can conceive of no more suitable centre for the financial and civil administration of the new province. According to this view London would be a great emporium, full not only of traders but also of Roman officials.[1] From here, it is probable that the procurator Catus Decianus dispatched the 200 ill-armed men to the aid of the veterans at Camulodunum, during the revolt of Boudicca.[2]

As bearing on this question it is interesting to compare Roman London with other sites in the western provinces of the Empire. In the nature of things development on completely parallel lines is not to be expected, but many points which are germane to this inquiry emerge. Two examples must suffice.

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[1] Camulodunum was established as the centre of the imperial cult in the reign of Claudius (Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31). Reasoning from analogies, such as Lyons, it might be argued that it was also intended that Colchester should be the seat of the financial administration of the province. But the geographical disabilities of its situation—especially as compared with London—renders it improbable that it was ever intended to function as such, and the fact that during Boudicca's rebellion (A. D. 60) the procurator, Catus Decianus, was not stationed here, supports this view. The erection of the Statue of Victory to Claudius at Colchester would appear to be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that, as the capital of the most powerful native prince, it was *officially* captured by the Emperor himself.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 32. For other instances of the control of troops by procurators see Tacitus, *Hist.* ii, 12, 16; *C. I. L.* vii, 1003, iii, 12601, 13795–6. Although there is no evidence that London was a fortified city at this date, archaeological and historical evidence indicates that it was of sufficient importance to require some police control, and this control may have been maintained by a detachment of an Urban Cohort, as at Lyons (Tacitus, *Annals*, iii, 41). It may perhaps be permissible to conjecture that the above-mentioned relief-force belonged to a unit of this description.

(1) *Lyons*: More than one historian of the Imperial period has stated that London played in the life of Britain the same part as Lyons did in that of Gaul.[1] It is true that in two respects early Lyons differed from early London, for it was made a *colonia* in 43 B.C., and an altar to Roma and Augustus was erected there in 12 B.C.

But in many respects the parallel is almost complete. Lyons 'was endowed with hardly any territory . . . from the first the intention was that it should thrive, not by its estates like Milan, but by its trade and its advantages as a seat of government for the whole of long-haired Gaul'.[2] Although the size of the *territorium*[3] with which a *colonia* or *municipium* was endowed was usually an element of primary importance in its development, such was evidently not so in the case of Lyons, for it was intended that it should function imperially and not territorially or locally.

The small extent of the *territorium* with which Lyons was endowed may be compared with its total absence in the case of London.[4] In each case the advantages of a navigable river and an ideal situation for road communication would facilitate trade within the Empire and administration within the province.

At Lyons, amongst its abundant inscriptions (*C. I. L.* xiii, 1726–2445), few will be found relating to local magistrates, indicating that municipal affairs played quite a minor part in the life of the *colonia*, and that its chief function was that of Imperial and Provincial administration.[5]

So also in London, amongst its scanty list of inscriptions those of most historical importance relate to official, imperial, and provincial administration and not to local self-government.

Thus, we have an altar to the Divinity of the Emperor and the Province of Britain (*C. I. L.* vii, 22)[6] and inscriptions referring to a slave of the Province

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[1] Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 213.

[2] Quoted from Reid, *op. cit.*, 179.

[3] Nîmes had twenty-four *oppida attributa* (Pliny, *N. H.* 3, 4, 37).

[4] There is no evidence that London was endowed with a *territorium* in the Roman period. As the late Prof. Haverfield explained (*J. R. S.* i, 179), the *territorium* is appropriate only to a municipality or colony. The first definite reference to London in association with territory appears to be contained in a charter of Stephen, A.D. 1141 (J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 140).

[5] See Hirschfeld's introduction to the Lyons inscriptions, *C. I. L.* xiii, p. 253. For this reference, and for valuable advice relative to the question of the status of Roman London, we are indebted to Mr. S. N. Miller.

[6] Mr. R. G. Collingwood submits the following as the probable restoration and rendering of this important inscription: Num(ini) C[aesaris] . . . prov(incia) . . . Brita(nnia) . . . 'To the deity of the

(*C. I. L.* vii, 28) and to *publicani*, or to procurators of the Province (*C. I. L.* vii, 1235).[1]

Incidentally, it may be noted that the inscription to the divinity of the Emperor set up by the province of Britain suggests that after the failure of the abortive attempt to establish Colchester[2] as the centre of the Imperial cult, this was transferred to London.

(2) The civil settlement at Mainz grew into the largest town on the Rhine and became the capital of Roman Germany. Here again the navigable river and the advantages of the site as the nucleus of the Rhenish road-system determined its selection as the centre of Imperial administration. Yet, while much smaller places received the municipal status (e. g. Xanten, in the reign of Trajan), Mainz was never endowed with the colonial or municipal title.[3]

It will thus be seen that the colonial or municipal status was by no means necessary to the development of a flourishing community. Indeed, the absence of local tradition and of local or territorial interests, as well as the exclusion of the municipalized native element, may have, on the other hand, facilitated the growth of a place which was intended to rise through its trade and as an official centre of Imperial administration. According to this view the function of London was, from the earliest years of the Conquest, Imperial and Provincial rather than local and territorial, and this circumstance, combined with its great commercial possibilities, readily explains its early prosperity.

The results of this inquiry may be stated as follows:

(1) Roman London probably originated in a pre-Conquest settlement of Italian and other traders.

(2) During the Claudian period it attained to the position of a flourishing community.

(3) From the earliest period of Roman Britain, London was probably the centre of the financial and civil administration of the province.[4]

Emperor, set up by the province of Britain.' The inscription belongs to the late first or early second century.

[1] Another reading, by Mr. G. H. Stevenson and Mr. R. G. Collingwood, suggests that the officials referred to were *p(ortitores)*, the officers of the *portoria*. Whether *publicani*, *procuratores*, or *portitores*, these tile-inscriptions clearly refer to officials of the province of Britain.

[2] Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 32; *Agricola*, 16.

[3] In the third century Mainz is termed a *civitas* (*C. I. L.* xiii, 6727), in the reign of Diocletian, just as London is called a *civitas* in the list of signatures at the Council of Arles (A. D. 314). But at this date *civitas* was used in a general sense and applied to cities of various degrees of importance, and in no way implied a colonial or municipal title (Abbott and Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, 192).

[4] The question whether this administration was continuous or interrupted is outside the scope of this paper.

LIST OF POTTERS' STAMPS RECORDED ON THE MAP

ITALIAN POTTERS

Potters.	*Stamps.*	*Forms.*	*Provenance.*	*References.*
AMAR	AMAR	Ritt. 5	Leadenhall Market	London Museum
ATEIVS	ATEI *in planta pedis*	Drag. 24/25	Railway Approach, London Bridge, 1841	Bethnal Green Museum
CORNELIVS	COREL	Crater	Probably in Southwark, 1837	*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, L 160
ZOILVS	ΣOII	27 with rouletted wall	Lombard Street	Guildhall Museum
"	ΣOILI	Ritt. 8	Leadenhall Street, 1882	University Museum of Archaeology, Cambridge

PROVINCIAL POTTERS

Potters.	*Stamps.*	*Forms.*	*Provenance.*	*References.*
AMANDVS[1]	AMAN	27	General Post Office	*Archaeologia*, lxvi, p. 239
"	OFAMN	27	Clement's Lane	London Museum
"	MAND	—	St. Olave's, Southwark	*C. I. L.*, vii, 50
"	AMD	27	King William Street	London Museum
BALBVS	BALBVS·F	18	London Wall	*Brit. Mus. Cat.* M 619
BILICATVS	[OF B]ILICAT	29	King William Street	Guildhall Museum
"	OFIC BILICAT	29	National Safe Deposit Offices	" "
"	OFIC BILICAT	18	" " " "	" "
COCVS[1]	COCI·O	Ritt. 9	Lombard Street	London Museum
INGENVVS	INGENVI	18	London Wall	*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 653
"	INGEN	18	Eastcheap	" " " M 654
"	[I]NGENVI	18	King William Street	Guildhall Museum
"	INGENVI	18	General Post Office	" "
LICINVS	LIC·INVS·F	29	Near Southwark Cathedral	*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 378
"	OF·LICNI	Ritt. 1	Fenchurch Street	London Museum
"	LICIN	27	Gracechurch Street	" "
"	OF·LICNI	18	Steel Yard, Cannon Street Station, near river	Guildhall Museum
"	OF·LICIN	27	Christ's Hospital	" "
"	LICNVS	27 two exx.	King William Street	" "
"	LICINVS·F	29	General Post Office	" "
"	LICNVS	27 two exx.	Clement's Lane	" "
"	LICNI	18	General Post Office	" "
LICINIANA	LICINIAA	29	King William Street	London Museum
"	OF·LICINAA	29	" " "	" "
"	[L]ICINIAA O	18	General Post Office	Guildhall Museum
MACCARVS	OF·MACCAR	Ritt. 1	King William Street	Phoenix Assurance Company
"	OF·MACCAR	18	" " "	Guildhall Museum
"	OF·MACCAR	18	Baltic House, St. Mary Axe	" "
"	OF·MACCλ	27	Paternoster Square	" "
"	OF·MACCA	—	Southwark	Oswald and Pryce, p. 51
POTITVS	POTITIAA	29	Lombard Street	London Museum
REGENVS	REGENV/	18	King William Street	Guildhall Museum
SALVE	SALV/	15/17	National Safe Deposit	" "
"	SALV/	18	" " "	" "
"	SALVE	24/25	Monkwell Street	*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 776
SCOTIVS	SCOTIVS	18	Steel Yard	Guildhall Museum

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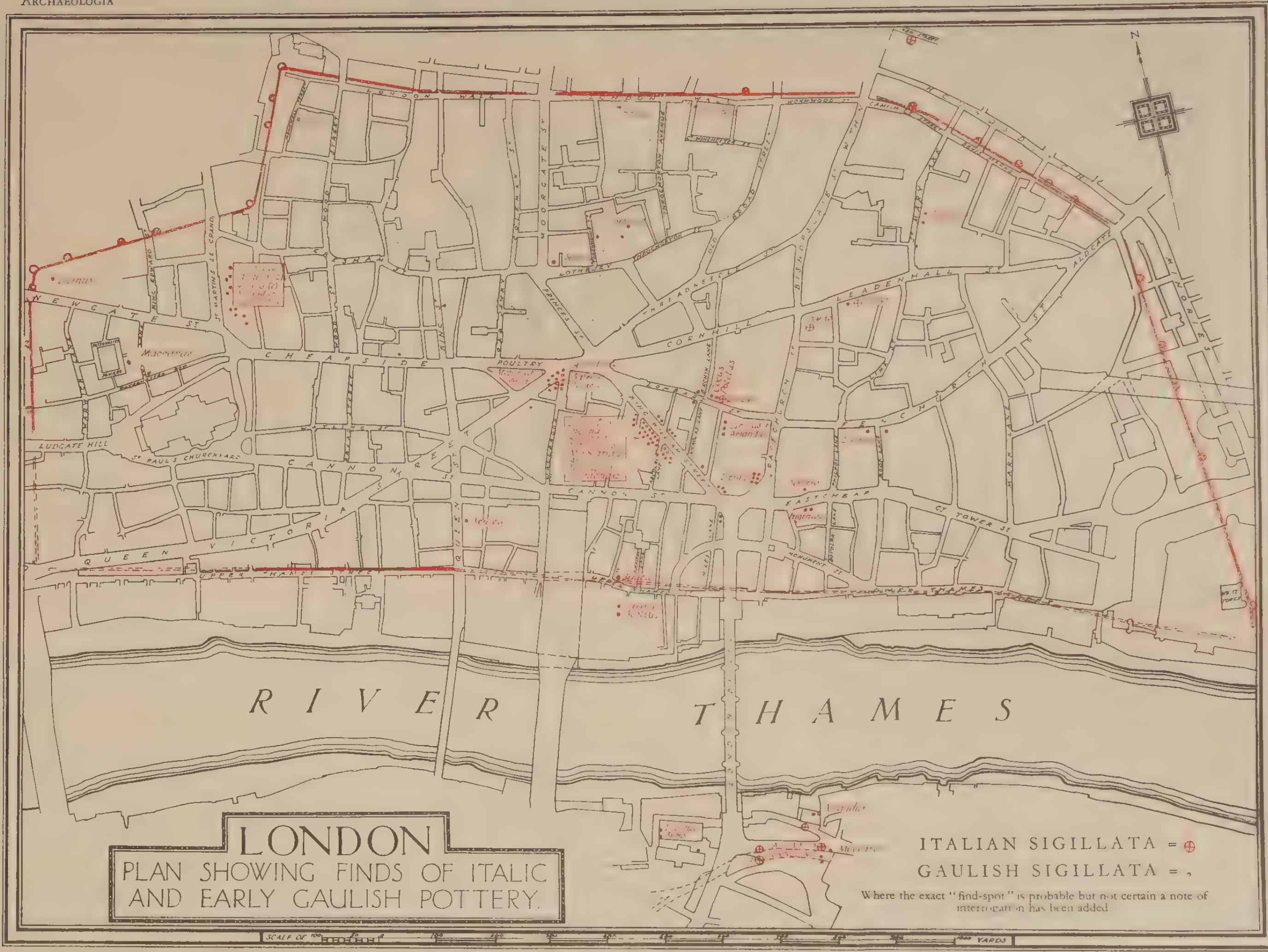
[1] Denotes the early potter.


N
LONDON WALL
LONDON WALL
NEWGATE ST
CHEAPSIDE
POULTRY
GRESHAM ST
LOTHBURY
MOORGATE ST
COLEMAN ST
PRINCES ST
KING ST
WOOD ST
ST MARTINS LE GRAND
KING EDWARD ST
WARWICK LA
LUDGATE HILL
ST PAULS CHURCHYARD
WATLING ST
CANNON ST
QUEEN VICTORIA ST
QUEEN ST
QUEEN
UPPER THAMES STREET
UPPER THAMES ST
LOWER THAMES ST
THREADNEEDLE ST
OLD BROAD ST
CORNHILL
LOMBARD ST
KING WILLIAM ST
GRACECHURCH ST
BISHOPSGATE ST WITHIN
LEADENHALL ST
FENCHURCH ST
EASTCHEAP
GT TOWER ST
MONUMENT ST
ALDGATE
HOUNDSDITCH
MINORIES
MARK LANE
ST MARY AXE
THROGMORTON ST
THROGMORTON AVENUE
WORMWOOD ST
CAMOMILE ST
NEW ST
WALBROOK
BIRCHIN LANE
NICHOLAS LANE
ABCHURCH LANE
LONDON BRIDGE
RIVER THAMES
SCALE OF 100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 YARDS

LONDON

PLAN SHOWING FINDS OF ITALIC AND EARLY GAULISH POTTERY.

ITALIAN SIGILLATA = ⊕

GAULISH SIGILLATA = ,

Where the exact "find-spot" is probable but not certain a note of interrogation has been added

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PROVINCIAL POTTERS (*continued*)

Potters.	*Stamps.*	*Forms.*	*Provenance.*	*References.*
SENICIO	SENICIO	24/25	King William Street	Guildhall Museum
"	"	27	" " "	" "
"	"	27	National Safe Deposit	" "
"	"	27	Baltic House	" "
"	"	27	Thames Street	" "
"	SENICI/	27	General Post Office	" "
"	SENICIO	24/25	" " "	*Archaeologia*, lxvi, p. 239
"	"	27	Queen Street or Great St. Helen's	*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 886
"	"	27	Lothbury	" " " M 887
"	"	27	Copthall Court	" " " M 888
"	"	27	King William Street	London Museum
"	"	—	Eastcheap	*Brit. Rom.* portfolio iii, Soc. Antiq. Lond.
SENO	SENOλ = SENOM	27	Southwark	Guildhall Museum

INVENTORY OF EARLY TYPES RECORDED ON THE MAP

Southwark: *Italian*: Figs. 3, 7, 9, 11. *Provincial*: Figs. 21, 48, 61.

Eastcheap: Fig. 22.

Fenchurch Street: Form 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 207.

Gracechurch Street: Figs. 20, 28, 33, 49; Form 29, London Museum, A 24416.

Guardian Office: Fig. 73; Form 29, scroll, as Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 14 a, b, Form 30, scroll, as Ritterling, xxvii, 19.

St. Michael's, Crooked Lane: Form 29, sessile straight wreath in the style of BILICATVS and SCOTTIVS (*Brit. Rom.* portfolio iii, Soc. Antiq. Lond.); Form 29, early acorn scroll (*ibid.*).

Leadenhall Market: Fig. 1, *Italian.*

Leadenhall Street: *Italian*: text-fig. 1. *Provincial*: Figs. 39, 71.

Lombard Street: *Italian*: Fig. 2. *Provincial*: Figs. 38, 62, 67; Form 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 1014.

King William Street: Figs. 27, 54, 55, 57, 58, 66, 72. Form 29, London Museum, anthemion as fig. 57; Form 29, London Museum, A 28498, early style of CRESTIO; Form 29, London Museum, early straight wreath (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, M 1002); Form 29, Phoenix Office (cf. Ritterling, *op. cit.*, xxvii, 13, 14); Form 29, Stanfield Collection, small rim, decoration in the style of AMANDVS and NAMVS; Form 30, Phoenix Office, figure of Victory as on Arretine prototypes; Form 30, London Museum, A 23204, early cruciform ornament with corner tendrils terminating in three rosettes as fig. 63; Form 30, Phoenix Office, upright plant ornament as fig. 61.

Angel Court: Fig. 16.

Tokenhouse Yard: Fig. 17.

New Street: Fig. 13, probably Italian.

National Safe Deposit Offices: Figs. 19, 25, 29, 34, 44, 46, 47, 59.

Barge Yard, Bucklersbury: Form 29, Stanfield Collection, volutes on the lower frieze.

Cheapside: Fig. 52.

King Street: Form 29, volutes on the lower frieze.

General Post Office: Figs. 23, 50, 65.

Paternoster Row: Fig. 64.

We desire to acknowledge our indebtedness to the authorities of the British, Guildhall, London, Bethnal Green, Victoria and Albert, and Horniman Museums, and of various City Companies for material placed at our disposal. More particularly, we wish to thank Messrs. H. B. Walters, Reginald A. Smith, T. D. Kendrick, R. E. M. Wheeler, L. C. G. Clarke, Q. Waddington, and J. S. Stanfield. We also wish to express our indebtedness to Mr. G. F. Lawrence, who, whilst at the London Museum, acquired much of the *Sigillata* which has so largely contributed to the detail-evidence embodied in this paper.

Postscript: When this paper was already in type, Dr. Wheeler showed me a sherd of red-glazed Mediterranean ware (? Arretine) bearing the stamp MAP KOY and found in Leadenhall Street. This sherd will be published on a later occasion.—T. D. P.

DISCUSSION

Mr. BUSHE-FOX could not improve on the authors' expert handling of the Arretine and Samian wares, and acknowledged the great utility of their work on the subject. The Claudian occupation was amply proved, but he regarded pre-Claudian London as possible, not probable. It was hazardous to compare wares from London with those from military sites, as the conditions of supply were not the same. London arose at the most convenient point on the river and served as a clearing-house for British trade. Soon after the Conquest there must have been a great influx of traders, some probably from Italy, and at that time Arretine ware was still flourishing beyond the Alps. London would therefore get more of it than the military centres mentioned by Dr. Pryce, which would have replenished their supply from the nearest potteries, viz. those of South Gaul. The question of pre-Roman London must be left in abeyance, and the evidence adduced was based solely on Arretine and Samian finds, the coarser wares not being considered. Only a few pieces of La Tène ware had been found locally, and all might be post-Conquest in date. The pre-Claudian area of London would necessarily be a small one, but the evidence, such as it was, indicated that the early pottery was distributed over a considerable area. The nearest large towns were Colchester and Verulamium; shipping could have carried trade direct to the former, and there was no conclusive evidence that London served as the port of the latter, and no pre-Roman road for traffic between the two had been demonstrated. More evidence could be accumulated only by the scientific watching of excavations. The present paper had proved how much had been learnt in the last twenty years; also the value of Samian ware as evidence of date.

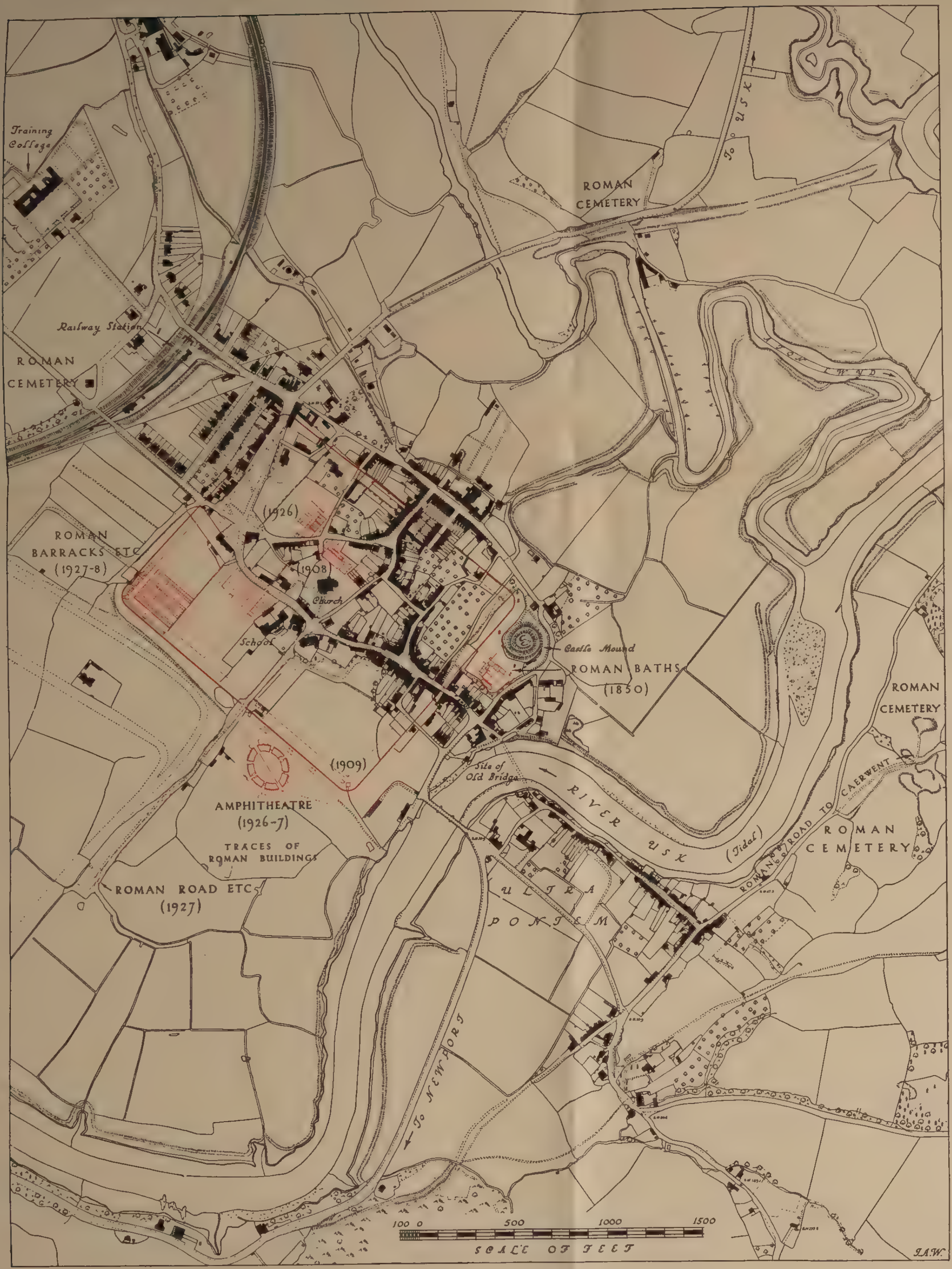
Mr. WALTERS had himself been working on Samian ware twenty years ago and codifying the Roman finds in London. The authors' assistance would have been very valuable at that time. The specimens illustrated showed an extraordinary richness and fertility of invention, and it was curious that figure-subjects were ignored in the Claudian period, though popular on the later bowls of form 37. The comparative abundance of the earliest ware in Southwark had to be explained, but he was inclined to consider the pre-Claudian occupation not proven.

Mr. KITSON CLARK said there were parallels in York of great interest, and the question of high-tide level in the Roman period affected both cities. He remembered the chastening effect of Dr. Pryce's presence on some excavators of a Roman site in York, where dating depended chiefly on the pottery; and thought the paper would be of great service to all students of the period.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH remarked that, even if London existed at the time of the Claudian conquest, it was not mentioned by Dio Cassius, who named the Thames and described a battle in the vicinity. Though burials in the saltings of north Kent proved that the land was then several feet higher than at present, Mr. Codrington had written a long paper to show that nearly all Southwark was flooded at every high tide in the Roman period. Pottery might possibly have been dropped from boats, but several pavements in the Borough proved occupation. Pottery was certainly better evidence than coins, which had been mapped by Mr. Lambert (*Archaeologia*, lxvi, fig. 25, p. 271) and shown to be almost confined in Claudian times to the east side of the Walbrook. In that area the finds mapped on the screen might be misinterpreted: the sites in King William Street, Bucklersbury, and the General Post Office had been better excavated than others, but Roman debris was probably just as thickly scattered in other parts of that area. He did not believe that such fragile pottery reached London long after its manufacture, or had so long a period of usefulness as the coins. The drawings thrown on the screen were entirely Dr. Oswald's work, and bore striking testimony to his skill and patience, besides illustrating a paper of great technical interest.

The President had specially enjoyed the slides and had come to recognize the hand of several master-potters. The ornamental *répertoire* was limited and conventional, but there was no doubt of the dexterity displayed. The shapes were as fine as the paste, and the glazed surface as good as could be; but, curiously enough, figure-subjects were lacking in Britain while they were being employed in the country of origin. He considered the ware was for civilian use, as any used by soldiers would be certainly destroyed on moving camp. The authors had combined most successfully in presenting a mass of material, and well merited the thanks of the Society.

Dr. Pryce replied that Mr. Bushe-Fox's contention with regard to Arretine pottery on civil and military sites was not convincing. Military officers would create a much greater demand than the few resident merchants or half-Romanized inhabitants; and there was archaeological proof of that demand in such military centres as Haltern, Xanten, Sels, and Mainz. Practically all the Arretine found in London was of pre-Claudian manufacture, perhaps two or three decades before the Conquest. To Dr. Oswald and himself a pre-Claudian London was not only possible but probable; and though Celtic pottery was admittedly rare, what there was of it was quite consistent with a settlement ten or twenty years before the Claudian Conquest. In their opinion Southwark was definitely the oldest part of London, the proportion of Arretine to Provincial ware being much higher there than north of the river. He was glad to find that the idea of a pre-Claudian London had received some support, but felt that Dio's bridge across the Thames was in itself unsatisfactory evidence.


Training College
Railway Station
ROMAN CEMETERY
To USK
ROMAN CEMETERY
AFON LWYD
(1926)
ROMAN BARRACKS ETC (1927-8)
(1908)
Church
School
Castle Mound
ROMAN BATHS (1850)
ROMAN CEMETERY
(1909)
Site of Old Bridge
RIVER USK (Tidal)
ROMAN ROAD TO CAERWENT
ROMAN CEMETERY
AMPHITHEATRE (1926-7)
TRACES OF ROMAN BUILDINGS
ROMAN ROAD ETC (1927)
ULTRA PONTEM
To NEWPORT
100 0 500 1000 1500
SCALE OF FEET
J.A.W.

Plan of Caerleon showing Roman structures and cemeteries known in 1928

(Adapted from the Ordnance Survey 25-inch map with the sanction of the Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

V.—*The Roman Amphitheatre at Caerleon, Monmouthshire. By* R. E. M. Wheeler, *D.Lit., F.S.A., and* T. V. Wheeler, *F.S.A.*

Read 26th January 1928

The small town of Caerleon lies upon the banks of 'full-tided Usk', on the north-eastern outskirts of Newport in Monmouthshire. In a superficial sense it may, indeed, be regarded as the forebear of the medieval and modern borough which, two miles nearer the Severn estuary, has first replaced and now, spreading inland, threatens to absorb it. At the end of 1925 events moved with unexpected rapidity in this direction. Land in the centre of Caerleon—and therefore in the centre of the site of the Roman legionary fortress—changed hands for immediate 'development', and urgent action was necessary. On the initiative of the National Museum of Wales, a representative 'Caerleon Excavation Committee', under the presidency of Lord Treowen and the chairmanship of Dr. C. A. H. Green, then bishop of Monmouth, was called into being; whilst the Presidents of the Society of Antiquaries, the British Academy, the Classical Association, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, and other bodies, realizing that Caerleon provided the only example in Britain of a legionary fortress which was not almost completely covered by medieval or modern buildings, issued a joint appeal to the press.

In reply to this appeal, the proprietors of the *Daily Mail* newspaper came forward with an offer to supply the unsubscribed portion of the fund immediately required. To this very generous suggestion, however, we offered an amendment. The amphitheatre, known probably since the Middle Ages as King Arthur's Round Table, had long been more than a local landmark, and the trial-excavations carried out in it in 1909 by the Liverpool Committee for Excavation and Research in Wales and the Marches had amply demonstrated the excellent state of preservation of the buried structure.[1] It seemed to us, therefore, that the excavation of the amphitheatre and its presentation to the nation would more amply reward the generosity of the *Daily Mail* for its timely intervention, and would incidentally encourage the public to assist in the less spectacular but equally important work elsewhere in and around the fortress. In the outcome, the *Daily Mail* trebled its original offer, and, with welcome supplementary grants which its action drew from the Loyal Knights of the Round Table of America, enabled the Excavation Committee to clear the amphitheatre completely and to hand it over to the Office of Works for preservation as a national monument. The task involved the excavation, examination, and cartage of nearly 30,000 tons of soil, and it may be of interest to record that in 1926–7 the total cost amounted to just under two shillings a ton.

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[1] The results of these excavations have not been published, but photographs taken during the work have been reproduced in *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* 1913, 71, and in R. E. M. Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales,* 225.

The excavation was supervised during its first six weeks by Mr. V. E. Nash-Williams, of the National Museum of Wales; during the following four months by Mr. J. N. L. Myres, of Christ Church, Oxford; and during the remaining eight months by Mrs. R. E. M. Wheeler, who collaborates in the present report. On the part of the Office of Works every assistance has been given by our Director Mr. C. R. Peers, and by Mr. A. Heasman and Mr. J. F. Milne, whilst the very excellent plans and sections, which form the backbone of the report, have been prepared by Mr. J. A. Wright, also of the Office of Works. In the compilation of this report the writers have been greatly assisted by Mr. R. G. Collingwood and Mr. S. N. Miller in regard to the inscriptions, and by Dr. T. Davies Pryce and Dr. Felix Oswald in regard to the Samian pottery; and thanks are due to the Cambrian Archaeological Association and the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion for the loan of blocks. Reference should also be made to the continuous assistance rendered throughout the excavation by Mr. J. V. Bowen as clerk of works, and to students of the universities of Oxford and of Wales in various useful capacities.

1. The Site of the Amphitheatre; Previous Occupation

The Roman fortress was oblong in plan, with sides roughly 540 and 450 yards in length and an area of about 50 acres. It faced the Usk close to the point of juncture with the tributary Afon Lwyd, which flanks it on the north-east. On this side and towards the rising ground on the north-west lay Roman cemeteries, whilst a third extensive cemetery has yielded abundant relics on the eastern outskirts of the present bridge-head suburb of Ultra Pontem across the Usk (pl. xvii). The only remaining ground suitable for extra-mural habitation was the tract which intervened between the south-western defences and the flood-plain of the recurving Usk, some 800 yards away. Through this tract a Roman road, identified by excavation in 1927, ran straight from the south-west gate for at least 300 yards, and was flanked on both sides by buildings.[1] Amongst these, the most striking known to us is the amphitheatre, midway between the site of the gateway and the southern corner of the fortress (pl. xx). It lies only 50 ft.

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[1] See H. G. Evelyn-White, *First Annual Report of Liverpool Committee for Excavation, &c.*, 1908, pp. 53 ff.; supplemented by local information and by recent excavation, the results of which will be published later, probably in *Archaeologia Cambrensis.*

from the line of the fortress-wall (here represented approximately by a modern wall, built about a century ago) and crowns the slope which falls away towards the river on the south and south-east. Between the amphitheatre and the fortress lie a narrow Roman road and a single defensive V-shaped ditch, which was shown by two cuttings to be 15 ft. wide and 8½ ft. deep. A second, outer ditch was sought in vain both to the north and to the south of the amphitheatre.

Equally on historical and on archaeological grounds the foundation of the fortress is not likely to have been later than the consolidation of South Wales by Frontinus about 75 A. D. It will be seen that the building of the amphitheatre occurred apparently not more, and perhaps less, than a decade later. During this decade, however, the amphitheatre-site and its vicinity were already in use. A series of rubbish-pits was dug close outside the ditch to the south-east of the site; and immediately to the south-west, outside the future Entrance H of the amphitheatre, a bath-building was erected before the amphitheatre was marked out. The priority of the bath-building in its original form is indicated by the fact that it lay across the site of the adjacent amphitheatre-entrance, and had to be altered in order to render the latter effective (see below, p. 145).

No coins were found in deposits which were definitely earlier than the amphitheatre, but the few potsherds from those deposits are of Flavian character. They include fragments of Samian 18 and 29, and of a small flanged bowl of buff ware, all found under Bath-building A, which was itself erected contemporaneously with the amphitheatre; whilst in a rubbish-pit outside Entrance C the stratum which was sealed at the time of the building of the amphitheatre contained a Samian dish of form 18 bearing the Nero-Flavian stamp OF PATRIC, a sherd of form 24/25 assignable to any date between Augustus and Vespasian (fig. 17, no. 5), several fragments of form 27 of 1st-century character, a sherd of form 29 decorated with gadroons and ascribed by Dr. Davies Pryce to the period Nero-Vespasian, a piece of green-glazed ware of S. Remy type and 1st-century date, two buff mortaria of flat-flanged 1st-century type, and a ring-necked jug probably of the Flavian period. There is no need, therefore, to suppose that any of this pottery was made before the period 60–80 A. D.—a point of some interest in connexion with the problem whether the legion first reached Caerleon before the middle of the century or whether it arrived only at the time of the final subjugation of the Silures about the year 75. For pre-amphitheatre pottery, see fig. 21, nos. 46, 47, 48, 59; and for early Samian, see pl. XXXV, 1, and fig. 17, nos. 1, 2, and 5.

2. The Amphitheatre: Its Three Main Phases

Most of the evidence bearing upon the structural history of the amphitheatre was recovered from the eight entrances, which will shortly be described in turn. The variety of detail presented by them is at first sight somewhat confusing, but it has at the same time enabled the inferences to be cross-checked to such a degree that the main conclusions as to the relative chronology may safely be anticipated and used by the reader as a working-index. The absolute chronology and its historical implications will be discussed in later sections (pp. 146 and 152).

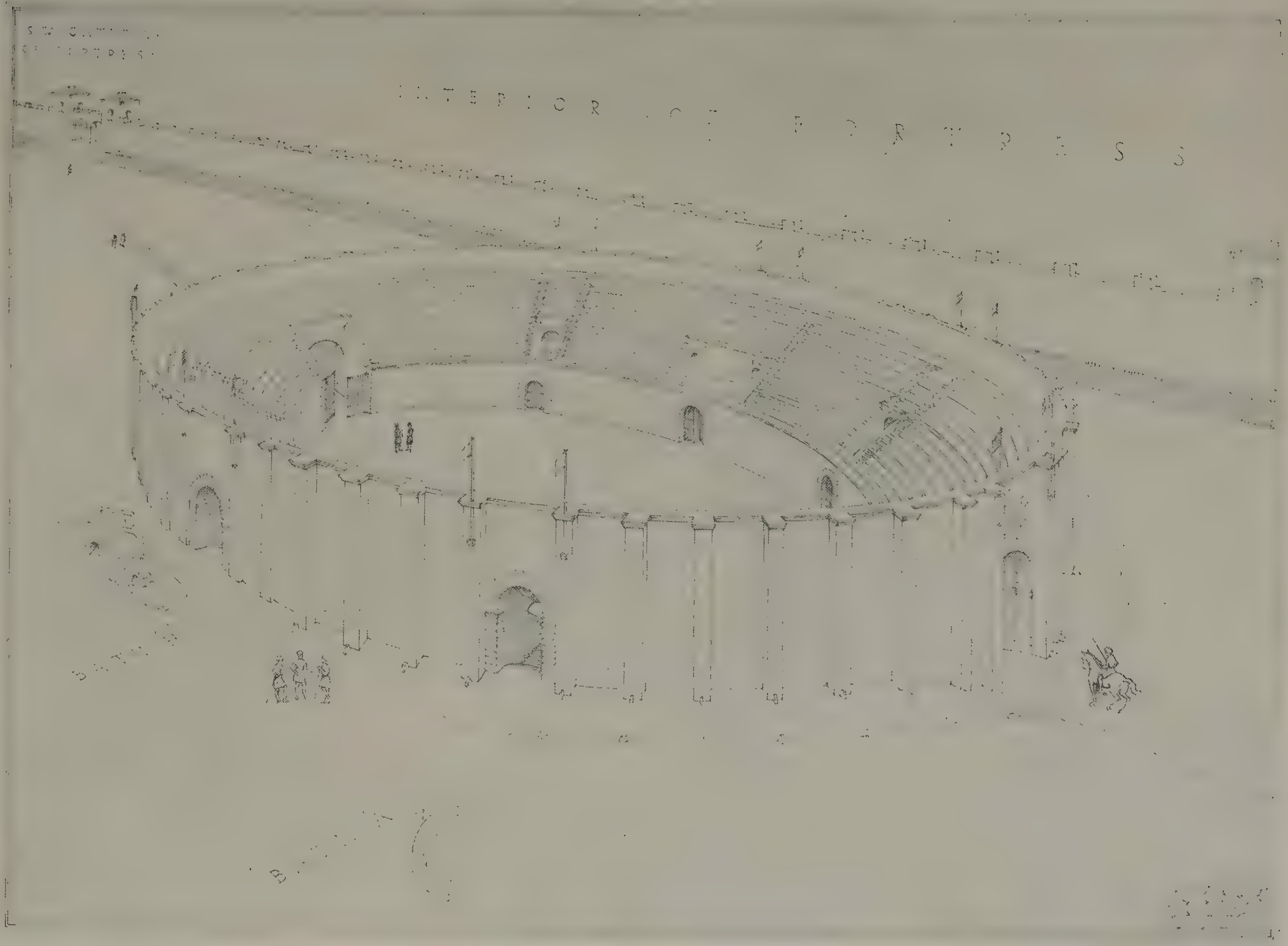
Apart from minor reparations, the structural history falls into three phases.

Period I (*c.* 80 A.D.). The amphitheatre was an oval structure with the following main dimensions: over-all, longer axis 267 ft., shorter axis 222 ft.; arena, longer axis 184 ft., shorter axis 136½ ft. It will be shown by Mr. J. A. Wright (below, p. 215) that the Roman surveyor's base-line was the shorter arena-axis, which is exactly 140 Roman feet in length, and that the plan of the arena was laid out systematically from four centres. To this plan the external boundary of the amphitheatre roughly corresponds, but the line of its curve is not at all regular (the over-all measurement from external wall to arena-wall varying from 40½ to 44½ ft.) and there can be no doubt that the arena was laid out first.

With the arena were marked out the inner ends of the eight entrances, which are placed symmetrically along its outline. This process is particularly clear in Entrance C, where the inner end of the entrance is normal to the curve of the arena whilst the remainder of the entrance is twisted by the irregular position of its outer end (see plans, pl. xx, and fig. 6). Similarly, Entrance D is correctly spaced in relation to the arena, but swings as much as 2¼ ft. from the axis at its outer end. These irregularities emphasize the somewhat haphazard manner in which the external wall and openings were laid out—a point which is further illustrated by the occurrence of a definite break in the line of the former at several of the entrances, the jamb on one side standing out in front of that on the other side.

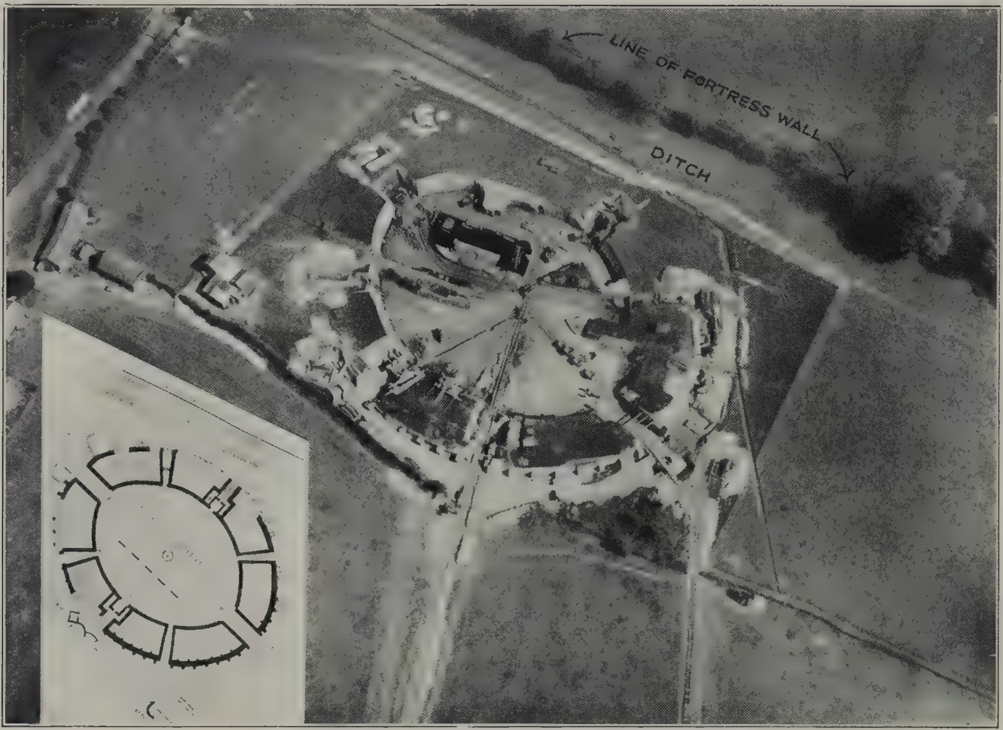
It is clear that, the surveyor having laid out the arena with some care and issued general instructions as to the remaining dimensions, the work was left, in characteristic Roman fashion, to the rule-of-thumb methods of the individual centurial gangs whose prowess is abundantly commemorated by inscriptions (below, p. 155).

The arena was traversed along its longer axis by a stone-lined drain, 2½ ft. wide and upwards of 2 ft. deep, which began below the lower (inner) arch of the


INTERIOR OF FORTRESS

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CAERLEON AMPHITHEATRE
(From a drawing by J. A. Wright)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928


LINE OF FORTRESS WALL
DITCH

Air-photograph of the amphitheatre during excavation

(*Surrey Flying Services*)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

vault above the main northern entrance, known hereafter as Entrance F, and at both ends of the arena received the rain-water from the surrounding gutter. Within the arena the drain is now open; its former cover seems in part to have been of wood, since the slab-paving of Entrance F has sagged into it as though by the decay of the underlying support (pl. XXII, 2). Beneath and to the south of Entrance B, however, a stone covering is still in position. At least one of the cover-slabs is no less than 8 ft. long, and the drain itself rises to a height of 6 ft. beneath the summit of the ramp, beyond the southern end of the entrance (see section, fig. 1). Outside the entrance, the drain is joined by another, connected with the bath-building outside Entrance A; and from the point of junction the combined drain, with an average height of 4½ ft., proceeds south-eastwards towards the Usk. Its course has been traced for a distance of 290 ft. in that direction (plan, pl. XVII).

The arena was floored primarily with the natural sand which here underlies the gravel. It had, however, been made up at various indeterminate times with trodden earth, broken brick, stones, and occasional patches of slabbing. The later repairs seem to have overridden and blocked the marginal gutter.

The seating of the *cavea* or auditorium was supported by a bank of earth retained by inner and outer walls of stone, the combined structure being from 40½ to 44½ ft. in over-all width. The external wall is faced internally as well as externally and was therefore built free. It is of solid build, on the average 5½ ft. thick, with a core of roughly coursed rubble heavily mortared with dark sandy white-speckled mortar which was readily distinguished from that of later repairs. At average intervals of 9 ft. 8 in. the wall was reinforced by external buttresses which, on the lower or southern side, where the wall was necessarily highest, were of considerable projection but were otherwise mere pilasters. Additional strength was given to the wall on the lower side by a series of twelve internal buttresses.

Contemporaneously with the building of the external wall, the gravel was excavated from the site of the future arena and possibly from some of the pits which seem to have abounded to the south of the structure. Stage by stage as the wall rose the bank rose too, serving doubtless as a working-platform; the irregular tip-lines or pauses in the heaping up of the bank were still readily discernible in our cuttings. Lastly, the arena-wall was carried up against the lower edge of the new bank, the V-shaped gap between the vertical wall and the sloping cliff of the bank being filled roughly with stones grouted with the characteristic sandy mortar.

The original height of the whole structure can be determined with some accuracy. The remains of the arches and of the actual vaulting in Entrances B and C give the original rake of the vaults which carried the former seating over the outer halves of the entrances (fig. 1); and from this it can be seen that between Entrances A and B the bank still remains nearly to its original height (fig. 2). Including a reasonable allowance for parapets, the arena-wall must have risen to a height of about 12 ft. above the arena, whilst the external wall must have reached a height of about 32 ft. above the same datum, although its relative height above the varying but higher ground-level outside the amphitheatre was always some feet less. The maximum surviving height (above the arena) of the arena-wall is 7 ft., of the exterior wall 16 ft., and of the bank 19 feet.

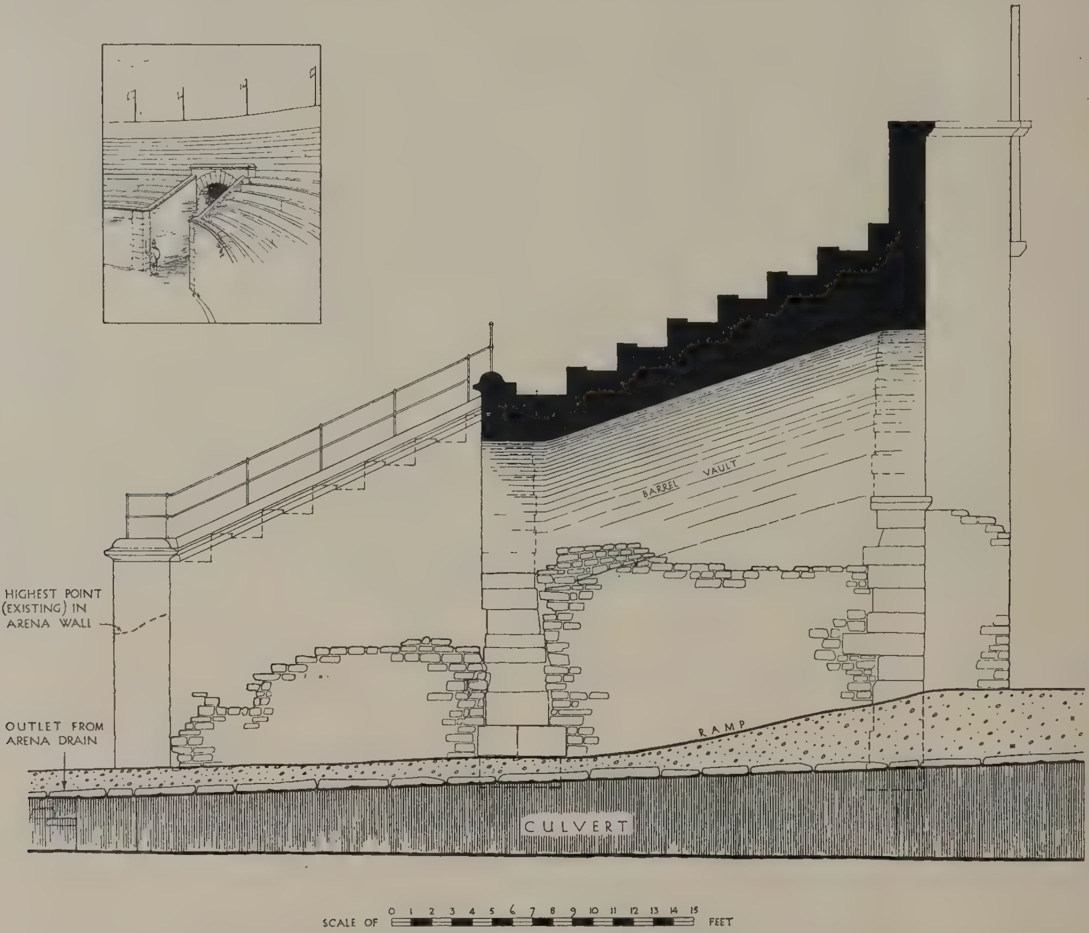
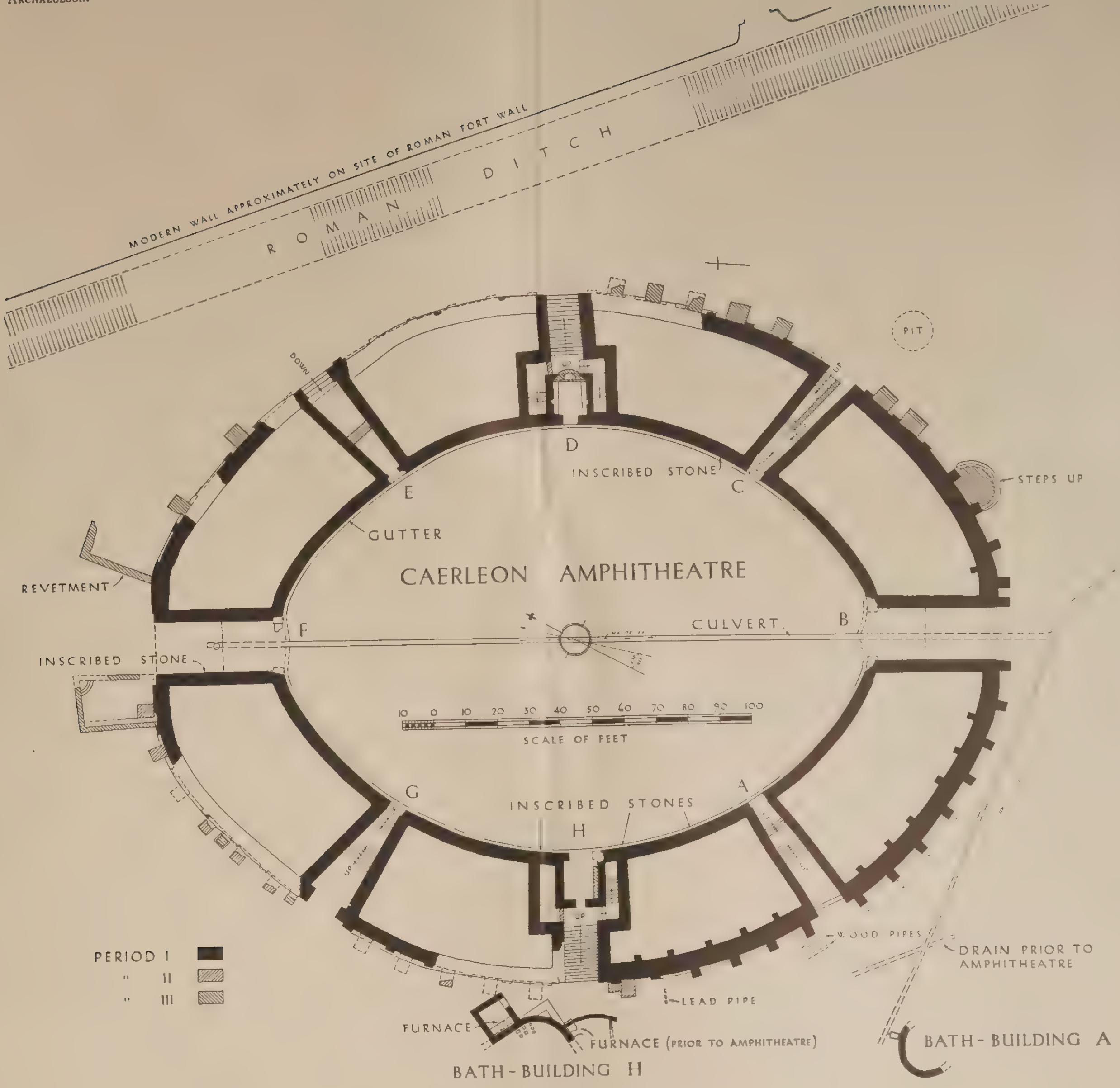
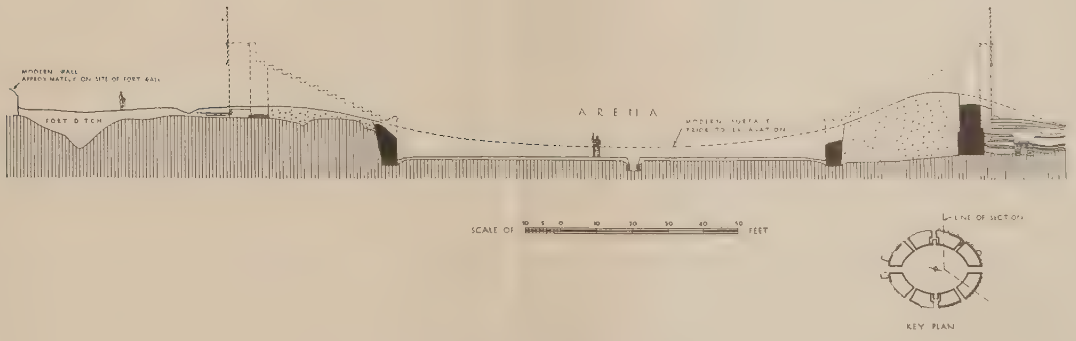

HIGHEST POINT (EXISTING) IN ARENA WALL
OUTLET FROM ARENA DRAIN
BARREL VAULT
RAMP
CULVERT
SCALE OF
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
FEET

Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the seating at Entrance B.

The seats were almost certainly of wood. No vestige of a stone seat was


MODERN WALL APPROXIMATELY ON SITE OF ROMAN FORT WALL
ROMAN DITCH
PIT
DOWN
UP
D
INSCRIBED STONE
C
STEPS UP
E
GUTTER
CAERLEON AMPHITHEATRE
REVETMENT
F
CULVERT
B
INSCRIBED STONE
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SCALE OF FEET
G
INSCRIBED STONES
A
H
UP
WOOD PIPES
DRAIN PRIOR TO AMPHITHEATRE
PERIOD I
" II
" III
LEAD PIPE
FURNACE
FURNACE (PRIOR TO AMPHITHEATRE)
BATH-BUILDING H
BATH-BUILDING A

PLAN OF THE AMPHITHEATRE


MODERN WALL APPROXIMATELY ON SITE OF FORT WALL
FORT DITCH
ARENA
MODERN SURFACE PRIOR TO EXCAVATION
SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET
LINE OF SECTION
KEY PLAN

SECTION ACROSS THE AMPHITHEATRE

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found throughout the excavations, and, where preserved nearly in its original form, the bank was covered with a layer of ashes which suggested the burning of wooden seating. For the use of timber for this purpose ample analogy can be found. Not only were the earliest amphitheatres entirely of timber,[1] but the earlier stone structures, as at Pompeii, were originally provided wholly or partly with timber-seating, and even the *cavea* of the Colosseum seems at first to have had an upper stage of this material—*summum maenianum in ligneis*, as an inscription has it.[2] Certain even of the larger amphitheatres in the provinces (e.g. at Bordeaux) seem always to have retained the use of timber-seating within a shell of masonry.

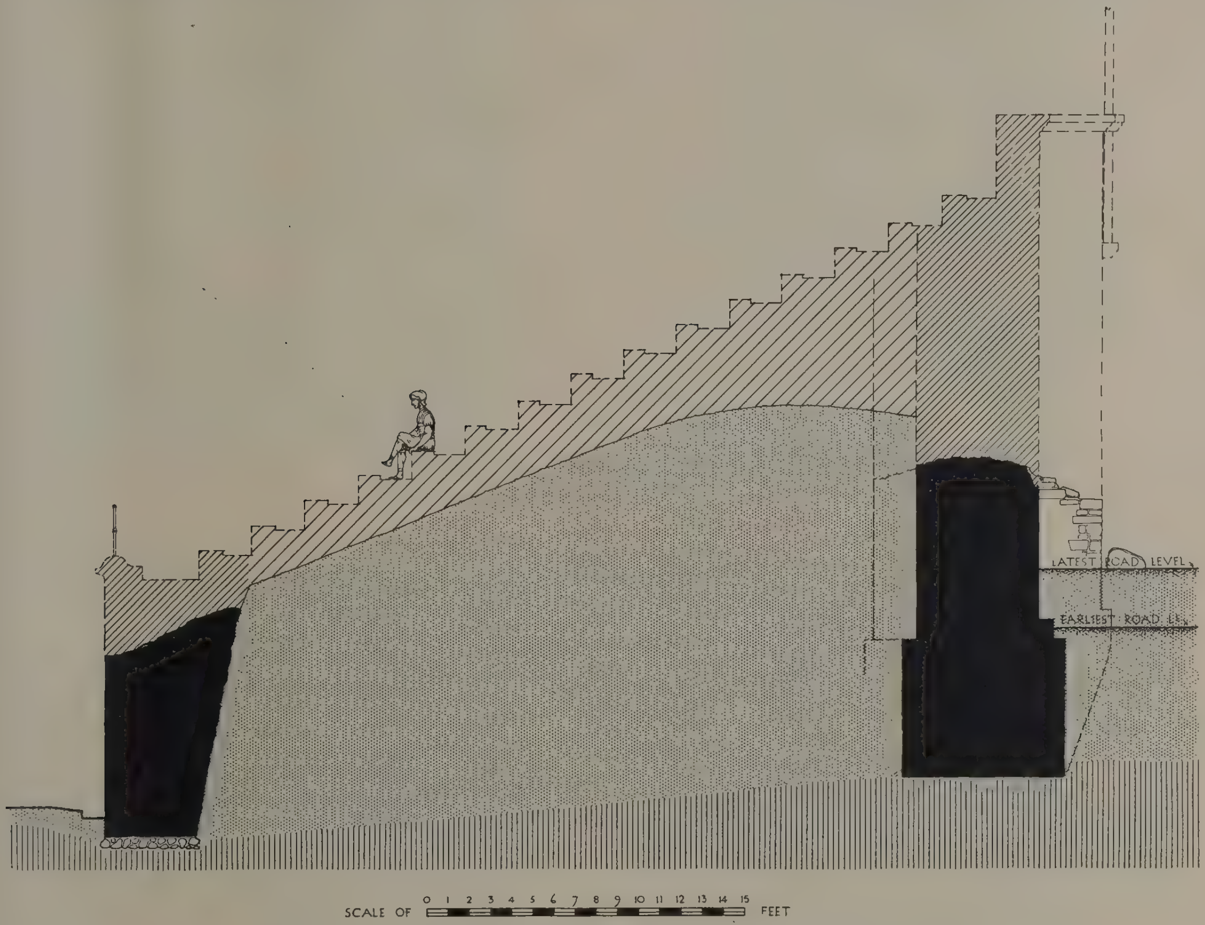

Fig. 2. Reconstruction of seating between Entrances A and B.

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[1] As late as 57 A. D. Nero built a wooden amphitheatre in Rome.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, vi, 2519.

The Caerleon amphitheatre, as originally constructed, was capable of seating about 6,000 persons. It is therefore one of the smallest masonry structures of its class. Without attempting to compare it with the great urban amphitheatres, such as the Colosseum with its seating for 45,000, or Pompeii with provision for 20,000, it may be noted that the corresponding structure outside the important legionary fortress of Carnuntum in Austria seated 8,000 (see fig. 4). In the absence of adequate excavation, it is unprofitable to attempt any comparison with the other amphitheatres of Britain.[1]

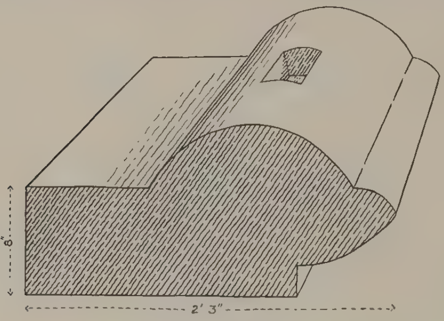

Fig. 3. Coping-stone.

Two further structural features may be noted in the present context. First the comparatively rough local sandstone of which the Caerleon amphitheatre was mainly built was disguised, in the case of the arena-wall, by a thick rendering of hard, smooth cement (pl. xxi, 2). Elsewhere it was brought to an approximately level surface by means of a thinner application of the same material to the hollows in the stonework, and on the new surface false masonry-joints were struck with a trowel and then emphasized by lining with crimson paint, presumably in imitation of brick-dust mortar (pl. xxiv, 2). Occasionally, the false joints are indicated in the paint alone, without grooving (pl. xxiv, 1). Similar false-pointing in crimson paint was found in 1909 on the face of the tower within the southern corner of the fortress,[2] and has been noted rarely elsewhere.[3]

Secondly, some fifteen blocks of moulded freestone[4] were found during the excavations, mostly within the entrances where the thick deposit of fallen masonry and earth had concealed and preserved them. These stones (fig. 3) were generally 2¼ ft. in depth, but were in two instances 1 ft. 8 in. and in one instance 3 ft. 1 in. They were apparently the coping of the parapet of the arena-wall and the sides of the entrances, and in some cases bore on the main quarter-round

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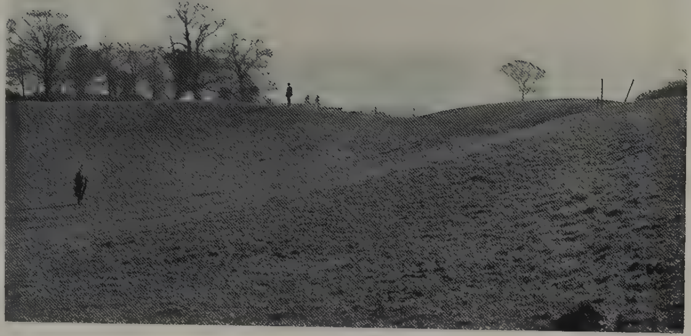
[1] The standard work on the Roman amphitheatre is still L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (1881), ii, 318 ff.

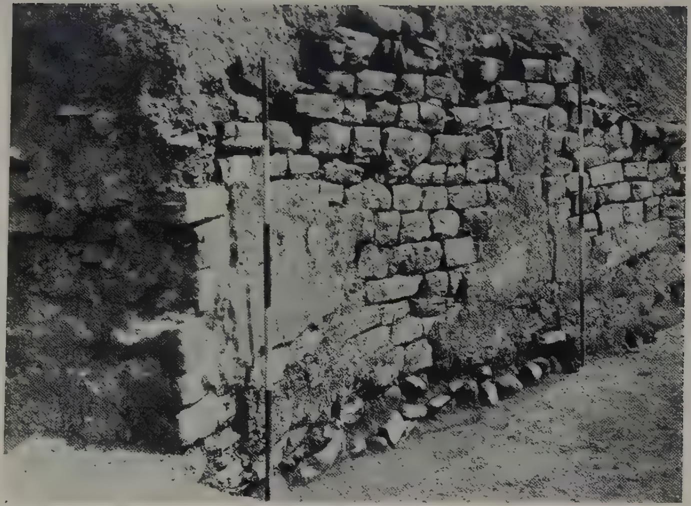
[2] Information from a circular issued in 1909 or 1910 by the Liverpool Committee already referred to. No report published. The tower was thought to be of Flavian date but may be slightly later.

[3] As on the German Limes in the Odenwald; *O. R. L.* Lief. 44, p. 28 and Taf. 15.

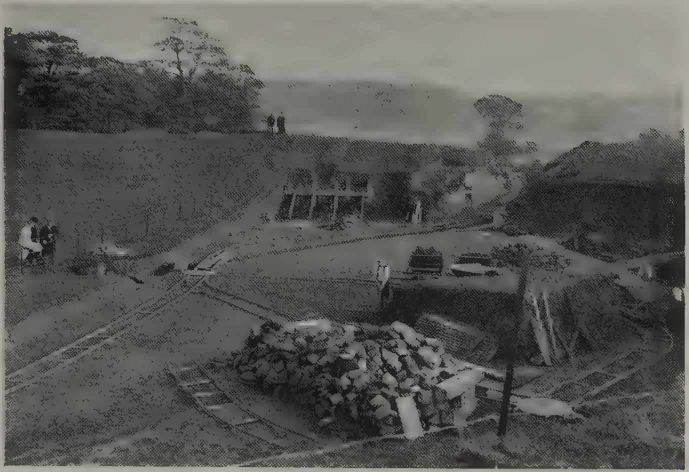
[4] The freestone here referred to, and used also for the piers or jambs of the entrances, is mostly 'a coarse oolitic limestone which undoubtedly came from the Bath Stone region, and not at all unlike the Coombe Down Stone, although it would of course be practically impossible to determine the precise origin. The middle piers of the Entrance B comprise both Old Red Sandstone and Limestone blocks, whilst others lying about were of calcareous grit and a much crystallized limestone, both of which undoubtedly came from some outcrop of the Oolite series.' We are indebted to Dr. F. J. North, of the National Museum of Wales, for this report.



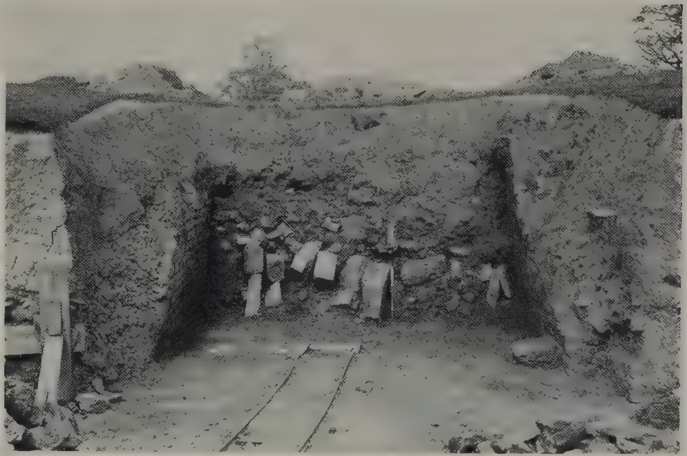
1. Southern end of amphitheatre before excavation



2. Arena-wall east of Entrance F, showing cement rendering



3. Southern end of amphitheatre during excavation; Entrance B in the background



4. Entrance F during excavation, showing fallen voussoirs of inner arch

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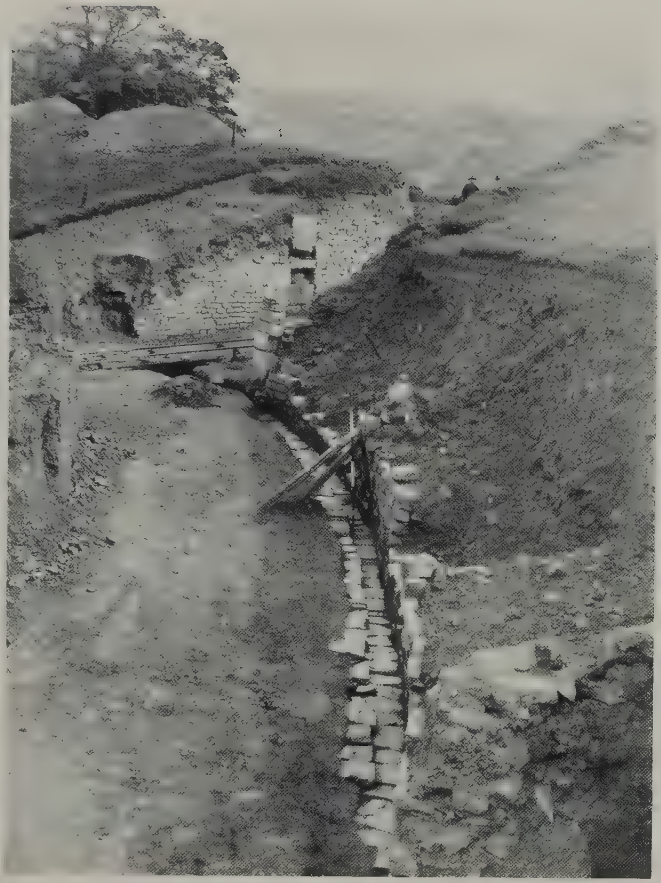
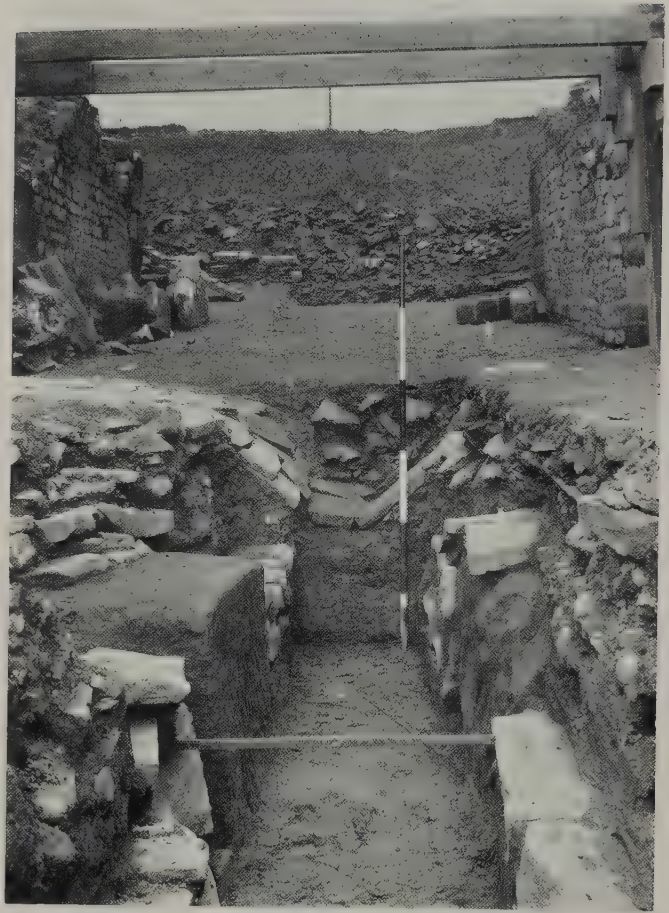


1. Arena floor and gutter; looking towards entrance B



2. Beginning of arena drain, showing collapsed paving.
Entrance F in background

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moulding the sockets which presumably held the uprights of a supplementary railing.

Period II (*c.* 125 A.D.). The second structural phase was one of considerable alteration, the nature and extent of which will emerge later with the details of the various entrances. Briefly, it involved the removal of all the barrel-vaults except those over the two main entrances (B and F), a course of action necessitated primarily by the raising of the levels beneath them to counteract flooding. The retention of the vault over Entrance F (and inferentially over Entrance B) is indicated by the discovery of actual fragments of the vaulting there in the debris of the final destruction (see below, p. 122).

Probably to this phase should be ascribed the addition of new external buttresses between Entrances F and H, i.e. on the north-western side. On this side the original buttresses were merely shallow pilasters, and it was on two occasions found necessary to supplement or replace them. On the former of these occasions a series certainly of seven and probably of twelve large buttresses, each about 4 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep, was added to this sector. Alongside them was laid down a new road-surface, hardened by the admixture of much lime; and the intermediate position of this road-surface between those of Periods I and III was emphasized by the relative levels of the footings of the three sets of buttresses, and by the occurrence, south of Entrance H, of a complete sequence of buttresses of the three periods (pl. XXIII, 2). At this point the foundations of the buttress of Period II overlay those of Period I and were in turn oversailed by the buttress of Period III. The ascription of the latest series of buttresses to our Period III is certain (see below, pp. 121 and 142), and it is a fair assumption that the extensive renovation which involved the construction of the intermediate series should be connected with the works assignable on direct evidence to Period II.

Period III (*c.* 212–22 A.D., with minor repairs in the latter half of the 3rd century). The third phase followed a period of extensive destruction or decay, and involved little less than a complete remodelling of the amphitheatre. Entrances A, D, E, G, and H were filled up to the level of the external land-surface, in order to form horizontal approaches for the spectators; whilst a new stone staircase was inserted in the northern half of Entrance C, and admission to the block of seats to the south of it was provided by the addition of semicircular steps to the centre of its external wall. Outside Entrance F, the rising levels to the east of the entrance were held back by an L-shaped retaining-wall; and to the west of it an oblong compartment, with a stone bench along its western side and a quadrant-shaped platform or flight of steps in its north-eastern corner, was built (partly over a destroyed buttress of Period II) in a position corresponding to that of the small shrine of Nemesis in the legionary amphitheatre at Carnuntum in

Austria (fig. 4).[1] It may or may not be of significance that in the debris of the northern half of the Caerleon arena was found a dedication, on lead, to the same goddess (see below, p. 158).

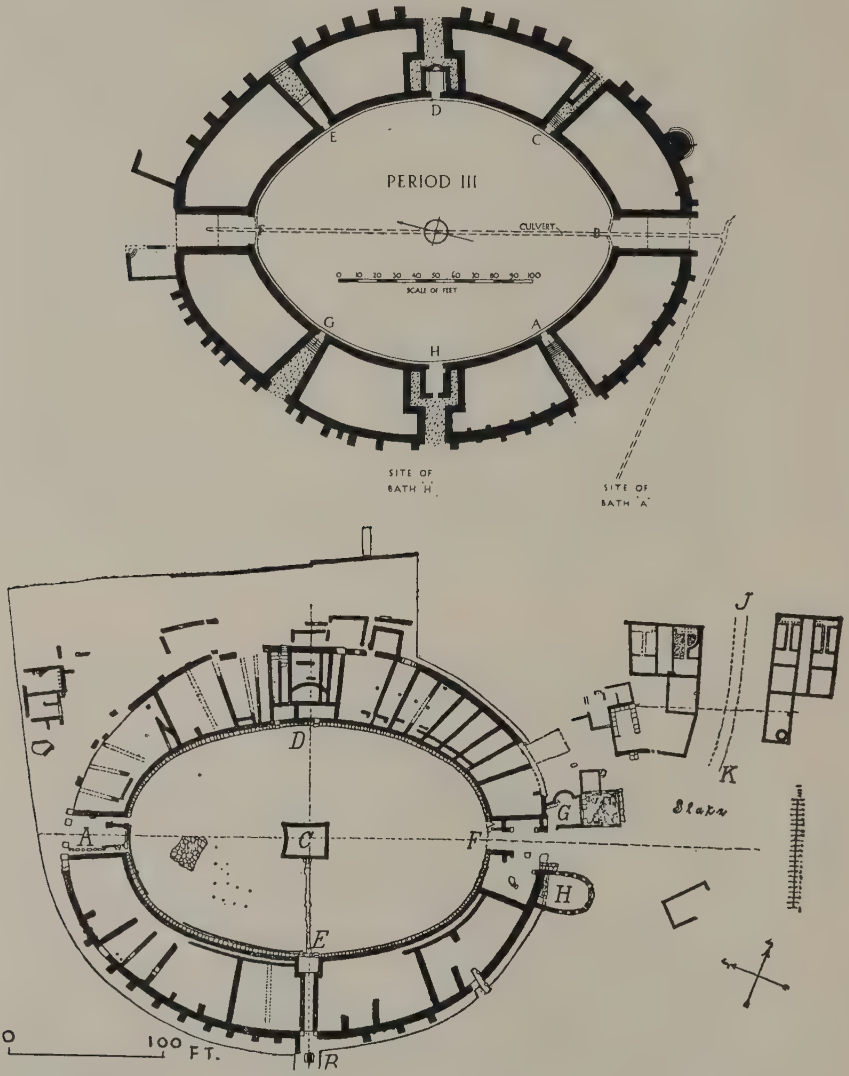
D
E
C
PERIOD III
CULVERT
B
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
SCALE OF FEET
G
A
H
SITE OF BATH 'H'
SITE OF BATH 'A'
J
D
K
G
A
C
F
H
E
0
100 FT.
R

Fig. 4. The Caerleon amphitheatre in Period III (above), and the legionary amphitheatre at Carnuntum, Austria, showing the shrine of Nemesis (G).

Both on the south-eastern and on the north-western sectors, new buttresses, often of large size and always at a considerably higher level, supplanted those of the previous periods, and other buttresses, notably those which flank Entrance B, were rebuilt above the lowest four or five courses. The work of this period is readily distinguished by the lavish use of hard white mortar, which bears no resemblance to the brown, sandy mortars of the earlier phases. The drastic nature of the reconstruction of this period is represented concisely by the sequence of buttresses, already referred to, south of Entrance H (pl. XXIII, 2). Here the seven lowest courses of the buttress of Period I were entirely oversailed by the addition of Period III, showing that the original wall had been reduced to this low level at the time of the final rebuilding. Incidentally, it may be noted that the footings of Period III are here 2 ft. higher than those of Period I.

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[1] W. Kubitschek and S. Frankfurter, *Führer durch Carnuntum* (*Österreichisches Arch. Inst.*, 1923), 127.

As a supplement to Period III may be noted two subsequent repairs to the roadway which skirts the amphitheatre outside Entrance C. These were the latest constructional works discovered on the site, but there is no evidence of any contemporary modification of the actual masonry. It will be seen that these repairs carry the active occupation of the site down to the end of the 3rd century, but not into the 4th.

The Entrances

The eight entrances have been lettered A to H, a sequence based upon the order of discovery. It is convenient, however, to vary the alphabetical order in description and to begin with the two main approaches to the arena, Entrances B and F. The four smaller entrances will then be described in the order A, G, C, and E. Lastly, the most elaborate and interesting of the entrances, D and H, will be discussed. In a following section the two bath-buildings, outside Entrances A and H respectively, will be considered in relation to the amphitheatre.

Entrances B and F served the arena, and did not provide access to the seats. They each had parallel sides, 42 ft. in length, with a span of 16 ft. The outer half of each entrance was originally ceiled by a barrel-vault, the limits of which are marked by the external jambs and by an inner pier and arch of similar freestone, built in flush with the walls and vault (fig. 1). A few courses of the actual vault remain in B, showing that, as in continental examples, the vault was raked to conform with the slope of the ramp; whilst in F fragments of the vaulting, partly of stone and partly of brick, were found lying in the debris on the ramp.

In the absence of adequate head-room where the seats approached the arena, the inner half of these entrances must, as always elsewhere, have been left unroofed.

The walls of the two entrances show no signs of reconstruction, and some of the original crimson-jointed cement rendering of Period I remains *in situ*. The vaulting, which, in the case of the other entrances, seems to have been removed in or before Period II during the raising of the levels, was apparently retained in F, where no such raising was required; for the freestone arch which had formed the inner face of the vault was found to have collapsed across the middle of that entrance above the latest level of occupation, and, as revealed during the clearance of the entrance, formed a striking and even dramatic witness to the final phase of complete desolation (pl. XXI, 4). There is no *a priori* reason why the corresponding vault should not have survived to meet a similar fate in Entrance B. Outside this entrance, however, the rebuilding of the flanking buttresses, with the use of the distinctive white mortar of Period III, in such a way as to follow the outward lean of the pier (pl. XXIII, 1) suggests that the arch and vault here may have collapsed before the wholesale reconstruction required in that Period. The lower parts of these buttresses are still of Period I and retain fragments of the crimson-pointed rendering.

In Period II or III, the original gravelled surface of the inner half of the ramp in Entrance F (i.e. where the entrance was unroofed) was partially repaved with rough slabs, below the level of which a 2nd-brass of Domitian, dated 77–8 A.D. and lost when in fairly good condition, was found. Outside the entrance, the slabbed paving was represented by heavy re-metalling of gravel. The ramp in Entrance B was also renewed at least once, principally with earth and gravel.

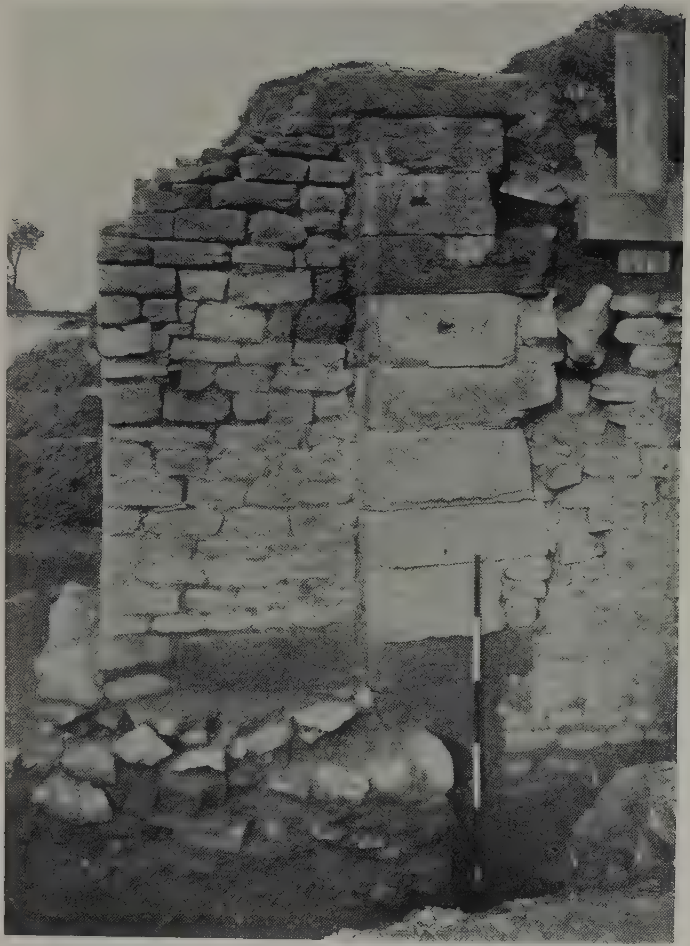
There was no evidence of swing-doors to either entrance, but sockets cut into the jamb-stones of Entrance F indicate the use of bars there to form a barricade. At the south-east corner of Entrance F a stone, now flush with the floor, shows a socket filled with lead, which presumably at one time held a vertical bar. In the middle of the same entrance, close to the head of the drain and in a line with the pier-stones of the inner arch of the vault, a column-drum was used as a central socket-stone for a similar purpose.

In the northern half of Entrance F, on an ordinary building-stone in the western wall, is scratched the following inscription: COHO VIIII, i.e. *Cohors novesima* (see below, p. 156).

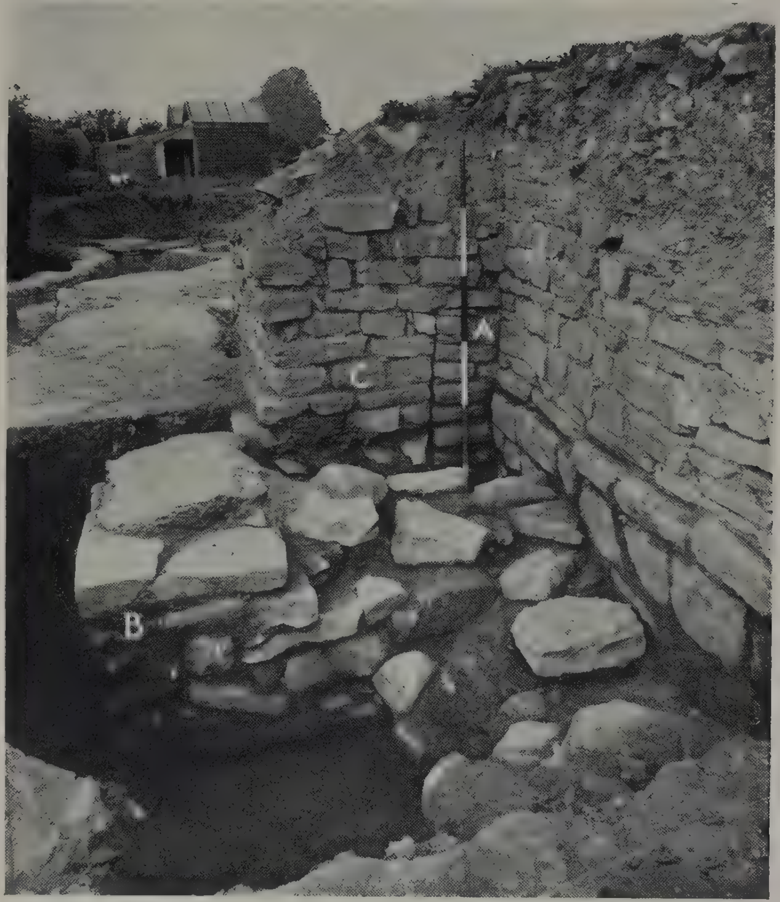
Entrance A (pl. XXV)

Entrances A, C, E, and G were originally of identical design, and the subsequent structural history of A and G (though not of C and E), was likewise similar. Entrance A shall be described first.

Period I. In the original scheme the seats of the auditorium were carried across the outer half of the entrance on a sloping barrel-vault. This sprang from the external freestone pier, and was finished internally by a second free-



1. Western external jamb of Entrance B, with buttress partly of Period I and partly rebuilt in Period III



2. External buttress south of Entrance H. A, original pilaster-buttress; B, buttress of Period II with covering of Period III road-metal; C, buttress of Period III

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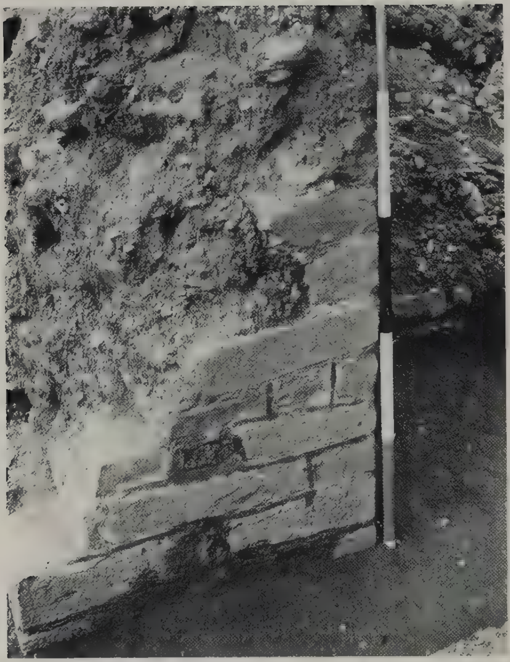
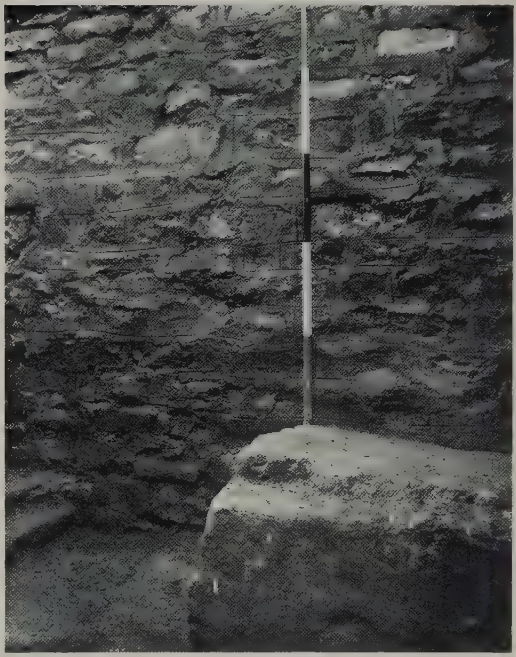
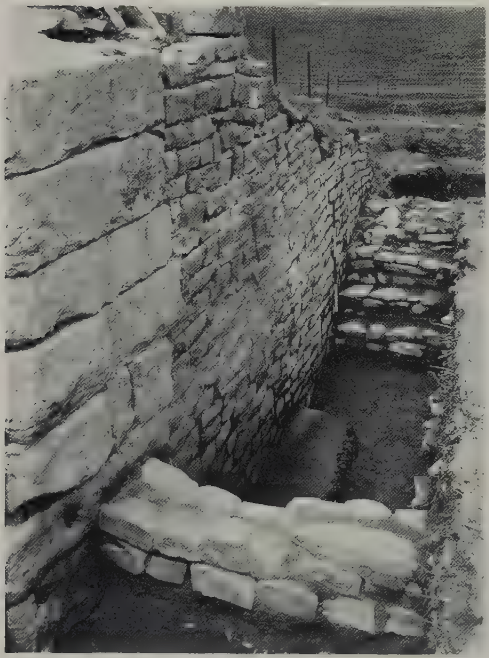


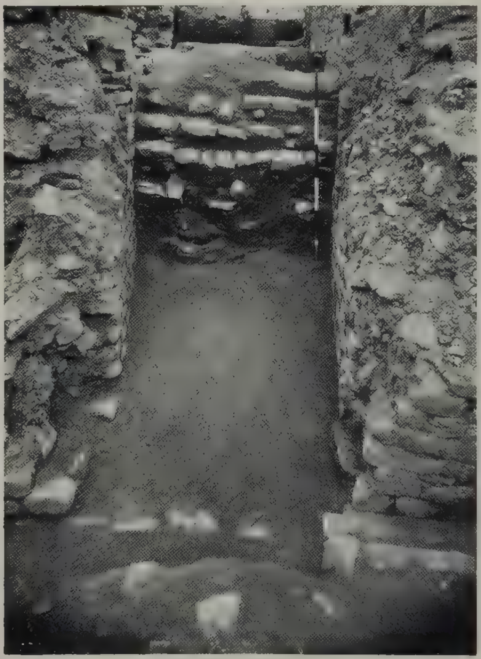
1. Buttress by Entrance B, showing joints picked out in crimson paint



2. Pointing in southern lateral staircase of Entrance H. Re-used voussoir in foreground



3. Entrance A; added sill in foreground, and escalade beyond



4. Entrance A, from the arena, showing inner side of escalade

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stone arch springing from the side-walls of the passage. No trace of the vault remains in Entrance A, but one of the springers of the inner arch and a few stones of the actual vaulting are preserved in the similar Entrance C.

Conformably with the slope of the vault, the floor of the entrance dipped downwards for nearly the full length of the vault, from beneath which the spectator emerged into the open by ascending a flight of stone steps built upon a foundation of mortared rubble. These must have brought him eventually to the level of the seats; but in no case are more than five of the steps preserved, and the arrangements above this level, whether by lateral stairs or by means of a timber platform over the inner end of the passage, are not now clear. The latter alternative is rendered difficult by the presence of outer stairs leading down to the arena (see section, pl. XXV), and the provision of a trap-door in the hypothetical platform does not offer a convincing solution of the problem.

The steps facing the ramp owe the excellence of their preservation to the subsequent history of the entrance. The hollow formed by the ramp and the steps can only have been designed by an architect who was unacquainted with local conditions—a fact which might in itself be cited as evidence of an early date for the amphitheatre. The first winter's rains must have turned the hollow into a pond; and the gradual process of levelling-up, which here, as in all other entrances to the auditorium, culminated in the construction of a horizontal roadway at the height of the external surface of the ground, must have begun almost immediately. Between the original ramp and the latest surface no less than six or possibly seven road-surfaces, excluding patches, could be detected within the entrance. At some period during the accumulation of this great wedge of material, the vault must have been demolished to provide head-room at the new level. The precise point at which this drastic alteration was effected is not clearly indicated, but seems to have coincided with the making of Road 4.

Periods II and III, therefore, which can be identified in other entrances, are not here clearly demarcated either from each other or from Period I. In this case it is consequently necessary to restrict our chronology to the main road-levels.

Road I, that of the original ramp, bore a surface of rammed gravel and broken stone and contained pottery of Flavian date. This included Samian form 18 or 18/31 stamped by the South Gaulish potter Coius (OF COIV)[1]; form 27 stamped by the South Gaulish potter Rufinus (OF RVFIN); fragments of an early form 37 with very low rim and SS pattern; several 'coarse' rims of early type, including reeded flanges of carinated bowls, and fragments decorated with combed wave-pattern. None of the datable pottery from this layer need be later than 75 or 80 A.D. For pottery, see fig. 21, nos. 47, 48, 59.

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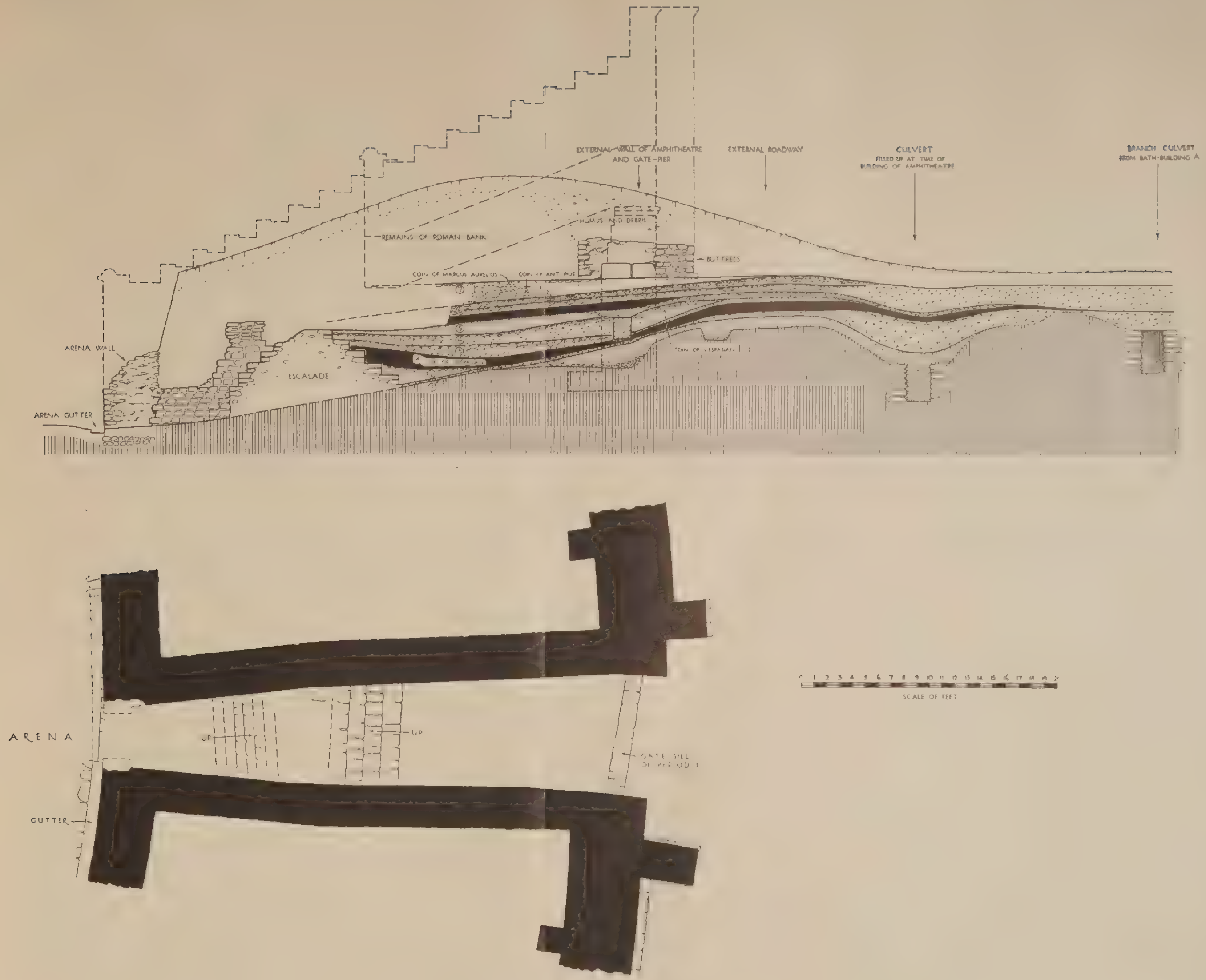
[1] Dr. Felix Oswald kindly informs me that this stamp occurs on form 15 at Mainz; form 18 at London and Neuss; form 27 at Cirencester, Colchester, London, and Wroxeter; and form 33 at London, Bonn, Wiesbaden, Xanten, etc. The potter was pretty clearly of Flavian date.

Road 2. This was merely a local filling at the base of the hollow. The new gravelled surface here raised the level of the inner end of the ramp to the top of the rise of the second step.

Road 3 had a gravelled and pitched surface, and was made up of much dark 'occupation-earth' from some area of habitation. It contained a coin of Vespasian, dated 77–8 A.D. and lost when still in good condition. The pottery included fragments of Samian 18/31, one with the stamp of the South Gaulish potter Cotto ([C]OTTO); a rim of form 29; many fragments of carinated bowls with reeded flanges, sherds with combed wave-pattern and with small rustications, sharply recurved rims of early type, and five small deer-horns, none of them shed. The datable relics from this layer are again not later than about 80 A.D. For pottery, see figs. 19 and 23, nos. 9, 16, 79.

Road 4 was paved with pitching, mixed with a certain amount of clay and charcoal. In its 'make-up' were found two worn coins, one of Vespasian, the other of Titus (79–81 A.D.); fragments of Samian 18 or 18/31, one again stamped by Cotto, early 37 with SS pattern, and more early carinated and flanged bowls, and vessels with sharply recurved rims, combed wave-pattern, or rusticated pattern. With these were fragments of wall-plaster painted in red and green. None of the pottery from this layer need be later than *c.* 100 A.D. Contemporaneously with the addition of this road a stone sill was inserted in the entrance, and the rusticated freestone piers were roughly rebated to take the vertical posts of the door-frame. It is not unlikely that these structural alterations were contemporaneous with the removal of the vault, since the new road-level would have left a maximum clearance of only 7 ft. and a minimum clearance of less than 4 ft.—clearly too small for the admission of a crowd of spectators. For pottery from this layer, see fig. 21, no. 62.

Road 5 was of sand with a hard mortared surface, and some pitching outside the entrance. The 'make-up' contained several tesserae of chalk and stone, and wall-plaster painted with borders or splashes of red, white, and grey. The Samian consisted of fragments of form 27, one with the stamp of the South Gaulish potter Severus (OF SEV....); forms 31, 33, and 37, one with a basket and 'opposed' dolphins and one or two with 'transitional' decoration. The 'coarse' ware included many pieces of the well-made orange or orange-coated ware, which, from the excellence of its fabric and its preference for classical types, may be regarded as the special product of legionary kilns such as those that supplied the sister-fortress of Chester. For pottery, see figs. 19, 20, and 21, nos. 10, 45, 52.


EXTERNAL WALL OF AMPHITHEATRE AND GATE-PIER
EXTERNAL ROADWAY
CULVERT
FILLED UP AT TIME OF BUILDING OF AMPHITHEATRE
BRANCH CULVERT FROM BATH-BUILDING A
HUMUS AND DEBRIS
REMAINS OF ROMAN BANK
BUTTRESS
COIN OF MARCUS AURELIUS
COIN OF ANT. PIUS
COIN OF VESPASIAN
ARENA WALL
ESCALADE
ARENA GUTTER
ARENA
UP
UP
GATE SILL OF PERIOD I
GUTTER
SCALE OF FEET

ENTRANCE A, SECTION AND PLAN

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Road 6 consisted of a thick metalling, largely of broken brick and later repaired with similar material. Beneath the metalling, on the previous road, was a considerable layer of 'occupation-earth', containing a sherd of Samian 18/31 or early 31, late rough-cast ware (fig. 20, no. 43), and an early 2nd-century olla.

Road 7 was cobbled on a filling of earth and debris which contained little pottery. A foot below the cobbling, and effectively sealed by it, lay a worn 2nd-brass of Antoninus Pius, and wedged into the metalling, in such a way as to suggest that it was deposited during the making of the road, was found a 2nd-brass of Marcus Aurelius, dated 176 A. D. and lost when in moderate condition.

The scanty material for dating this roadway is consistent with the attribution of it to Period III (early 3rd century), the period of the horizontal roadways in Entrances D, E, and H.

Entrance G (fig. 5)

The plan and history of Entrance G are similar to those of Entrance A. The original scheme was a steep ramp, covered presumably by a barrel-vault coinciding with the outer half of the entrance. At the foot of this ramp the spectator ascended to the seats by a flight of stone stairs, of which six are wholly or partly preserved. From the top of these stairs access to the arena was obtainable by a corresponding downward-flight on that side. The jambs of the opening on to the arena were badly damaged, but it is clear from Entrance E that they were originally of brick; the sill-stone, however, remains, and the pivot-hole and door-ledge show that the door was 3¼ ft. wide.

In this, as in Entrance A, it was presumably found that water collected against the stairs at the foot of the ramp. The approach was therefore gradually levelled up (see section, fig. 5) until ultimately the spectator was able to proceed direct to the sixth step, approximately on a level with the ground outside the amphitheatre. It follows that here, as in other entrances, the original vault was at some period (here not indicated) removed to admit access at the higher levels. The filling showed five main phases, the two lowest marked by thick layers of burnt and other occupation-debris, and the two next above these of mixed gravel and debris with fairly hard metalled surfaces. The final level was less distinct.

Road 1 was the original ramp and was paved with hard rammed gravel. Nothing was found at this level.

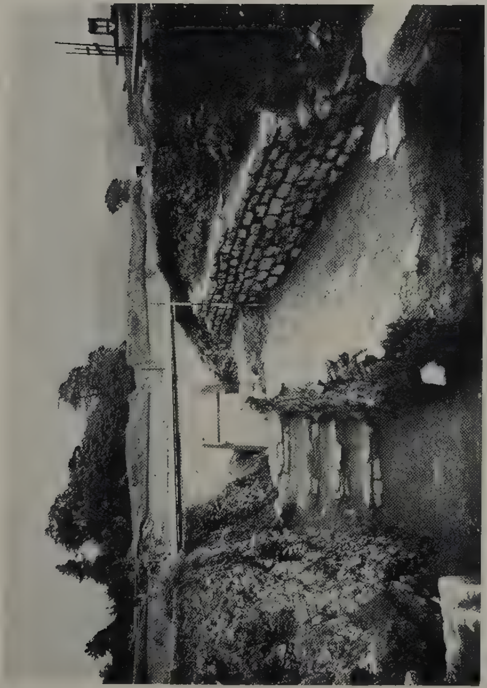
Road 2. The lowest of the added surfaces consisted of a rough filling of stones, etc., and extended to the middle of the rise of the fourth step. It contained a fragment of a Flavian 37, a piece of 18 or 18/31, part of an early bowl with reeded flange, a screw-necked jug of late 1st-century type, a piece of 'rusticated' ware with small 'rustications', and a small cylindrical pot illustrated in fig. 20, no. 39.

On Road 2 was a thick layer of 'occupation-earth' which may either have accumulated *in situ* or was, more probably, imported as a basis for the metalling of Road 3. This 'occupation-earth' contained much 1st-century pottery, including Samian form 18/31 with the stamp of the Nero-Vespasian potter Patricius (OF PATRIC), an early Curle 15, a 29, 35 (two), Flavian 37 and 67; and, amongst the coarse ware, many early bowls with reeded flanges, copies of Samian form 29, rusticated ware, micaceous ware, a fine flanged bowl with wavy combed pattern, a mortarium with broad horizontal flange, part of a lamp, and a number of sharply recurved rims of characteristically Flavian type. Amongst the pottery were food-bones, oyster-shells, and much burnt matter. For pottery, see figs. 19, 20, 21, and 22, nos. 2–8, 22–4, 33, 50, 53, 60, 63, 69, and fig. 17, no. 6.

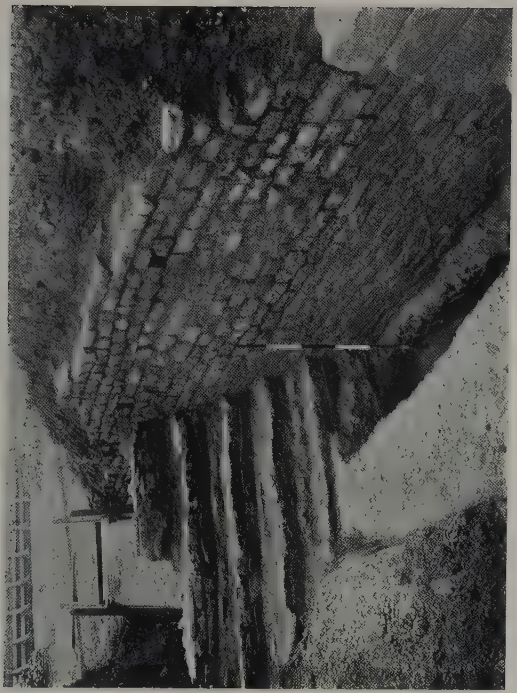
Road 3 consisted of a layer of rammed marl, and extended nearly to the top of the fifth step. The marl contained Samian form 35, sherds with wavy comb-pattern, a bowl with reeded flange, and a flat-flanged mortarium of early type. On the surface was a burnt layer containing Samian forms 37 of *c.* 120–50 A. D., 67 (fig. 17, 3), sherds with wavy combed pattern, several reeded flanges of carinated bowls, a small bowl with painted flange of early 2nd-century type, oyster-shells, and some iron-slag.

Road 4 represented a make-up of the second over a subsidence. In the filling were two small fragments of early 2nd-century Samian form 15/17, an 18/31 or early 31, the reeded flanges, etc., of later carinated bowls (as at Gelligaer)—all of Trajan-Hadrian period.

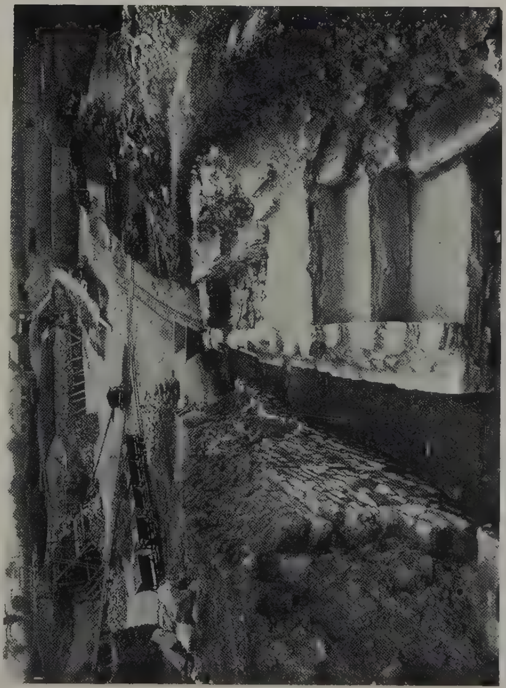
Road 5 represented a substantial renovation, levelling the whole approach to the height of the former sixth step. The filling contained limpet- and oyster-shells, wall-plaster painted with red, black, blue, and yellow stripes and green, brown, and blue splashes, fragments of crimson-lined pointing, Samian 27, 29 (one fragment), 37 (fragment of rather coarse rim and others of early 2nd-century date), a fragment of Roman green-glazed ware, grey sherds with wavy comb-pattern, micaceous and thick rough-cast ware, a reeded rim of a flanged bowl, part of a coarse copy of Samian 33, sharply recurved rims of early type, a 2nd-century olla, and pillar-moulded glass. None of the distinctive sherds is likely to be later than the first thirty years of the 2nd century, and, although the presence of the sherd of Samian 29 is a little surprising, most of them might reasonably be included within the time of Trajan. On the other hand, in the equivalent road-surface outside the entrance was found a 2nd-brass of Marcus Aurelius, worn almost smooth, whilst actually on the road surface lay a denarius of Caracalla that had been lost when still in good condition.



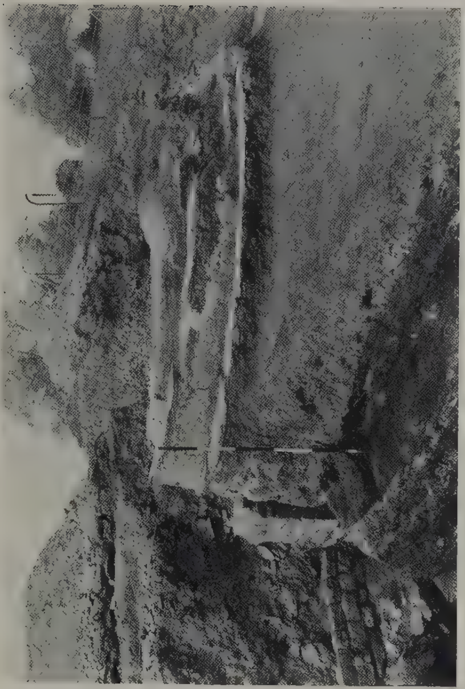
1. Entrance G during excavation, showing part of the steps of Period I and one of the roadways which subsequently covered them



2. Entrance G, showing the steps which provided access to the seats



3. Staircase inserted into the northern half of Entrance C in Period III



4. Semicircular staircase added externally between Entrances B and C in Period III

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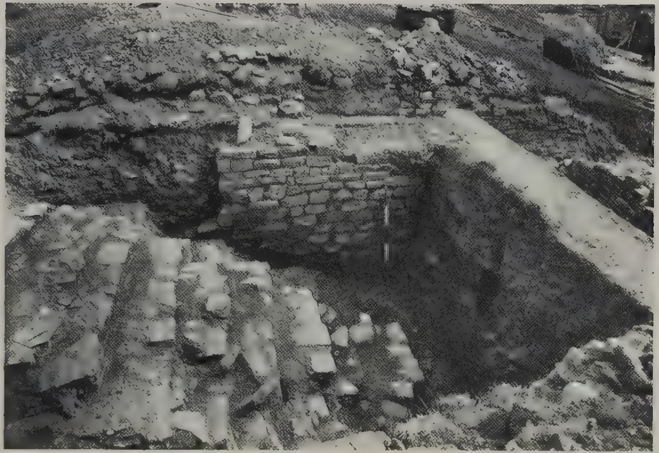
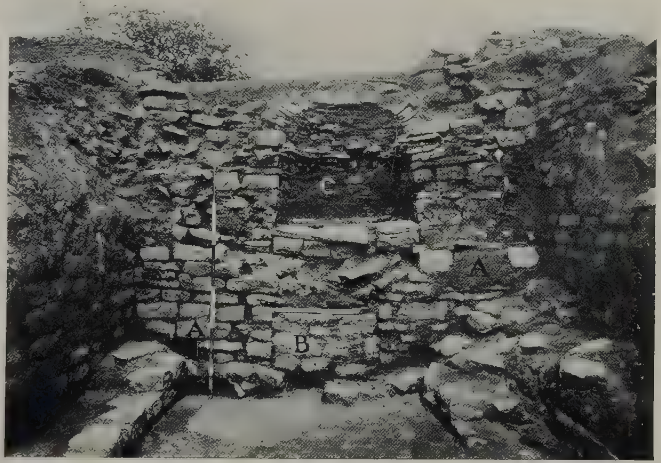
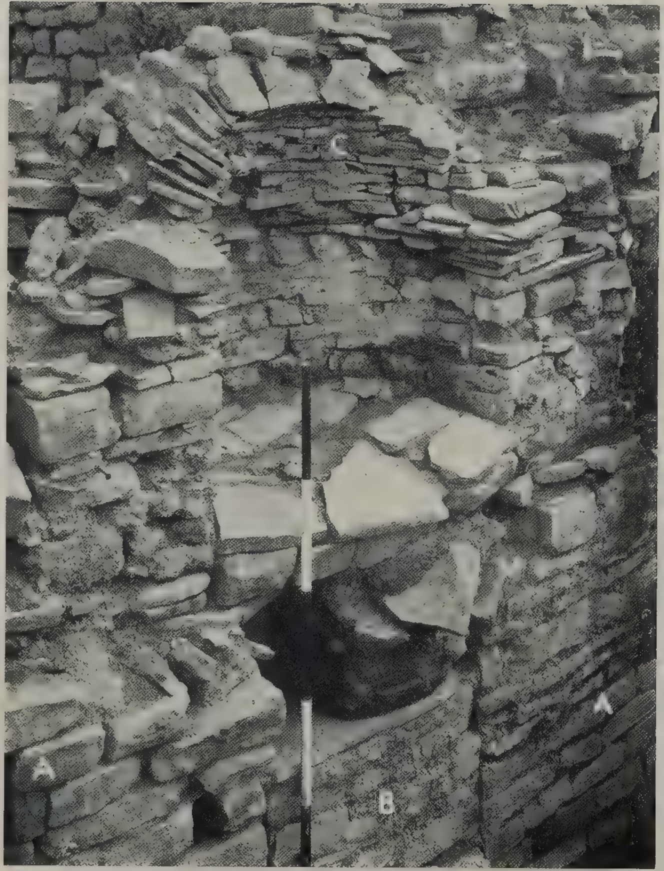


1. Entrance D: main stairs of Period II, with a section of the filling (right) of Period III



2. Chamber in Entrance D during excavation, showing: A, work of Period I; B, blocking inserted in doorway in Period II; and C, rebuilt wall with niche of Period III



3. Entrance D: back wall of chamber, showing original wall (AA), blocking of entrance in Period II (B), and rebuild with niche of Period III (C)

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Finally, there were fragmentary traces of a sixth surface or repair merging into the previous level outside the amphitheatre. The pottery in this layer was inevitably mixed, but included sherds of a Samian mortarium, a thumb-pot of Castor ware, and fragments of the orange-coloured 'legionary' ware and of imitation Samian.

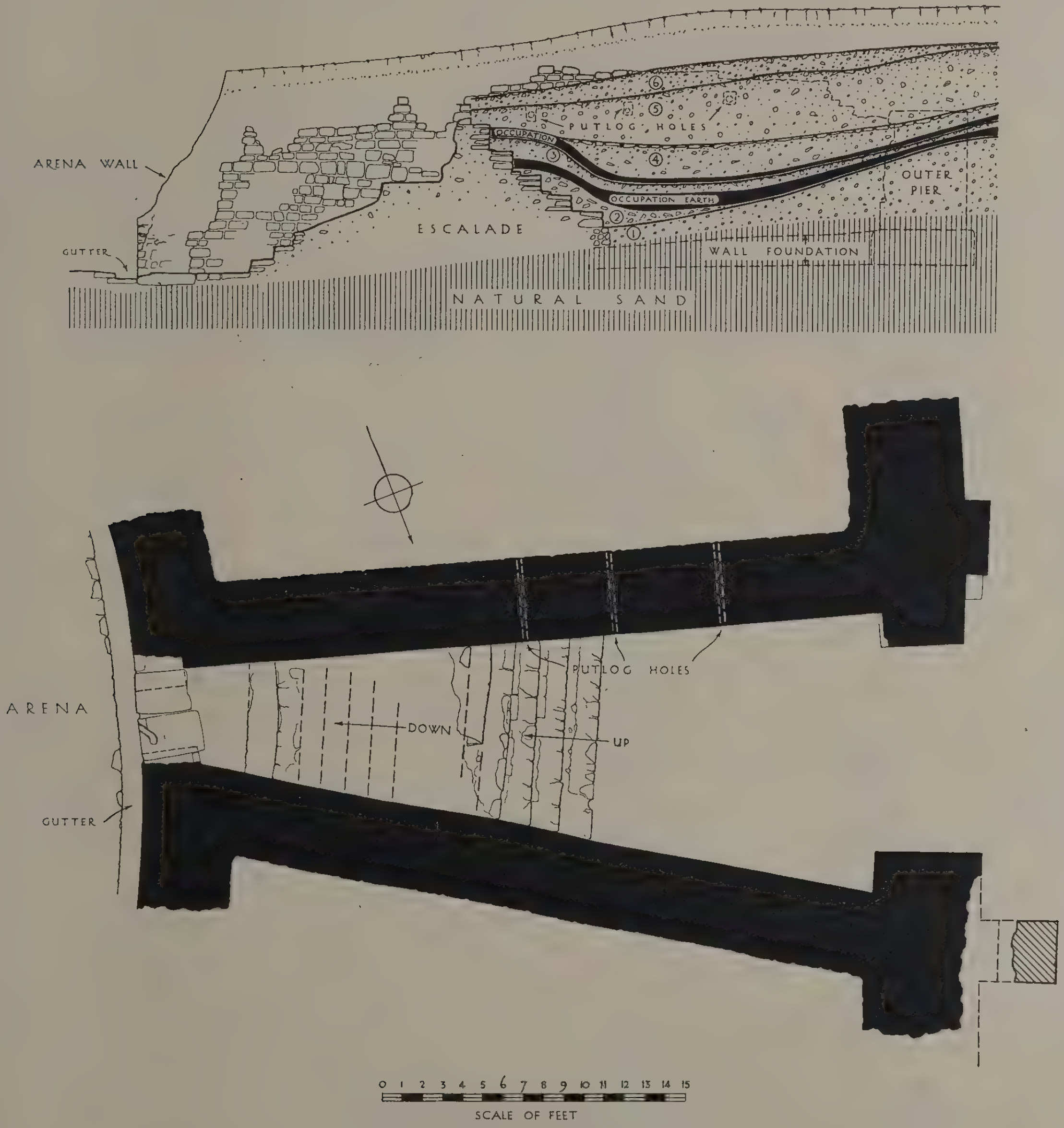
ARENA WALL
GUTTER
ESCALADE
OCCUPATION
PUTLOG HOLES
⑥
⑤
④
③
②
①
OCCUPATION EARTH
OUTER PIER
WALL FOUNDATION
NATURAL SAND
ARENA
DOWN
UP
PUTLOG HOLES
GUTTER
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
SCALE OF FEET

Fig. 5. Entrance G, section and plan.

Entrance C (fig. 6)

Period I. In its original form, Entrance C resembled A, E, and G, i.e. consisted of a steep outer ramp ceiled by a raking barrel-vault and ending in a flight of steps which emerged to the level of the seats beyond the lower limit of the vault. Doubtless here also an inner flight of steps descended to the arena. On the north side the springer of the inner arch of the barrel-vault, together with the first three courses of the vault itself, remain *in situ*, though partly masked by later work. Of the steps, two remain at the base of the ramp together with a considerable mass of the mortared rubble core of the escalade.

The opening on to the arena was closed by a door of which the socket remains in the sill, whilst an iron hinge was found near by in the later filling. The entrance was constructed by driving a deep cutting approximately on a level with the arena floor into the higher ground towards the defences of the fortress. The buttresses flanking the entrance were built actually against the wall of earth at the head of this cutting and conform with it by sloping inwards towards the base (see section, fig. 6). On the completion of the masonry a wedge of earth and gravel was then inserted between the base of the steps and the top of the cutting, to form the approach. Scarcely any relics were found in this wedge, but the equivalent level immediately outside the entrance yielded pieces of early Samian, forms 27 and 35, together with a piece of fine grey pottery ornamented with combed wave-pattern.

Period II. As in the corresponding entrances, the level of the ramp was subsequently raised, particularly in the vicinity of the steps, where water must have tended to collect. In this entrance, however, as in Entrance E, the process was less gradual and began at a later date than in Entrances A and G. It is likely enough that, when the neighbouring fort ditch and perhaps some of the adjacent pits were open, the drainage on this side of the amphitheatre was more efficient than on the western side, and the necessity for filling the cavity formed by the ramp and the escalade may not, therefore, have been so urgent.

Be that as it may, the raising of the ramp to the higher level of Period II was in this entrance a single operation, and the material of which the new ramp consisted was uniform in character. It covered the three lowest steps and was capped by a metalling of loose gravel and occasional slabs.

The make-up of the new ramp contained Samian forms 18/31, 27, and a late 1st-century 37, whilst the continuation of the same layer in the adjacent pit outside the entrance produced a well-stratified coin of Domitian dated 86 A. D. and lost when in good condition. The coarse pottery in this layer is consistent and includes bowls with well-reeded flanges. None of the material of which the filling was composed need be later than 100 A. D., although the fact that it was

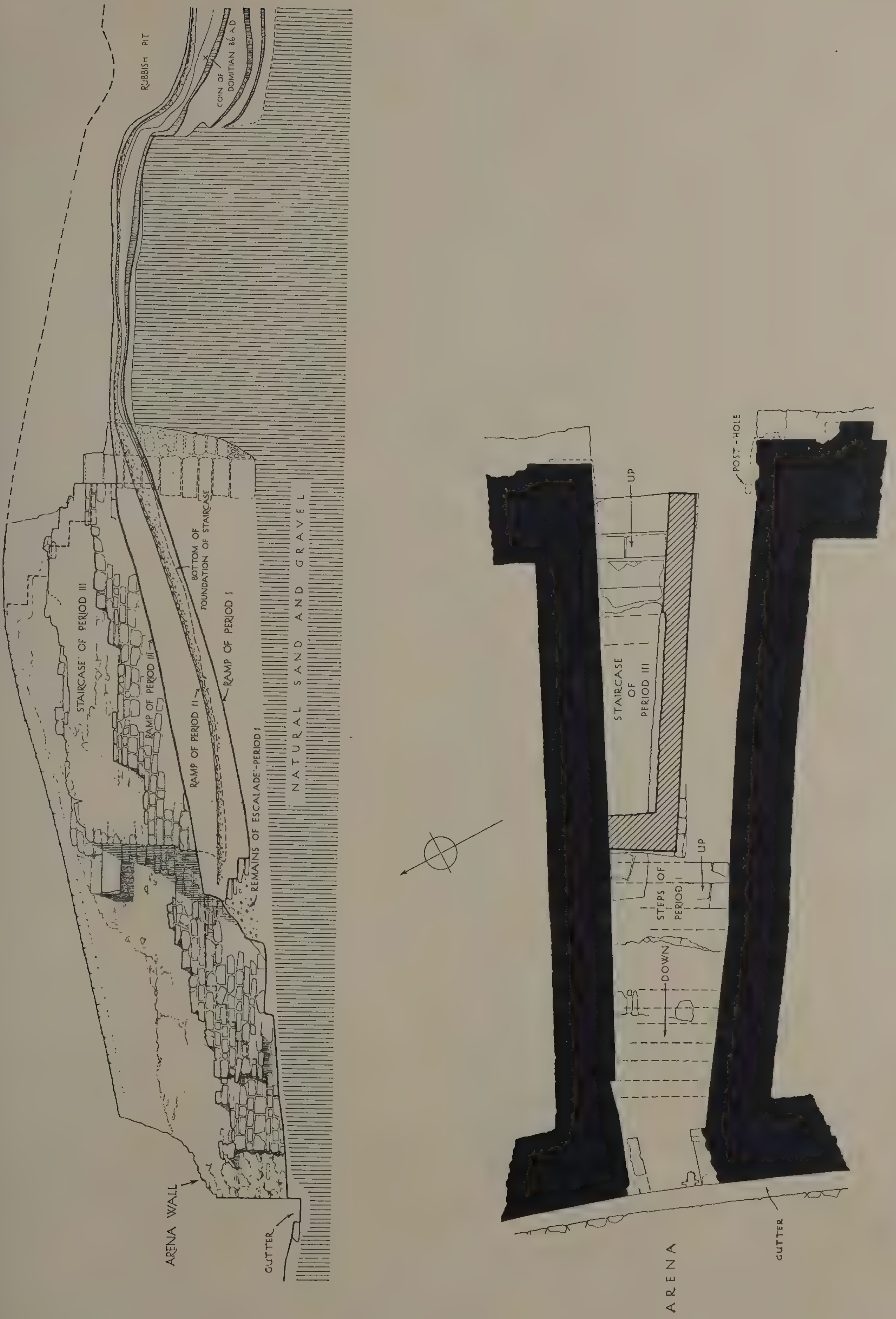
RUBBISH PIT
COIN OF DOMITIAN 86 AD
'STAIRCASE' OF PERIOD III
RAMP OF PERIOD III
RAMP OF PERIOD II
BOTTOM OF FOUNDATION OF STAIRCASE
RAMP OF PERIOD I
NATURAL SAND AND GRAVEL
REMAINS OF ESCALADE'-PERIOD I
ARENA WALL
GUTTER
UP
POST-HOLE
STAIRCASE OF PERIOD III
UP
STEPS OF PERIOD I
DOWN
ARENA
GUTTER
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
SCALE OF FEET

Fig. 6. Entrance C, section and plan.

imported into the entrance as constructional material, possibly from some rubbish dump where it had been lying for some time, deprives it of value for close dating.

A feature of structural importance in connexion with the make-up of this new ramp was the presence in it of many fragments of the crimson pointing which formed a feature of the original building, together with many broken voussoirs of tufa and limestone which may be supposed to have formed a part of the original vaulting of the passage.[1] Moreover, the surface of the previous ramp (Period I) had been burnt purple by some considerable conflagration, traces of which were also abundant close outside the entrance at this level. The inference is that the reconstruction of Period II had been preceded by a phase of fairly extensive destruction which may here, as in Entrances D, H, etc., have included the demolition of the barrel-vault.

Period III, as in most of the other entrances, was one of drastic reconstruction, though here of a kind not otherwise represented. The barrel-vault, which had almost certainly been destroyed in or before the previous period, had by this time unquestionably ceased to exist. The few surviving courses of it were now concealed by a stone staircase which replaced the earthen ramp in the more northerly half of the entrance and was built in to the surface of the ramp of Period II. Of this stone staircase, a considerable part of the substructure together with three of the steps (pl. XXVI, 3) still exists, and show that it provided direct access to the adjacent block of seats from the ground-level outside the amphitheatre. The treads of the steps were 17 in. wide and of stone slabs; the risers, 12 in. high, were rendered in hard pink cement.

In the more southerly half of the entrance there was now no means of access to the block of seats on that side. Instead, a new ramp (Period III in section, fig. 6) was built at an average height of less than 2 ft. above the ramp of Period II, with a surface of broken sandstone, gravel, and occasional slabs. This new ramp was clearly not high enough to provide direct access to the adjacent seats, and can only have formed a passage down to the arena.

It remains to discover by what means access was now obtained to the block of seats between Entrances C and B. The solution of the problem may be found in a semicircular flight of steps, of which the three lowest remain built against the external wall of the amphitheatre midway between the two entrances (pl. XXVI, 4). The reason for this method of solving the problem is hard to see, but the purpose of this external structure and its approximate date are alike clear. As in the case of the steps within the entrance, the well-worn treads of the semicircular staircase are of stone slabs, whilst the risers are rendered in pink cement. The treads are unusually small, but they are considerably wider (12 in.)

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[1] In Entrance F the vaulting was partly of brick and partly of limestone.

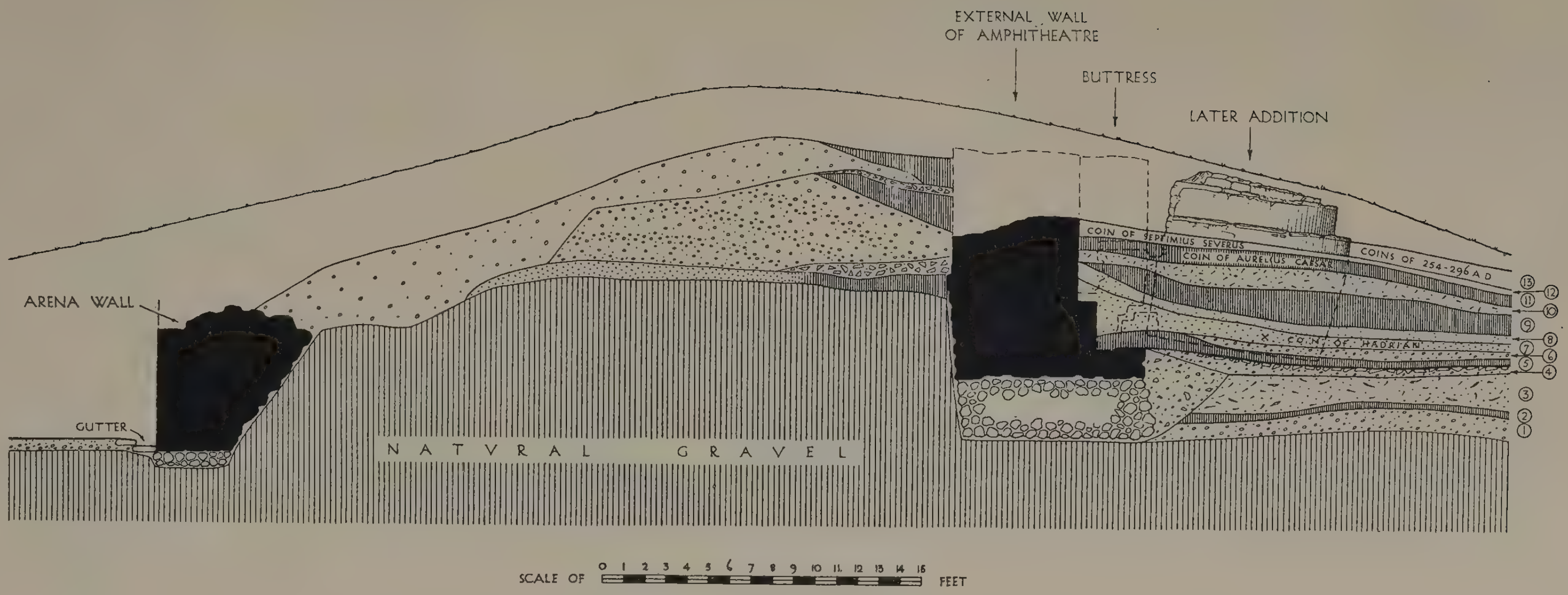

EXTERNAL WALL OF AMPHITHEATRE
BUTTRESS
LATER ADDITION
ARENA WALL
GUTTER
NATVRAL GRAVEL
COIN OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS
COIN OF AURELIUS CAESAR
COINS OF 254-296 A D
COIN OF HADRIAN
⑬ ⑫ ⑪ ⑩ ⑨ ⑧ ⑦ ⑥ ⑤ ④ ③ ② ①
SCALE OF 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 FEET

Fig. 7. Section between Entrances B and C, showing added external steps.

on the side towards Entrance C—i. e. the direction of their approach—than on the side towards Entrance B. There was clearly some local reason, not now apparent, for avoiding any extensive projection of the new escalade, with a consequent necessity for avoiding broad treads.

Both the staircase in the entrance and the semicircular staircase outside showed abundant use of the distinctive white mortar which was everywhere characteristic of work of Period III.

The pottery contained by the new make-up of the ramp in the entrance is rather coarse Samian 27, form 33, and fragments of form 37 of early 2nd-century type. On the other hand, a well-stratified occupation-layer which overlay it beneath the subsequent debris contained a Samian mortarium, a coarse fragment of form 33, a fragment of a Samian vessel (form 72) with wheel-cut pattern, and a sherd of black Rhenish ware—all of late 2nd- or 3rd-century date. For pottery at this level, see pl. XXXV, 2, no. 2 and figs. 21 and 22, nos. 58, 67–8, 76–7.

The semicircular external staircase was built into the uppermost six or seven of a succession of layers of filling and metalling which had gradually accumulated outside the amphitheatre on this side. These layers—all of them prior to the construction of the stairs—contained pottery ranging from *c.* 80 A. D. to the beginning of the Antonine period, but little or nothing which seems to be of later date (see figs. 19, 20, 21, and 23, nos. 12–15, 17, 25–6, 28, 31–2, 35–7, 40, 42, 55–7, 65, 80–1). The layers also contained coins of Hadrian and Aurelius Caesar—the latter, much worn, in the topmost layer. Above these deposits, and contemporary therefore with the steps, was found a 2nd-brass of Septimius Severus, whilst the subsequent (and latest) accumulation in this area contained nineteen coins, ranging from Gallienus to Allectus (254–96 A. D.).

In summary, all the pottery prior to the structures of this period is of 2nd-century date (and, like most 2nd-century pottery from the whole site, dating from the earlier rather than the later half of the century); whilst the pottery and coins contemporary with the work of this period are of late 2nd- or 3rd-century date. If we add to this the close resemblance in structural details—notably the hard, white mortar—with other work of Period III elsewhere in the amphitheatre, there can remain no doubt in the attribution of the final remodelling of Entrance C to the period 212–22 A. D., for which closer chronological evidence will be found in Entrances D and H.

Entrance E (fig. 8)

Period I. Like Entrance C, this entrance was formed by cutting a deep trench from the arena outwards, and by building the external piers of freestone against the vertical outer end of the cavity. The escalade, similar to those in Entrances A, G, and (originally) in C, was then built within the inner half of the

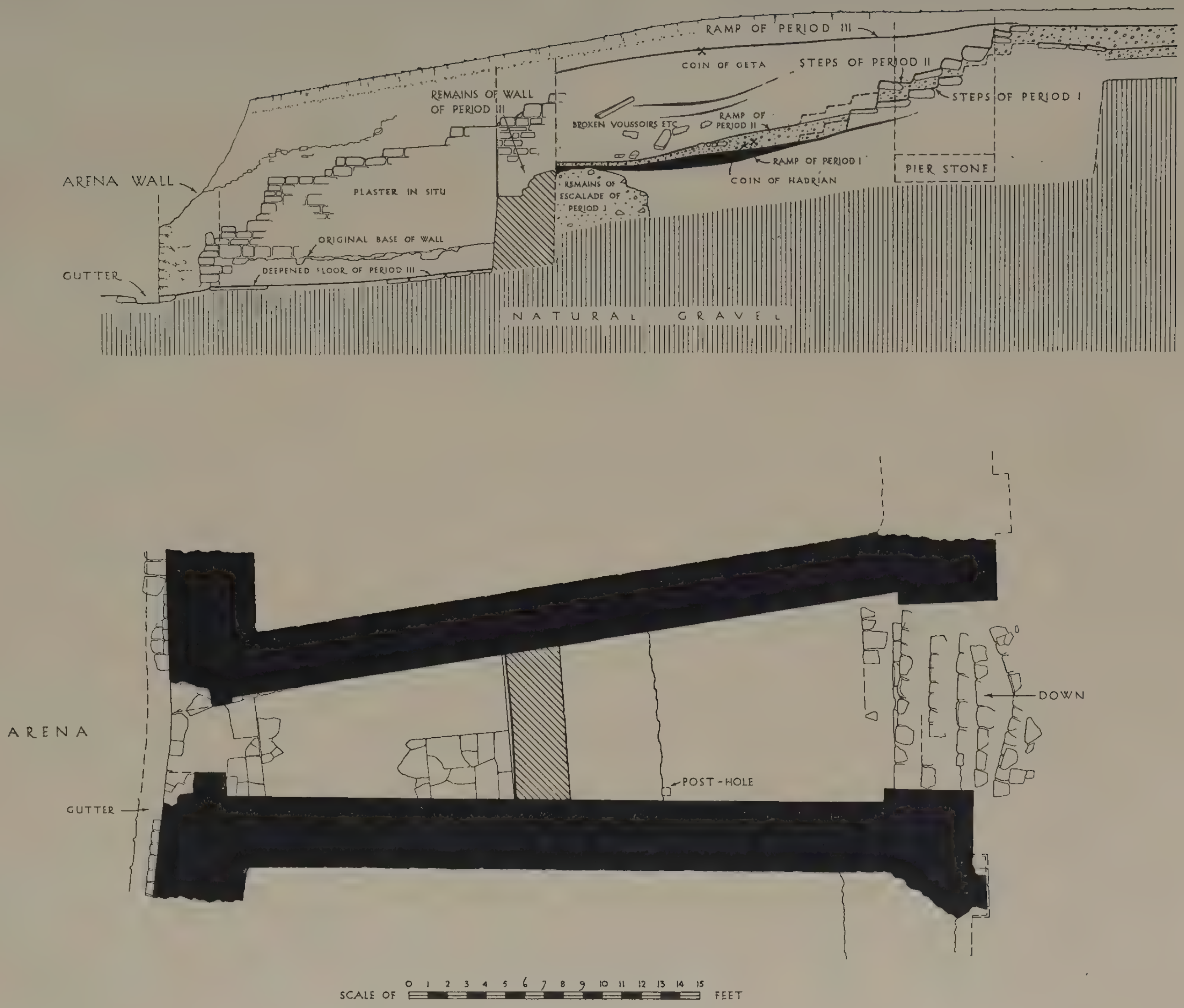

RAMP OF PERIOD III
COIN OF GETA
STEPS OF PERIOD II
STEPS OF PERIOD I
REMAINS OF WALL OF PERIOD III
BROKEN VOUSSOIRS ETC.
RAMP OF PERIOD II
RAMP OF PERIOD I
COIN OF HADRIAN
PIER STONE
ARENA WALL
PLASTER IN SITU
REMAINS OF ESCALADE OF PERIOD I
ORIGINAL BASE OF WALL
DEEPENED FLOOR OF PERIOD III
GUTTER
NATURAL GRAVEL
ARENA
GUTTER
POST-HOLE
DOWN
SCALE OF 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 FEET

Fig. 8. Entrance E, section and plan.

entrance, and the floor between the escalade and the external ground-level was made up with earth and gravel to form a hollow slope. The outer part of the slope was so steep that it had to be equipped with stone steps in order to facilitate the descent of the spectators beneath the barrel-vault which, as elsewhere, ceiled the outer half of the passage. Of the escalade, only a few somewhat uncertain traces remained. The ramp of this period contained no relics except a light buff mortarium with broad flat flange of distinctively 1st-century type; but the thick, black layer which capped it included much burnt wood, a moderately worn coin of Vespasian dated to 71 or 72 A. D., a wide-girthed olla with short rim of *c.* 70–110 A. D., fragments of bowls with reeded flanges, and sherds of Samian forms 18, 29, and 67. The whole group is probably Flavian.

Period II. Over this black layer was subsequently laid a new metalling of light gravel, varying from a few inches to rather more than a foot in thickness. At the outer end, new stone steps were imposed upon the old ones to correspond with the new level. The only relic found in the new material was a 2nd-brass of Hadrian, dated 121 A. D. and lost when still in mint condition.

Period III. As in the other entrances, the third phase was one of extensive alteration. The escalade was almost entirely removed, and its site was partially occupied by a vertical wall, some 3 ft. thick, behind which the whole of the outer half of the entrance was brought to a level with the external surface by means of an in-filling of earth and debris. The spectators were now able to approach their seats on a horizontal roadway, continued, presumably, over the inner half of the entrance by a timber platform or gangway. This platform incidentally served as the roof of the chamber, into which the inner half of the entrance was now transformed. The chamber was deepened approximately to the level of the arena by excavating the floor actually below the footings of the side-walls of the entrance, the new level being indicated by careful slabbing which still, in part, remains *in situ* (fig. 8, plan).

The in-filling of the outer half of the entrance contained a very worn 2nd-brass of Domitian and a good denarius of Geta (211–12 A. D.). The pottery from the filling included much coarse ware of *c.* 120–50 A. D.—mortaria, bowls with plain flanges, carinated bowls, a late ring-necked jug, cooking-pots with the girth wider than the rim, a minute fragment of green-glazed ware, and 2nd-century Samian, amongst which Dr. Davies Pryce notes free-style, etc., of 'Censorinus' type, large scroll, coarse rims, and other sherds of forms 31 and 33, mostly of Hadrian-Antonine date. The latest datable relic—the coin of Geta—is probably the best guide to the period of the filling, and it is safe to ascribe the last remodelling of the entrance to the period 212–22 A. D., when similar work was carried out in Entrances D and H. For pottery from the filling, see figs. 19 and 22, nos. 19 and 73.

Entrance D (fig. 9)

Period I. The outer or eastern half of this entrance consisted originally of a steeply sloping ramp which may or may not have carried steps. Above this ramp, on the analogy of Entrances B, C, and F, there was presumably a barrel-vault, although no structural evidence of this feature has here survived. From the base of the ramp, somewhat above the level of the arena, opened three brick-headed archways. That in the centre provided access to a small chamber, 10¼ ft. square, which, in turn, opened on to the arena. The chamber was paved originally with irregular slabs; the upper parts of its walls were subsequently rebuilt, but, on the analogy of the equivalent chamber in Entrance H (see below), it was originally roofed with a barrel-vault. Chambers such as these are a normal feature of amphitheatres. They were doubtless used as waiting-rooms for performers and attendants, or as temporary cages for animals used in the shows.

The two lateral archways at the base of the ramp opened on to staircases which broke at right angles round the exterior of the chamber. As in the case of Entrance H, the northern staircase is markedly wider than the southern, and was presumably, therefore, not intended to fulfil the same purpose as its companion. Now it will be seen that in Period II these wider, northern staircases in Entrances D and H were both disused and blocked contemporaneously with the removal of the vaulted roof of the adjacent chambers. It is a fair inference that in each case the use of the wider staircase had been connected with the use of the vaulted superstructure of the chamber, and that the latter had borne the seat or 'box' reserved for the senior officers or other personages attending the show. The wider staircase would thus have been intended to provide a more dignified approach for the formal entry of these personages, which would immediately precede the beginning of the performance. On the other hand, the narrower southern stair of each entrance would be used for the admission of the ordinary spectators, who could more easily be controlled in a narrow gangway than in a wide one.

The construction of this period was largely of sandstone save that the flanking walls of the chamber on the side of the lateral staircases are faced exclusively with brick. These bricks are of two kinds: one with an average thickness of 1¾ in., the other with an average thickness of 3 in., the latter being mostly broken voussoirs, half a Roman foot in width. The mortar-joints rarely exceed ¾ of an inch and are often about ½ in. in thickness; four courses of bricks and mortar measure 10–13 in. in depth. The mortar is of light sandy colour without admixture of broken brick.

Period II. In this period, as in the corresponding period at Entrance H, most of the levels were raised. Steps were built, or re-built, on the new surface of the main ramp and were reset in the southern lateral staircase, where the steps of Period I have been, in part, found buried below those of Period II. The brick arch at the entrance to the southern lateral staircase was now removed and the scars in the side-walls obscured by patching. At the same time, the northern lateral staircase was, as noted above, disused: it was filled with rammed earth, held in position by a stone revetment which closed the lower entrance to the stairway.

Two points of interest may be noted in connexion with this northern staircase. First, the blocking of its entrance is carried up in such a way as to show that its original brick arch had been reduced to its present fragmentary condition before the blocking was inserted. Inferentially, in this as in other entrances, the barrel-vault which is presumed originally to have roofed the approach had also fallen or been demolished. Secondly, the upper part of the northern wall of the lateral staircase was roughly rebuilt to retain the end of the main bank, prior to the insertion of the earthen filling into the staircase itself. It is clear that the masonry of the entrance as a whole had suffered damage or decay prior to the work of reconstruction. It may be added that a heavy layer of burnt material overlay the slab floor of the chamber and was partially covered by the stone benches which are ascribed tentatively to Period III.

Other alterations were carried out in connexion with the chamber. The entrance into it from the outer staircase was now blocked, and in the blocking, at a height of 2¼ ft. above the floor, a cupboard, floored and backed with large flat stones and with a depth of 20 in., was inserted. The original height of this cupboard is uncertain, owing to the reconstructions of Period III. It was at this time also that, on the analogy of Entrance H, the barrel-vault which had ceiled the chamber was replaced by a timber roof, the side-walls being carried up vertically to it. Near the centre of the southern side the stone bench inserted in the next period had partially subsided into a hole which may have held a wall-post in connexion with this room.

The only direct indication of the date of this period was the discovery of a 2nd-brass of Trajan, together with an undatable fragment of Samian form 37 and the reeded flange of a bowl of *c.* 80–120 A.D., in the filling of the northern staircase, and of a worn but early 2nd-brass of Hadrian in the new surface of the ramp at the foot of the main stairs. The coin of Trajan certainly reached the north staircase during the process of reconstruction, but the coin of Hadrian was near enough to the new surface of the approach to raise the suspicion that it may have been trodden in after the completion of the work. It was certainly prior to the constructional work of Period III.

Period III. As in other entrances, the third phase was one of drastic reconstruction, following upon a period of widespread destruction or decay. The eastern wall of the chamber had largely fallen and was now proportionately repaired, the western face of the new work being set back from 9 in. to 1 ft. behind that of the original wall. The greater part of the cupboard included in

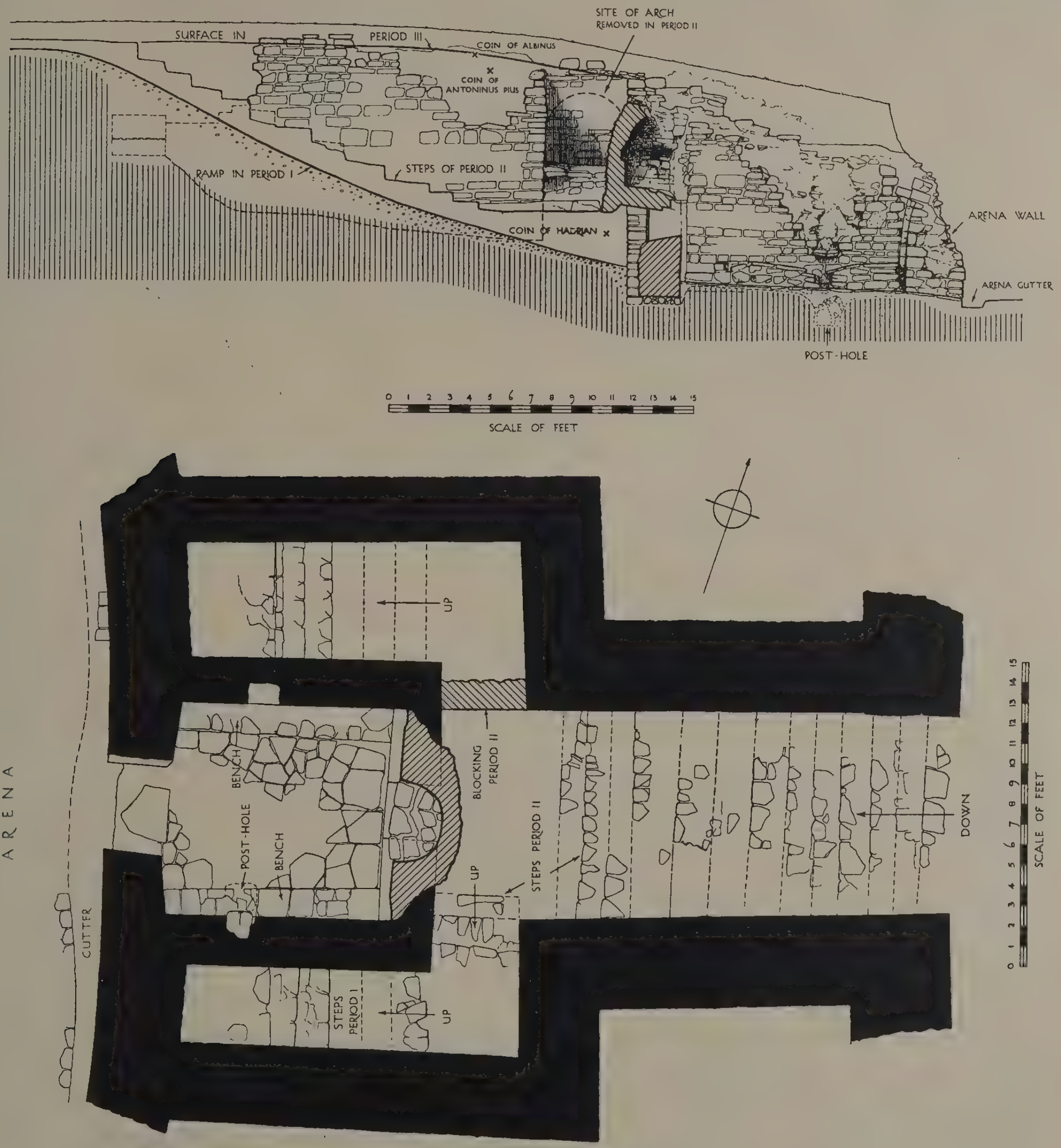

SITE OF ARCH
REMOVED IN PERIOD II
SURFACE IN PERIOD III
COIN OF ALBINUS
COIN OF ANTONINUS PIUS
STEPS OF PERIOD II
RAMP IN PERIOD I
COIN OF HADRIAN
ARENA WALL
ARENA GUTTER
POST-HOLE
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
SCALE OF FEET
UP
BLOCKING PERIOD II
BENCH
POST-HOLE
BENCH
UP
STEPS PERIOD II
DOWN
STEPS PERIOD I
UP
ARENA
GUTTER
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15
SCALE OF FEET

Fig. 9. Entrance D, section and plan.

the blocking of the doorway in Period II had perished in the general destruction and was now replaced at a higher level by a deeper recess, 4 ft. high, built largely of brick and roofed with a brick half-dome. Many of the bricks of this structure bore the stamp LE II AVG ANTO, or the like.

Both this new recess and the new patchwork in which it was set formed merely a thin skin of masonry which served as a revetment for the earth filling that was now inserted into the main approach. For the outer stairs and the surviving lateral staircase were now disused, and were buried beneath a great mass of rammed earth and debris to the height of the ground-level outside the amphitheatre at this point. The spectators now made their way directly to the seats by this new horizontal approach, approximately on a level with, and doubtless continued by, the timber roof of the chamber. A similar arrangement will be observed in Entrance H and has been noted above in other entrances. The excellent preservation of the masonry in the entrance is due largely to the protection afforded by this great wedge of earth.

In the chamber, apart from the reconstruction of the eastern wall, certain minor alterations may be ascribed to this period. It was probably now that a stone bench, 16 in. high, was constructed along both sides of the chamber above the original slab floor. It was probably also at this period that a rough recess was cut in the upper part of each side-wall, as though to carry a short wall-post, replacing those which have been presumed above in Period II.

Pottery, coins, and stamped bricks combine to suggest the date of this phase. In the earthen filling over the main staircase were found, along with a few sherds of earlier date, several fragments of Samian form 37, decorated in Hadrian-Antonine free-style, and pieces of forms 31 and 33 of about the same period. The plain ware from the same deposit included an imitation of Samian form 33, and some rather poor flanged bowls which may well be as late as *c.* 140-50 A. D. The same filling contained a worn 2nd-brass of Antoninus Pius; and in the occupation layer which capped the filling lay a denarius of Albinus (193–7 A. D.) almost in mint condition. For pottery from the layer, see figs. 20 and 22, nos. 29, 38, 72, 75.

The most important chronological evidence, however, is that afforded by the stamped bricks already referred to. These show that, prior to the building of the half-domed recess, the 2nd Legion had received the additional title 'Antoniniana'. The possible derivations of this title are discussed below by Mr. S. N. Miller (p. 159). Here it will suffice to note that the title was certainly not used after 222 A. D. and was probably not granted before 212 A. D. Considered in conjunction with the early 3rd-century coins found in association with contemporary work elsewhere in the amphitheatre (p. 149), it is safe to take these bricks at their face-value and to ascribe the present phase to

212–22 A. D. As elsewhere, the material used for the filling was obtained largely from earlier rubbish-heaps and therefore included pottery of dates long anterior to its final transference.

Entrance H (figs. 10 and 11)

Period I. In its original form this entrance resembled Entrance D, and a repetition of the general description is therefore unnecessary. The two lateral staircases presumably served the two different purposes suggested above—the wider to provide access to a special box on the barrel-vault which originally ceiled the chamber; the narrower to admit the general public to the adjacent block of seats. Most of the steps in the more northerly staircase were subsequently removed, but those in the southern staircase are nearly complete. The south wall of the southern staircase retains much of its original cement-renderings, with false joints emphasized by crimson paint (pl. XXIV, 2).

The side-walls of the main ramp, together, presumably, with the original barrel-vault, were carried across the openings into the lateral staircases on semicircular brick-arches of which most of the more southerly remains *in situ* (pl. XXVIII, 3).

The chamber between the 'landing' and the arena is 10½ by 12 ft. It had a gravelled floor approximately level with the arena, and was entered from the landing through a small brick-arched doorway giving a clearance of 4 ft. 9 in., presumably by a step which was later removed. It was roofed with a barrel-vault containing some tufa; this vault was demolished in later Roman times, but its outline is clearly marked on the western wall (pl. XXVIII, 2), and its springing can be seen on the northern wall. Just below the springing, the northern and doubtless the now obscured southern wall are faced with three courses of brick, but otherwise the side-walls are faced internally with sandstone. Externally, towards the lateral staircases, they are faced exclusively with bricks as described under Entrance D.

A 2nd-brass of Domitian, dated 86 A. D. and lost when still in fairly good condition, was found on the ramp of Period I and under a stone tread of the steps of Period II. The adjacent bath-building also provided important evidence as to the date of the entrance (see below, p. 145).

Period II. In this period the levels throughout the entrance were considerably raised and overlay a layer of charcoal and other burnt material. At a height of 1 to 2 ft. above the original level, the steep ramp was equipped or re-equipped with steps of which only the rough sub-structures remain, the actual treads, whether of stone or of timber, having been removed. At the same time the northern lateral staircase was demolished, its site being filled with rammed earth kept in position at its lower entrance by a stone-blocking at the new level. For a pot from this filling, see fig. 21, no. 61.

At the same period also, the floor of the chamber, which then, as now, was probably liable to flooding, was raised by about a foot of rammed earth and building rubbish, above which subsequently accumulated a layer of burnt material representing occupation.

This raising of the floor-level naturally affected the utility of the small doorway which communicated between the chamber and the 'landing'. The brick head of the doorway was therefore taken down and a new arch cut some 2 ft. above it, the jambs being carried up by re-used brick voussoirs, etc., and rendered in cement. The original barrel-vault, which ceiled the chamber, was likewise removed and the side-walls were carried up in roughly faced stonework to support a flat roof.

Inferentially, it was at this time also that the barrel-vault covering the outer half of the entrance was removed, as was certainly the case in Entrances A and G. Entrance H provides an additional scrap of independent evidence on this point, in that a large stone voussoir, which can only have come from one of the main arches of such a vault, was placed and carefully levelled in the angle of the southern lateral staircase, possibly as a stand for a policeman, ticket-collector, or other official. Since this staircase was blocked in the next period, the re-utilization of the voussoir cannot be later than the period now in question.

The only clue provided by this entrance as to the date of Period II is that three coins, respectively of Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian, were found together in the burnt capping of the floor of the chamber. The last was minted in 121 A. D. and is almost in mint condition. These coins were clearly dropped subsequently to the raising of the floor.

Period III. During this period the whole of the outer half of the entrance and the southern lateral staircase were filled with packed sandy earth, at least to the existing height of the central part of the structure. At the top of the lateral staircase a rough parapet was built to prevent the filling from overflowing into the arena, but, curiously enough, there was no trace of any masonry blocking in the doorway opening into the chamber, although the latter was retained in use. The blocking had either been removed subsequently by stone-robbers, or it was of timber, which had decayed. The removal or decay of the blocking had allowed some of the filling to ooze through from the main staircase into the chamber.

Contemporaneously with the insertion of the filling, a part of the adjacent outer wall of the amphitheatre was rebuilt above a height of 2 ft., the new work being distinguished by its rougher construction, a liberal use of hard white mortar, and the absence of the earlier crimson pointing. The

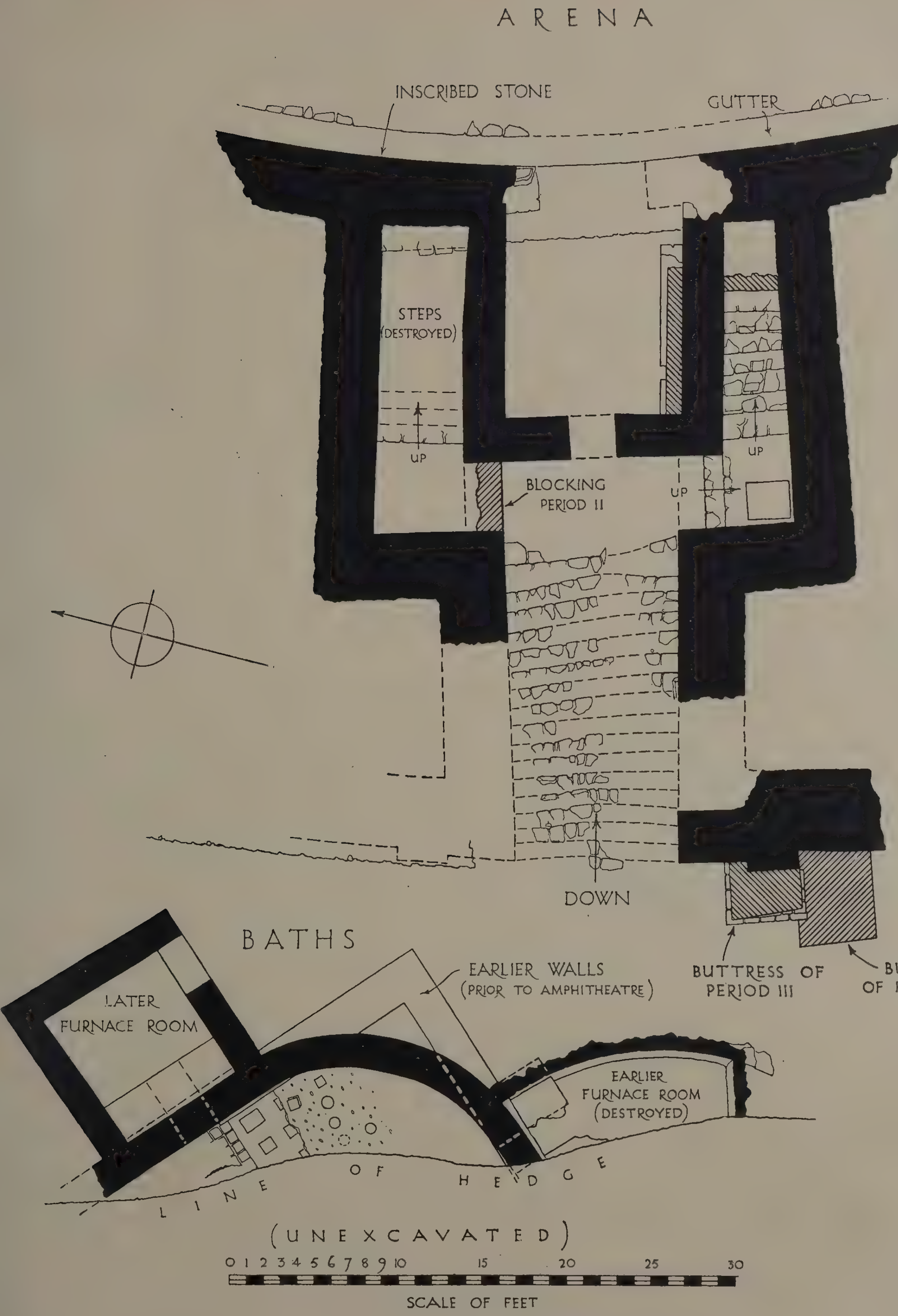

ARENA
INSCRIBED STONE
GUTTER
STEPS (DESTROYED)
UP
UP
UP
BLOCKING PERIOD II
DOWN
BATHS
LATER FURNACE ROOM
EARLIER WALLS (PRIOR TO AMPHITHEATRE)
BUTTRESS OF PERIOD III
BUTTRESS OF PERIOD II
EARLIER FURNACE ROOM (DESTROYED)
LINE OF HEDGE
(UNEXCAVATED)
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 15 20 25 30
SCALE OF FEET

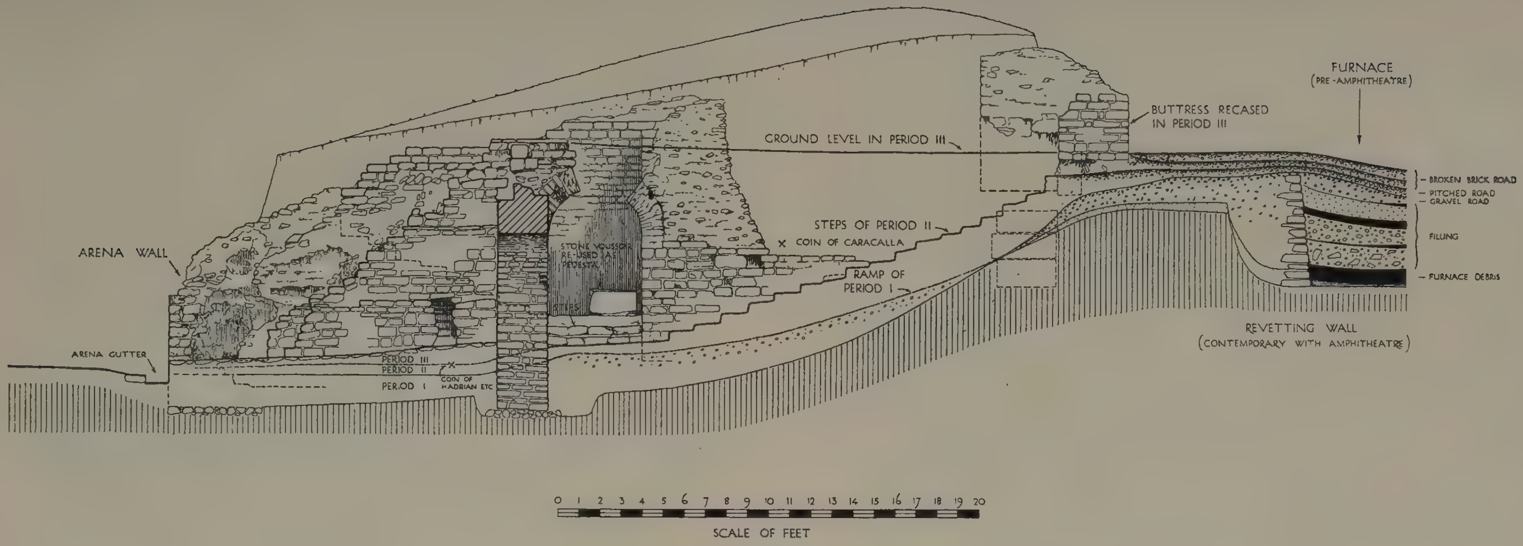
Fig. 10. Entrance A and Bath H.

corresponding stretch of the arena-wall was probably also rebuilt at the same time, though the disappearance of the mortar here renders this point less certain. In the course of the reconstruction, the original buttress on the southern side of the entrance was encased on two sides to form an enlarged buttress at the new level. As may be seen from the section (fig. 11), the new ground-level of this buttress lay considerably above the top of the steps of Period II, but conforms with the new level of the filling of Period III. The corresponding buttress to the north of the entrance has entirely disappeared.

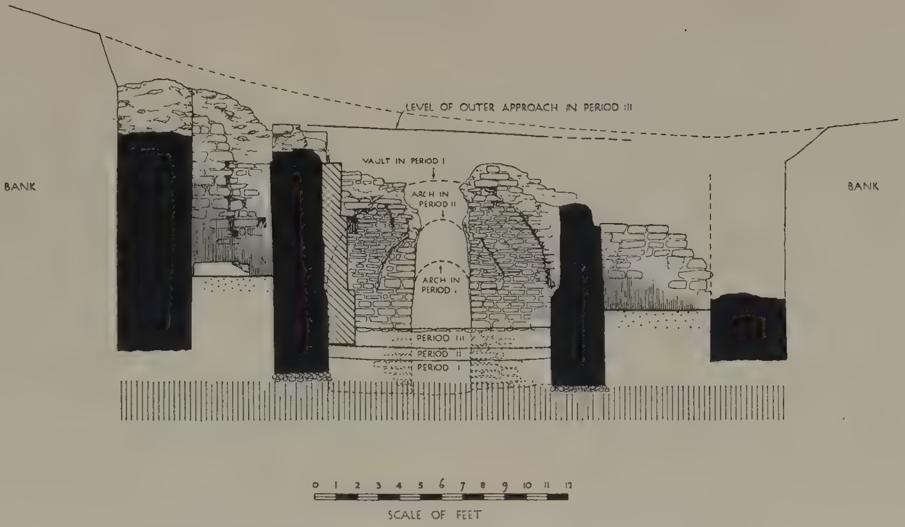
Admission to the seats was now attained by means of a horizontal approach provided by the insertion of this great earthen wedge behind the inner wall of the chamber, and continued, doubtless, by a renewed flat timber roof over the chamber itself. To carry this new roof, the walls of the chamber had required extensive repair. The northern wall had fallen into a ruinous state and had been roughly patched towards its eastern end (pl. XXIX, 1). The southern wall was regarded as even less secure, for a new 'skin' of masonry, based on an accumulation on the floor of Period II, had been added to its northern face. The new masonry was set in a poor sandy mortar which has now in great part disappeared. The floor, which was now laid down at a maximum height of 1 ft. above its predecessor, was wholly or partly paved with irregular slabs, and shows local burning.

The preserving mantle of the sandy filling indicates that much of the masonry of the central part of the entrance was at this time already in the ruinous condition in which we find it. The brick arch at the lower end of the lateral staircase had in part collapsed, and the adjacent walls were already almost in their present fragmentary state. Combined with the obviously decayed condition of the chamber at the time of the reconstruction, these facts suggest a previous phase of extensive decay, and, in conjunction with similar evidence from other parts of the amphitheatre, will demand special discussion at a later stage.

The direct evidence available for defining the date of this period is as follows: in the wedge of sandy filling was found a 2nd-brass of Marcus Aurelius Caesar (dated 155 A.D.), in moderate condition, and a denarius of Caracalla, in good condition. The filling should not, therefore, be earlier than *c.* 211 A.D. Consistently with this, coins of Trebonianus Gallus and Tetricus I (268–73 A.D.) were found on the filling; whilst scattered in and around the entrance to the arena from the chamber, at the highest level of occupation, were found broken bricks bearing the significant stamp LEG II AVG ANTO, which must have come from the upper part of the structure and were therefore probably used in the reconstruction of this period, as in the case of Entrance D. It is a fair inference that this reconstruction dates likewise from the time of Caracalla or Elagabalus (*c.* 212–22 A.D.)


FURNACE
(PRE-AMPHITHEATRE)
BUTTRESS RECASED IN PERIOD III
GROUND LEVEL IN PERIOD III
BROKEN BRICK ROAD
PITCHED ROAD
GRAVEL ROAD
FILLING
FURNACE DEBRIS
STEPS OF PERIOD II
COIN OF CARACALLA
RAMP OF PERIOD I
ARENA WALL
STONE VOUSSOIR RE-USED AS PEDESTAL
REVETTING WALL
(CONTEMPORARY WITH AMPHITHEATRE)
ARENA GUTTER
PERIOD III
PERIOD II
PERIOD I
COIN OF HADRIAN ETC
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
SCALE OF FEET

Section from east to west.


LEVEL OF OUTER APPROACH IN PERIOD III
BANK
BANK
VAULT IN PERIOD I
ARCH IN PERIOD II
ARCH IN PERIOD I
PERIOD III
PERIOD II
PERIOD I
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
SCALE OF FEET

Section from south to north across chamber and lateral staircases.

Fig. 11. Entrance H.

The Bath-buildings

Small parts of two bath-buildings were uncovered in the neighbourhood of the amphitheatre. These have been named Bath A and Bath H, respectively, from the entrances to which they stand adjacent.

Bath A. At a distance of 53 ft. outside Entrance A was excavated a part of an apsidal bath-room. The wall of this apse was rendered internally with cement and the floor was of *opus signinum* over slabs. On the north side, at the floor-level, a small circular drain opened into an external man-hole, from which it entered a large conduit 1¾ ft. wide and 3½ ft. high. This conduit was built of mortared stone and was covered with flat slabs. It proceeded eastwards in a straight line until it met and joined the main arena-drain outside Entrance B. From the point of junction, as has been mentioned above, it proceeded south-eastwards to the river, in which direction it has been traced for 290 ft. It was of one build with the arena-drain.

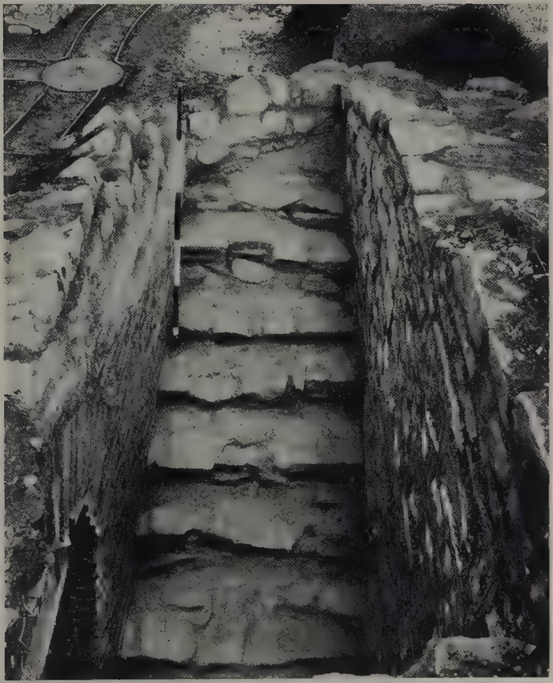
It may here be noted that at a distance of 30 ft. east of the man-hole, this conduit crossed and partially destroyed an earlier conduit which ran at a lower level in the direction of Bath-building H (see plan, pl. xx). The earlier drain was thus disused at the time of the building of the amphitheatre and may, on further investigation, be found to have been connected with Bath-building H in its original (pre-amphitheatre) form.

Between this earlier drain and the amphitheatre wall a trench revealed traces of two wooden water-pipes with iron joints (see plan, pl. xx). The relationship of these pipes to the various road-levels showed that the pipe nearer to the amphitheatre was contemporary with, or prior to, its construction, whilst the other belonged to a subsequent period, probably our Period II.

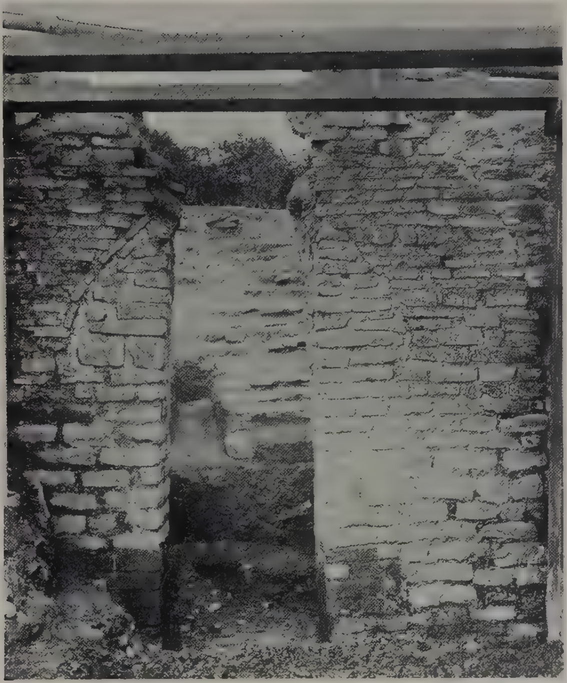
In order to dispose of the various pipe-systems in this area it may be added that between Entrances A and B a 5 ft. length of lead piping, 2½ in. in diameter, was found lying at right angles to the amphitheatre. It was apparently *in situ* and had seemingly been cut through by the builders.

To return to Bath-building A. The apsidal room covered an occupation layer which contained fragments of Samian forms 18 and 29. The room was disused and deliberately filled up in Roman times, and the filling contained much pottery of Hadrian–Antonine period, including a sherd of Samian form 37 bearing the stamp of the Lezoux potter PATERNVS. For pottery from the filling, see pl. xxxv, 2, no. 1, and figs. 19, 20, 21, and 22, nos. 18, 20–1, 27, 30, 41, 66, 74.

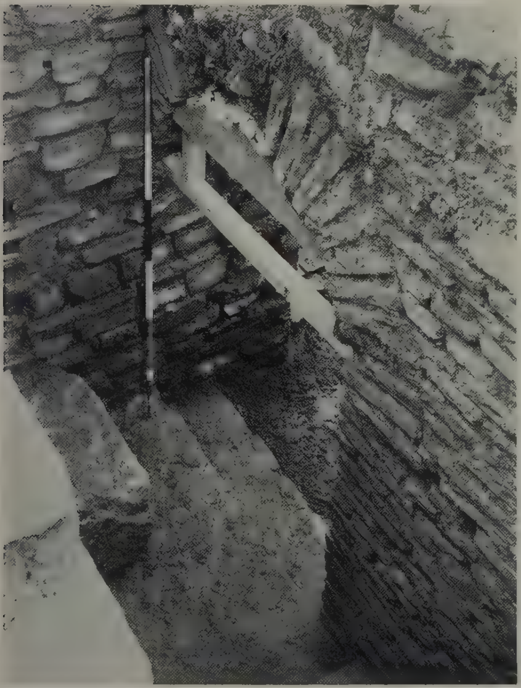
A literal interpretation of the evidence would be, therefore, that the bath was built during or not long after the Flavian period and was destroyed some time during the 2nd century. It may have fallen into decay during the second half of that century when, as we shall see, the amphitheatre itself was in ruin.



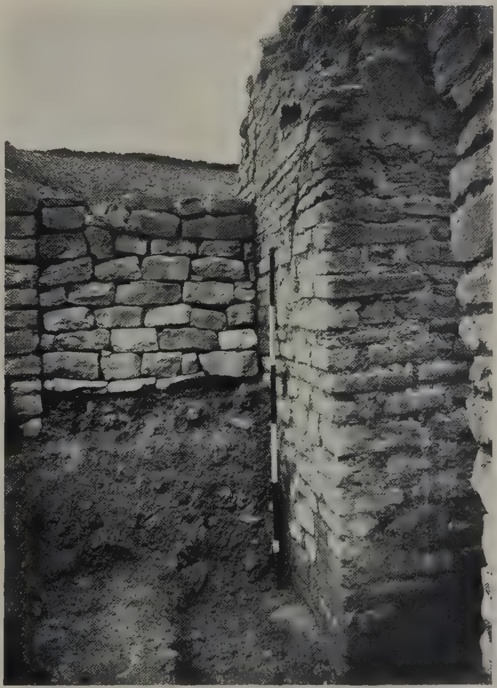
1. Southern staircase in entrance H, with top of archway in left foreground



2. Back wall of the chamber in Entrance H, showing traces of arch and vaulting of Period I, and the heightened doorway of Period II. Through the doorway can be seen the main staircase



3. Entrance H: southern lateral arch and staircase



4. Entrance H: opening from entrance-ramp into chamber (right), and entrance to northern lateral passage as blocked at the higher level in Period II

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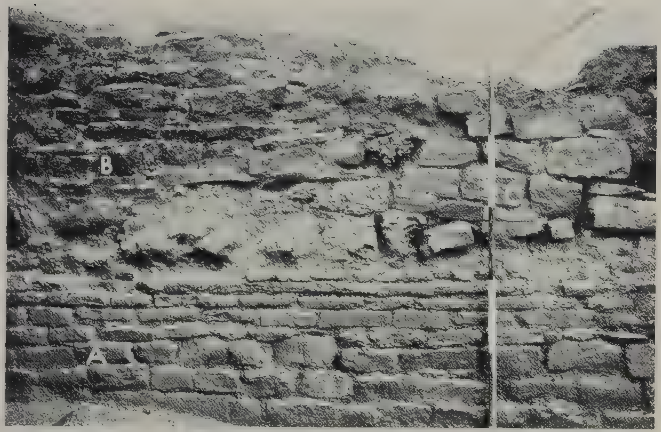
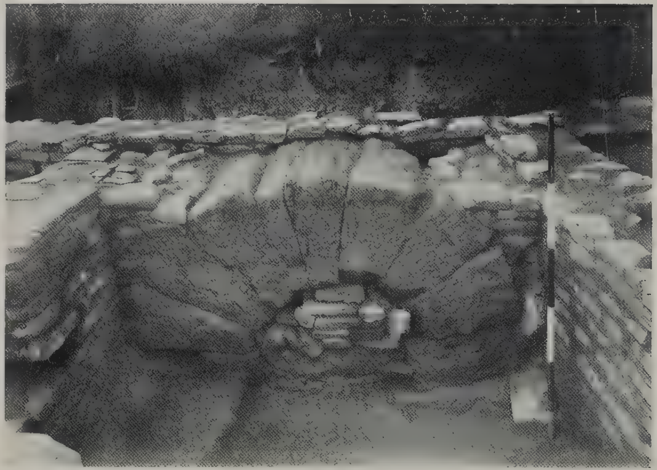
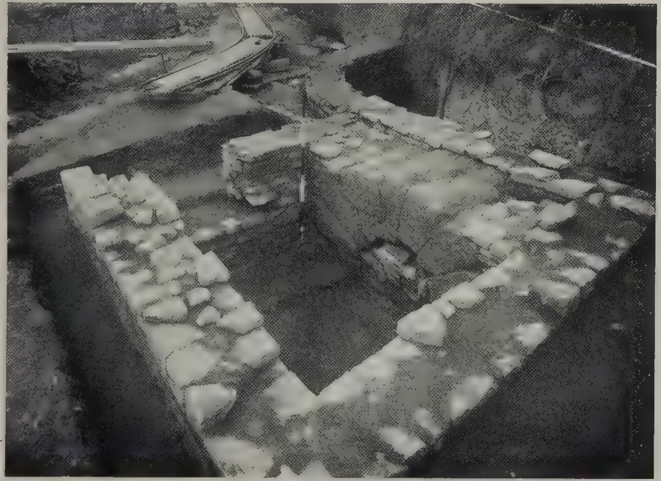


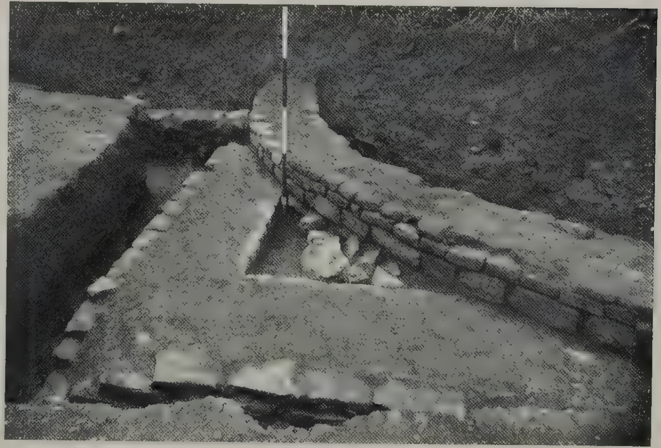
1. Entrance H: north wall of chamber, showing original wall (A), the cut-back vault in Period II (B), and a patch of Period III (C)



2. Bath H: blocked arch of added furnace-room



3. Bath H: furnace added at the time of the building of the amphitheatre, showing socket for former timber threshold



4. Bath H, showing rectangular corner of original building (pre-amphitheatre), and the rounded rebuild contemporary with the amphitheatre

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In view of the apparent contemporaneity of this building with the amphitheatre, the drainage system of which it shares, further exploration is desirable.

Bath H (see fig. 10, and pl. XXIX, 2–4). In the description of Entrance H, attention was drawn to a bath-building which lay immediately outside it. In its original form this bath-building antedated the amphitheatre. The small portion at present excavated shows the rectangular corner of an original room equipped with a pillared hypocaust and provided with a furnace in its south-eastern side. The walls were of stone, the furnace was arched with large voussoirs of freestone and was flanked externally by stone jambs or cheeks. The pillars were of the usual square bricks. The furnace-room had been sunk below the natural surface of the ground, and the absence of stone walls suggests that it was partly of timber.

This furnace-room, as will be seen from the plan (fig. 10), projected completely across the front of the proposed Entrance H. Moreover, the corner of the hypocaust-room protruded inconveniently in the same direction. The construction of the amphitheatre, therefore, was accompanied by a modification of the bath-building. In order to solidify the narrow neck of earth between the original furnace and the entrance, a recumbent arch of stone was built against one side of the furnace-room, and the cavity was then filled in with earth and debris. At the same time the adjacent room was rebuilt with a rounded corner in order to leave clearance between itself and the amphitheatre wall; and a new furnace-room of stone was built on its north-eastern side. The entrance to this furnace-room was originally equipped with a wooden sill, the cavity of which remains. The furnace itself was built of massive freestone voussoirs, each some 20 in. in depth. Within the room, a new hypocaust was built above the basis of the old, the pillars now being either of square or round bricks, or of fragments of brick piping.

It is clear that, since the date of these alterations was likewise that of the construction of the amphitheatre, the further excavation of the bath is of the utmost importance. The small area already cleared, however, has yielded useful evidence. The filling inserted into the original furnace-room at the time of the building of the amphitheatre contained Samian form 30 of Flavian date and forms 35 and 36, also of the 1st century, together with reeded flanged bowls, a 1st-century flanged jug, and a rusticated olla of Flavian type. With these sherds was a coin of Vespasian dated 71 A.D. and lost when still in good condition. None of the contents of this filling need, indeed, be later than 70–85 A.D.

Further, in the ashes which accumulated in the new furnace-room, built with or immediately after the amphitheatre, was found a coin of Domitian, dated 86 A. D., and lost when still in mint condition. It follows that the new hypocaust was already in use within a year or two of that date.

Finally, the whole structure was razed to its present level and was not only deliberately filled up in Roman times, but was actually covered by Roman roads of at least two periods. The hard metalling of the final road contained the extensive admixture of broken brick which everywhere characterized the roads of Period III (early 3rd century). Beneath this, a less distinctive road-surface sealed a filling which, so far as explored in the hypocaust and the later furnace, included a worn coin of Vespasian, fragments of Samian form 37 stamped DONNAVCI (Donnaucus) and M. CRESTIO (the later Crestio), both potters whose *floruit* falls within the reigns of Domitian and Trajan, and much coarse pottery of *c.* 90–120 A. D. The consistently pre-Hadrianic date of this filling supports the possibility that the building was destroyed at about the time when the amphitheatre underwent its first remodelling, i. e. *c.* 125 A. D. For pottery from this filling, see fig. 18, and figs. 19, 21, 22, and 23, nos. 11, 49, 70, 71, 82.

The Chronology of the Amphitheatre

The evidence as to chronology has already been indicated above in its various contexts, but it may now conveniently be collected and summarized in a single section.

Those strata in adjacent pits, etc., which definitely preceded the amphitheatre produced pottery that is not likely to be earlier than 60 A. D. or later than 80–90 A. D. (see p. 113). So far as it goes, therefore, this pottery supports a first occupation of the site in the time of Frontinus (*c.* 75 A. D.) rather than in that of Ostorius (*c.* 49 A. D.), but it is insufficient in quantity to carry much weight as to the *initial* date. On the other hand, the complete absence of late Flavian forms from these strata suggests in itself that these were superseded by the amphitheatre and its associated deposits before the end of the century.

Pottery and coins undoubtedly contemporary with the actual building of the amphitheatre are not abundant, but a coin of Vespasian, dated 77–8 A. D. and lost when still in good condition, was found embedded in the mortar of the core of the external wall of the structure. The amphitheatre is, therefore, not earlier than 77–8 A. D.

That it was not very much later than this date is the consistent evidence of the pottery from the building-levels in and about the structure. Thus, in the material of which the seating bank was composed were found Samian forms 18, 27 stamped OF . PA . . . (probably the Nero-Flavian potter Patricius), 29 (several rim fragments), early 30, 35, and Flavian 37, together with early rough-cast and micaceous wares, a straight-handled amphora, bowls with reeded flanges, and typical Flavian rims. Moreover, the pottery at the building-level of the entrances included stamps of the Flavian potters COIVS and RVFINVS and, throughout, suggested a date before rather than after 80 A. D. Lastly, in this connexion, it may be recalled that the material with which the original furnace-room of Bath H was filled, at the time of the building of the amphitheatre, contained a good coin of Vespasian, dated 71 A. D., together with more Flavian pottery.

It may thus be said that no coin later than Vespasian, and no pottery for which a post-Flavian date is probable, can be ascribed to the building-levels of the amphitheatre.

The validity of this preliminary inference is reinforced by the nature of that obtained from the earlier of the deposits which accumulated subsequently to the completion of the structure. Thus, on the actual surface of the seating-bank, where it remains practically to its original height adjoining Entrance A, was a well-marked black layer, due presumably to a burning of the wooden seats. The pottery from this layer consisted of Samian forms 29 and 67, an early Flavian jug-neck with undercut flange, early bowls with reeded flanges, and other sherds which, so far as datable, are of Flavian type. This pottery, all apparently of *c.* 70–90 A. D., accumulated subsequently to the building of the amphitheatre, and may be supposed to have been brought there in the picnic-baskets of spectators. For this pottery, see fig. 17, nos. 1 and 2, and figs. 20 and 21, nos. 44, 51.

Again, in the new furnace-room added to Bath H at the time of the building of the adjacent Entrance H, a coin of Domitian, in mint condition and dated 86 A. D., was found among the charcoal debris which had accumulated in front of the furnace. This coin must have been dropped while the room was in use, i. e. at some date subsequent to the construction of the amphitheatre. Other coins of Domitian, together with coins of Vespasian and Titus, were also lost after that event. The second and third repairs to the ramp of Entrance A contained two coins of Vespasian and one of Titus; an early coin of Vespasian was contained by the occupation-layer on the original ramp of Entrance E; a coin of Domitian, dated 77–8 A. D., was found on the ramp of Entrance F below the level of a later slab-paving; and two coins of Domitian found their way to the vicinity of Entrance C in the course of the *renewal* of the ramp there (see pp. 128 and 196). The ceramic evidence amply supports that of the coins. In the Entrances A and G, none of the pottery from the first two repairs is apparently later than *c.* 80–90 A. D.; it included stamps of the Flavian potters Cotto and Patricius, and much Samian and coarse ware of Flavian types (pp. 124 and 126); and Entrances C and E, in their original forms, were also associated with Flavian pottery (pp. 128 and 134).

To summarize thus far: (1) The amphitheatre is not earlier than 77–8 A. D., the date of the coin embedded in the structure; (2) no coin later than Vespasian and no post-Flavian pottery was found in the building-levels or amongst the building-materials; and (3) no coins later than Domitian (81–96 A. D.), and no pottery which would normally be ascribed to a post-Flavian date, seem to have been lost or deposited upon the site for some time after the completion of the structure.

It is a fair inference that the amphitheatre was built well within the Flavian period, and the dates 78–90 A. D. probably allow an ample margin of safety, the inclination being towards the earlier date.

The next phase is less amply dated, but the available evidence is consistent. It may be recalled that the main structural feature of the second phase was the raising of the level of the ramps in the entrances, together with the abolition of most of the barrel-vaults. It has further been noted in the preceding paragraphs that, adjoining Entrance C, two coins of Domitian were found above the first level but below the second, and another coin of the same emperor was found in Entrance H on the original ramp and under a stone tread of the stairs of Period II. All these coins were well stratified and, supported by the evidence of much pottery from the same or equivalent layers, have already shown that the second phase is not earlier than Domitian.

This evidence may now be extended. The more northerly lateral staircase of Entrance D was filled and blocked at this period and the filling contained a coin of Trajan. The new material inserted contemporaneously into the main ramp or staircase of the same entrance contained a worn but early coin of Hadrian. In Entrance E, where the level of the approach was similarly raised, the gravel which formed the surface of the new ramp contained a coin of Hadrian, dated 121 A. D. and lost when still in mint condition. In Entrance H, the surface of the new sand-and-gravel floor, inserted into the square room, contained a small group of three coins respectively of Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian, the last dated 121 A. D. and still almost in mint condition.

The evidence of the coins thus shows that the work of Period II was not earlier than 121 A. D. and suggests that it was not very much later.

With this evidence, that of the abundant pottery found, particularly in Entrances A and G, is in agreement. In those entrances the ramps were, as we have seen, raised by successive in-filling over a considerable period of time. In Entrance A the highest surface covered coins of Pius and Aurelius, but beneath this topmost layer six successive road-levels had produced no pottery later than *c.* 120 A. D. Of these six layers there is reason to suppose that the fourth was contemporary with the structural modifications of the second phase (above, p. 123), so that the ceramic evidence might in itself have suggested a somewhat earlier date than the coins allow. Reference to the description of Entrance G will show a similar sequence there also.

Period II, therefore, is not earlier than 121 A.D., but since it was prior to strata containing Trajanic and early Hadrianic pottery, the lower limit cannot be extended far beyond 130 A.D. and the year 125 A.D. may be taken as a central date.

The drastic restoration of Period III was, as we have seen, preceded by a phase of no less drastic destruction or neglect. Destruction and restoration on so extensive a scale at once suggest the possibility of an interesting historical environment, and it is fortunate, therefore, that the chronological evidence is in this case unusually precise.

First, the coins. In Entrance A attention has already been drawn to the occurrence of coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius (the latter dated 176 A.D. and lost when in moderate condition) in the make-up or metalling of the highest existing road-level which, as in other entrances, provided a horizontal approach for the spectators at this period (p. 125). Beneath the corresponding road-surface outside the entrance was found a coin of Septimius Severus, in fairly good condition. Close to the external wall of the amphitheatre, between Entrances A and B, the well-marked occupation-layer of Period III produced a coin of Elagabalus. The coin was in very good condition, and its position showed that it had been lost during the period of active occupation which accompanied and immediately followed the latest phase of reconstruction. Outside Entrance C the layer contemporary with the added buttresses of this period contained a moderately good coin of Septimius Severus. In Entrance D the make-up of the corresponding road, which filled the site of the former main staircase, contained a worn coin of Antoninus Pius, whilst the capping of this filling produced a well-stratified coin of Albinus (193–7 A.D.) almost in mint condition. The equivalent filling in Entrance E included a very worn coin of Domitian and a good denarius of Geta (211–12 A.D.). Adjoining the north-east angle of Entrance F, the 'make-up' of the surface contemporary with the building of the L-shaped retaining wall—a late work constructed with the lavish white mortar everywhere distinctive of Period III—produced a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. The coin had been dropped when still in very good condition. Between Entrances G and H, the material of which the road of Period III was constituted yielded a much-worn coin of Marcus Aurelius. Lastly, in Entrance H, the filling inserted into the main staircase to form the horizontal approach of Period III contained a moderately worn coin of Marcus Aurelius and, near the top, a coin of Elagabalus in mint condition.

The evidence of the coins from the strata associated with Period III is thus abundant and consistent. It has been seen that the material used for levelling and road-repairing at this period yielded a very worn coin of Domitian, two worn coins of Antoninus Pius, two of Marcus Aurelius, two of Septimius Severus, one of Julia Domna, and one of Geta. These carry us down approximately to the year 211. Four other coins—one each of Marcus Aurelius and Albinus, and two of Elagabalus—were found in or just below the surface of strata of this period, and it was not possible, therefore, to determine whether they were lost before or shortly after the new road-surfaces of this period were taken into use. It should be noted, however, that the coins of Elagabalus are in such good condition as to suggest that they were dropped soon after their issue; if so, the new work was in use within a few years of 220 A. D. Consistently with this inference, it will be seen that the coins from higher levels are all of later 3rd-century date.

The pottery from the deposits associated with the constructional work of Period III has been summarized in the description of the entrances, and will be described in its appropriate section. Briefly, it includes much of *c.* 110–50 A. D., with some of earlier date and only a little which may be later. The disproportionately small quantity of pottery ascribable to 150–200 A. D. is at first sight disconcerting, in view of the coin-evidence already cited. It is, however, capable of explanation. The material which produced it had not accumulated gradually *in situ*, but had been carted there by the builders from rubbish dumps, etc., elsewhere. With it, doubtless, came some of the coins, such as the Domitian already mentioned. On the other hand, extensive gangs of builders, although not likely to leave much contemporary pottery on the scene of their labours, may well have dropped occasional coins during the work. On general grounds, therefore, the latest coins may more safely be regarded as valid evidence of date than the pot-sherds. Furthermore, the ruined condition of the amphitheatre, prior to the reconstruction of Period III, suggests a preceding phase of scanty occupation during which little pottery would be expected to accumulate in the neighbourhood. The significance of this in relation to analogous evidence from other parts of the fortress will be discussed later (p. 154). In the meantime, it will suffice to note that the disparity of the ceramic and the numismatic evidence in relation to Period III merely helps to complete the picture of the circumstances which surrounded the drastic reconstruction of that period.

It may be added that where stratified pottery was obtainable from the *surfaces* of Period III it was of 3rd- rather than of 2nd-century date; for example, on the new ramp added to Entrance C at this time were found fragments of a Samian mortarium, a Samian vessel with wheel-cut pattern, and black-glazed Rhenish ware.

Fortified by the indication of the coins, however, the most important evidence for the date of Period III is provided by the stamped bricks, used in the latest constructional work of Entrance D and probably of Entrance H (above, pp. 138 and 142). These stamps add the title ANTO(NINIANA) to the name of the legion, and were thus made at a date which cannot have been later than the year 222 A. D. and is very unlikely to have been earlier than 212 A. D.—an unlikelihood which is confirmed to the point of certainty by the evidence of the coins already cited. The general implication of the title is discussed below by Mr. S. N. Miller (p. 159).

Thus the coins and the brick-stamps together indicate the decade 212–22 A.D. for the constructional work of Period III.

Mention has been made (p. 132) of stratified accumulations and repairs which were identified at certain points on the road-surfaces of Period III. These subsequent strata were found more particularly at Entrance H, and alongside the buttresses of Period III in the vicinity of Entrances B, C, and D. The stratified coins recovered from them consisted of one of Trebonianus Gallus, three of Gallienus, one of Salonina, two of Claudius II, eleven of Tetricus I, one of Tetricus II, two of Carausius, and one of Allectus. With the year 296 A. D. the series stops abruptly, and no stratified Roman coin of later date has yet been found at or near Caerleon. Some thirty 4th-century coins, ending with one of Valens, were found scattered in the surface-soil within and around the amphitheatre, but, when one remembers the great quantity of such coins found on fully occupied sites in that century, the total in the present instance is insignificant.

The history of the amphitheatre, after it had ceased to fulfil its original purpose, is indicated by two or three fragments of evidence. The first stage was one of decay, perhaps hastened but little by deliberate destruction. Thus, on the topmost Roman surface, in Entrance F, a layer of earth and small debris had accumulated to a depth of from a few inches to 2 ft. when the great inner arch of the vault fell bodily into it, so that the stones remained there buried beneath many feet of subsequent debris until they were revealed, during the recent excavation, still in order as they fell (pl. XXI, 4). Had the destruction been carried out by stone-robbers, it is scarcely likely that the freestone voussoirs—some of the finest masonry on the site—would thus have been abandoned. It may well be, therefore, that Gerald the Welshman, when he passed through Caerleon about the year 1188 and found 'many vestiges of former splendour', including 'remarkable hot baths, relics of temples and theatres, all enclosed within fine walls', saw the amphitheatre still largely unmutilated by the hand of man. Be that as it may, the first evidence of deliberate destruction dates from more than a century after the visit of Gerald, and consists of five silver pennies of Edward I–III found beneath the main stream-line of debris, level with the surviving top of the arena-wall. The coins lay in positions which they could not have reached by accidental percolation, and there can be little doubt that they bear witness to evidence of spoliation after the beginning of the 14th century. Subsequently, perhaps the period of most active stone-robbing was that of George II–III, whose coins were found in some numbers in the later trenches cut into the structure for building-stone.

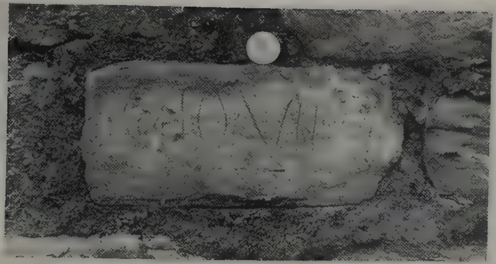
The Historical Setting

In conclusion, some attempt may be made to set into their historical context the three main phases which have been recognized in the structural growth of the amphitheatre. Any such attempt is, of course, subject here, as always, to the incalculable factor of local circumstance. The risk of purely accidental factors of this kind, however, is reduced to a minimum in the work of a legion which is known to have played a prominent and sustained part in the history of its province; and in the present instance the evidence provides a series of coincidences which are sufficiently striking to amount to proof.

Whether the legion was or was not quartered for a time at Caerleon in the middle of the 1st century is a problem which can only be proved by extensive excavation in and around the fortress down to the lowest level. On the site of the amphitheatre itself there was certainly some occupation of earlier date than the structure. Rubbish pits were open in the vicinity (as outside Entrance C); a bath-building (H) was standing to the west of the site; and the surface of the ground below the first of the amphitheatre-levels yielded sherds and other evidence of occupation. The sherds were not indeed numerous. They include fragments of Samian forms 18 (stamped OF PATRIC), 24/25, 27, and 29—difficult to date to a decade or two, but ascribed by Dr. T. Davies Pryce to the period Nero-Vespasian (say, 60–80 A. D.). They do not by themselves prove an occupation lasting more than a few years before the building of the amphitheatre.

That event occurred within a few years of 80 A. D. The construction of a stone building at this early date is perhaps surprising, in view of the fact that excavation on two widely separated sites within the fortress has indicated that the timber buildings were not there replaced by stone until the early years of the 2nd century. But the stone tower in the southern corner of the fortress was thought by its excavators in 1909 to be of Flavian date, and it may be significant that this tower, like the amphitheatre, bore the distinctive covering of plaster on which false masonry joints were indicated in crimson paint. The tower and the amphitheatre seem thus to have been approximately contemporary works, and, as such, are amongst the earliest examples of Roman military masonry in Britain. Their erection was the first fruit of the consolidation of the western frontier under the governorship of Agricola.

Apart from minor modifications in certain of the smaller entrances, the



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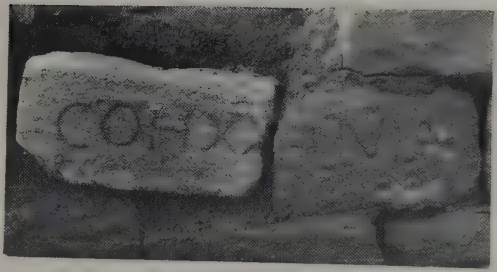

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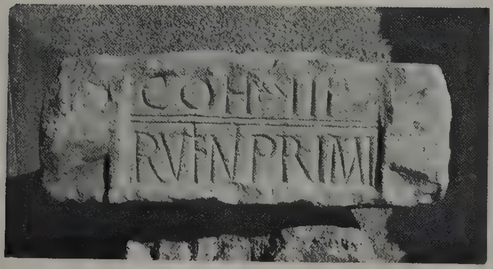

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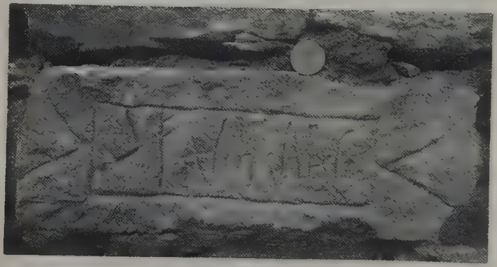

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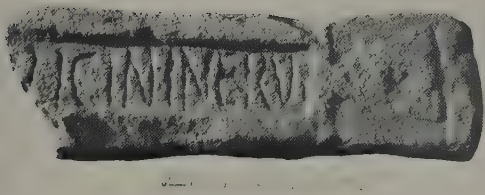

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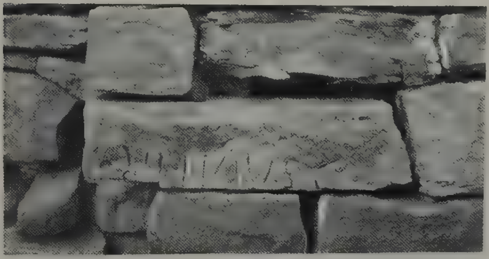

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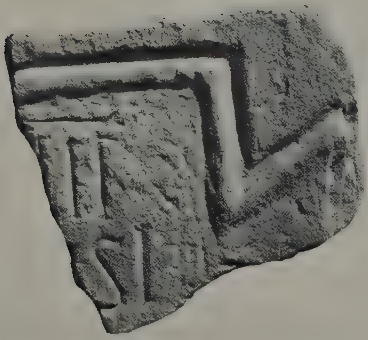

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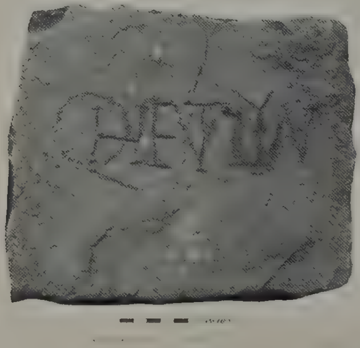

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INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE

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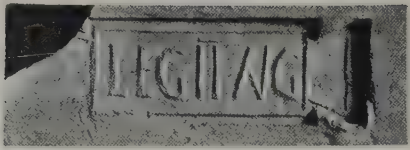

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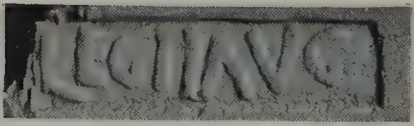

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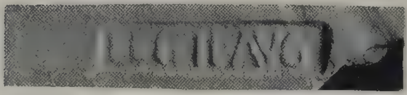

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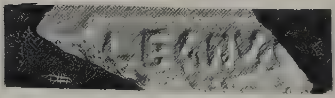

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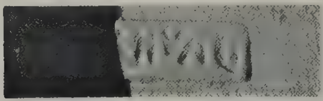

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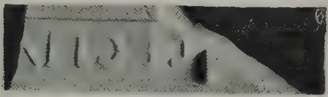

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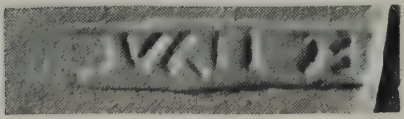

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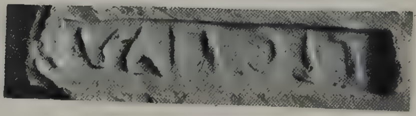

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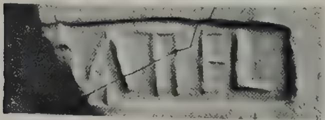

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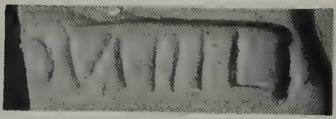

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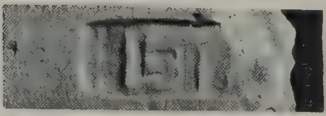

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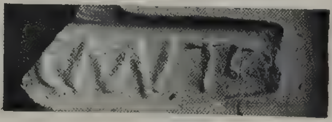

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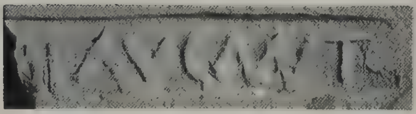

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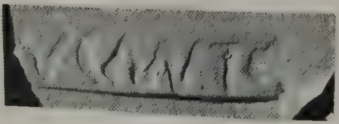

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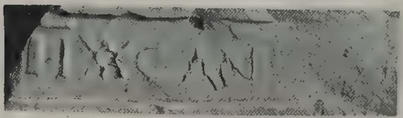

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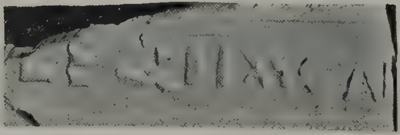

16

STAMPED TILES (½)

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next structural incident in the history of the amphitheatre seems to have occurred in the time of Hadrian, after, but not many years after, 121 A.D. The new work included the removal of the vaulting from most of the entrances and from the small rooms incorporated in Entrances D and H, together with the blocking of one of the lateral staircases in each of these last entrances. At the same time, levels were raised in all or most of the passages. These reconstructions, though less drastic than those of the next phase, seem to have followed a period of destruction or decay. There are traces of much burning on the earlier roadways, in the two chambers, and on the seating-bank; and, although some of this burning—particularly that on the bank—probably occurred before the time of Hadrian, that in the entrances may partially explain the considerable structural alterations there. The main cause of these alterations, however, lay undoubtedly in the raising of the level of the approaches in order to minimize the flooding of the entrances, which must in many cases have held pools of water throughout the greater part of the year. How far this evil had been accentuated by a period of neglect it is impossible to say; but it may be suggested that, on its return from its long absence in connexion with the building of Hadrian's Wall, in and about 122 A. D., the legion found that the structural disabilities of its amphitheatre had brought the entrances to such a pass that an extensive remodelling of them—as distinct from the minor repairs which had previously sufficed—had by then become imperative.

Of the remainder of the 2nd century the amphitheatre has little to tell. The silence is probably significant. It accords with that of almost all the Welsh auxiliary forts which have hitherto been excavated. At Carnarvon, Caersws, the Brecon Gaer, and Gelligaer the Antonine period was one of drastic reduction or, more probably, complete abandonment. The garrisons had been withdrawn from Wales, and in two cases (Brecon and Llanio) epigraphic evidence shows that they were withdrawn for service in the North. There, in Northern Britain, lay at that time the most formidable British enemies of Rome, and there lay the obvious field for expansion. Caerleon was not completely deserted at this period, for the 'make-up' of roads built in the 3rd century contained a small proportion of mid or even later 2nd-century sherds. But it is clear, both at the amphitheatre and on the excavated sites within the fortress, that the population of the site between 140 and 200 A. D. was slight and ineffective. The legion, as a whole, was not at home.

At the beginning of the 3rd century all was changed. Caerleon shared, with other military sites throughout the Empire, in that new outburst of martial activity which marked the reigns of Septimius Severus and his immediate successors. The fortress was now put in order. A monumental inscription, bearing the name of Severus and his sons and found many years ago on the site of the head-quarters building (the present churchyard), commemorates the reconstruction of a building, presumably the head-quarters itself, which had fallen into a state of decay (*corruptum*).[1] That the amphitheatre was also by this time 'corrupt' has been abundantly shown above. Its walls had in several places fallen or been destroyed nearly to their foundations. It cannot have been used for its proper purpose for many years. Between 212 and 222 it was rebuilt and used once more.

The latest datable inscription from Caerleon is of about the year 259, when the *centuriae* or barrack blocks in some part of the fortress were repaired.[2] At the amphitheatre, stratified coins, found in the latest repair to the road-surface adjoining the structure on its south-east side, carry the occupation down to 296. There it stops abruptly. Nowhere amongst the barracks of the fortress or its environs has any clear sign yet been found of constructional work or systematic occupation after that date. Future excavation may indeed reveal something of a 4th-century occupation (military or civil) in the principal buildings near the centre of the fortress and in a few structures outside the walls. Consistently with this, a few 4th-century coins have been found in and around the fortress, and thirty-nine are included amongst those from the amphitheatre. But the almost universal distribution of these late coins is notorious; it may be recalled that they occur even in Scottish forts which were not held officially after the 2nd or early 3rd century. When, moreover, we remember the vast number of 4th-century coins found on any site (such as the fort at Carnarvon) which was fully occupied during that century, the mere handful from Caerleon may almost be thought to have a negative rather than a positive significance. It is clear that, if future discoveries confirm the fairly abundant mass of evidence which is already available, the significant history of Roman Caerleon ends with the 3rd century. The reason is not far to seek. At the outlet of the Usk valley, which penetrates far into the interior of Wales, Caerleon had formed an excellent base for the head-quarters of a military system whose main object was the patrolling of a newly subjugated territory. By the end of the 3rd century, however, the political situation had been reversed. The enemies of Rome now lay outside, not inside, the Principality. They were the sea-rovers and armed immigrants from Ireland, who had already begun to settle in south-west Wales at least as early as 270. To meet attacks of this kind and from this direction Caerleon was badly placed. Civil life had, during two centuries of Roman occupation, penetrated gradually westwards along the Welsh coastlands, and it was this Romanized civil population that now needed protection. Accordingly, a new and up-to-date fortress of the Saxon Shore type was built fourteen miles west of Caerleon, at Cardiff; a site placed more centrally in relation to the threatened territory, and a more convenient centre therefore for coastwise patrol. Whether a part of the Caerleon garrison was transferred to the new Cardiff fort we do not know. The *Notitia Dignitatum* in the 4th or early 5th century ascribes the 2nd Legion, or at least some part of it, to the Saxon Shore at Richborough. I have suggested elsewhere that the transference of the unit from Caerleon may well have synchronized with the substitution of Cardiff for Caerleon as the main military centre in South Wales—the work, presumably, of Constantius and Diocletian.[1]

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[1] R. E. M. Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, 235.

[2] *C. I. L.* vii, 107.

It is at Cardiff, therefore, on the one hand, and at Richborough on the other, that we must look for the history of Caerleon in the 4th century, and it is possibly in the amphitheatre which lies buried outside the walls of Richborough—the only other British amphitheatre known to consist partly of masonry—that the lost century of 'King Arthur's Round Table' may yet be found.

THE FINDS

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I. INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE AND LEAD

By R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.

Although the total absence of large inscriptions, such as must have recorded the erection and repair of such a building, was something of a disappointment to the excavators of the Caerleon amphitheatre, the inscriptions actually found have a decided interest.

In the first place, the 'Caerleon Curse' adds another example to a rare class of inscriptions of which Britain previously possessed only two.

Secondly, the centurial stones make a substantial addition to our knowledge of the legion's personnel. They give us the names of five hitherto unknown centurions; the lead plate (no. 9) gives us a sixth.

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[1] *Antiquaries Journal*, ii, 1922, p. 370; *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, 235.

Thirdly, the fact that these centurial stones were inserted in a building which was plastered all over shows that they were not meant to be a permanent record of work done. They were meant to show what the various centuries had done only so long as the work was still in progress. Evidently, an officer was to inspect the mason's work before the plasterers came in; and these inscriptions are plainly meant for the eye of this officer. This differentiates such inscriptions from things like the ornate distance-slabs of the Antonine Wall.

1. (Pl. xxx, 1, and fig. 12.) Building-stone of grey schist, 9½ by 4½ in. *Coho(rs) viiii.* 'Ninth Cohort.' The letters have been merely scratched with a pointed implement, and are followed by what may have been originally intended for a leaf-stop. The first O is smaller and fainter than the other letters, and has evidently been added by some purist who objected to the incorrect (though common) abbreviation CHO.

The stone is *in situ* in the west wall of the main north entrance (F on plan) to the amphitheatre, about 5 ft. above the roadway level.

2. (Pl. xxx, 2, and fig. 12.) Centurial stone, 22 in. by 5½ in.; broken in two. The material is a coarse red pebbly sandstone. *Coh(ors) X, c(enturia) Fl(avi) Iulin(i).* 'Tenth cohort, century of Flavius Iulinus.'

The left-hand portion was found lying loose in disturbed ground at Entrance F; the right-hand portion was found built into the seventh course of the arena-wall, 9 ft. north of Entrance H. This alone would be proof that this part of the arena-wall is not original; and Dr. Wheeler tells me that he considers the structure in question to be an early 3rd-century rebuild.

The lettering is good and regular but might belong to any period in the late 1st or early 2nd century.

3. (Pl. xxx, 3.) Centurial stone, 1 ft. 4 in. by 5½ in. The material is a reddish grit, common in the Caerleon inscriptions. *Coh(ors) III, c(enturia) Rufini Primi.* 'Third cohort, century of Rufinius Primus.' The lettering is (for this series) unusually good. The stone was found by the Liverpool excavators in 1909, apparently *in situ* in the arena-wall north of Entrance A.

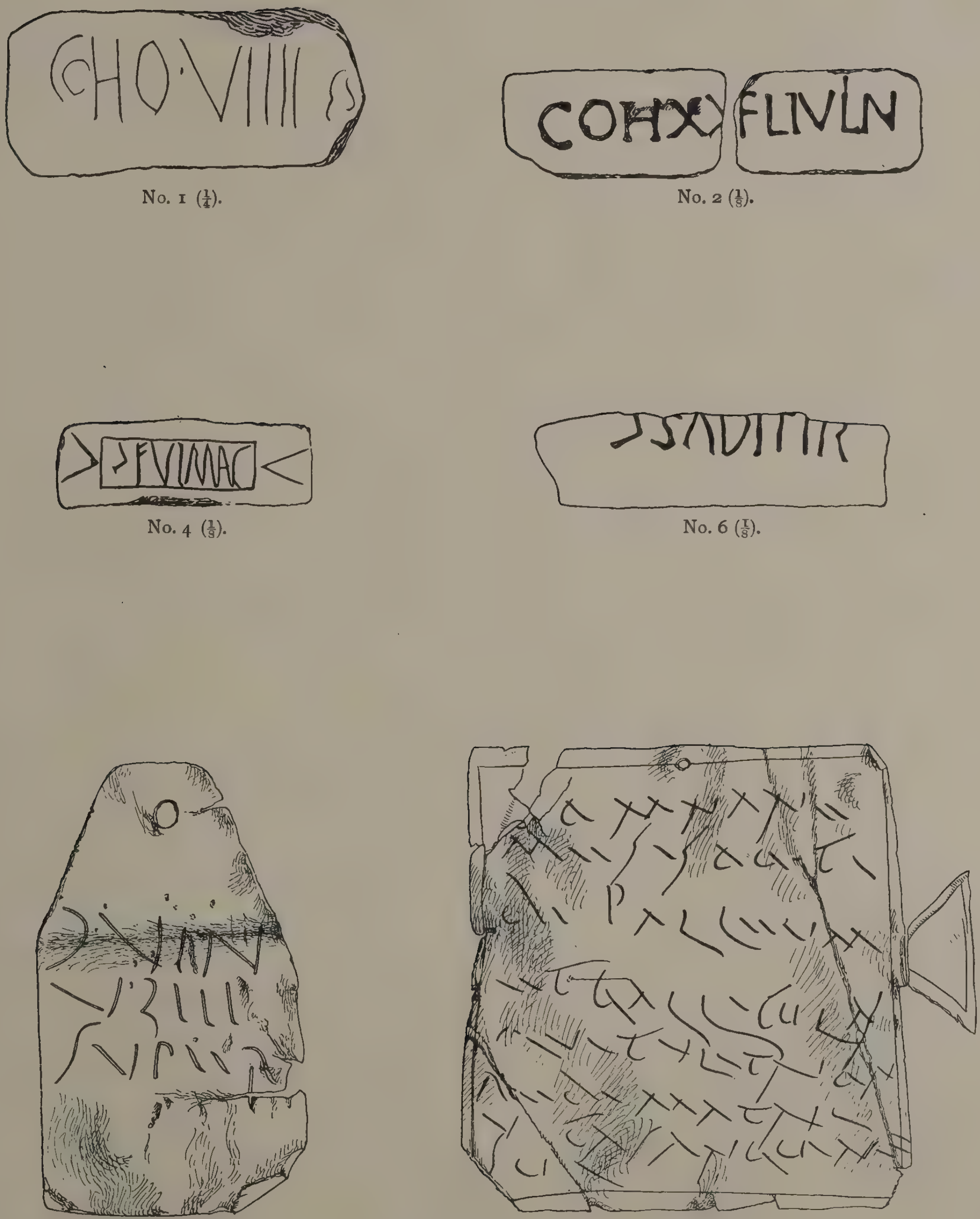
4. (Pl. xxx, 4, and fig. 12.) Centurial stone, 13½ in. by 4½ in. The material is the reddish grit. *C(enturia) Ful(vi) Mac(eri).* 'Century of Fulvius Macer', in ansate panel.

The stone is *in situ* and in perfectly fresh condition, and when found was still partly covered by plaster. It is built into the sixth course of the arena-wall, 9 ft. north of Entrance C.

5. (Pl. xxx, 5.) Centurial stone, broken at the beginning, the remainder 15 in. by 4½ in. *C(enturia) Licini Nerv(ae).* 'Century of Licinius Nerva', in ansate panel.

The stone, which is again a reddish sandstone, was found in disturbed material close outside the amphitheatre between Entrances F and G.

6. (Pl. xxx, 6, and fig. 12.) Centurial stone, 18½ in. by 5 in. The material is grey schist. The stone has been split in two longitudinally, the upper part of the letters having thus perished; the remainder has been built upside down into a length of arena-wall which was reconstructed probably with Entrance H in Period III. *C(enturia) Sadi(?) Tir(onis).* 'Century of Sadius Tiro (?).' The fourth letter may have been a D or possibly a V, but



No. 1 (1/4). No. 2 (1/8).

No. 4 (1/8). No. 6 (1/8).

No. 9 (1/1). No. 10 (1/1).

Fig. 12. Inscriptions on stone and lead (*see p.* 156).

neither Sadius nor Savius seems to be an extant *nomen*. The sixth letter seems to be a T, which makes the last three letters point almost irresistibly to the common *cognomen* Tiro. The letters are deeply cut and unweathered, and their surviving portions are perfectly clear.

The stone is limestone, and is in the sixth course of the arena-wall, about 7 ft. south of Entrance H.

7. (Pl. xxx, 7.) Fragment of ansate centurial slab. The first line contained the number of the cohort, but whether that number was III (as no. 3) or VIIII (as no. 1), or some other number ending in III, cannot be determined. The second line gave the name of the centurion, a name which ended apparently in . . . . ESI, although the E is not certain. There is room for a third line, which may have stated the length of wall built by the century.

The stone is either Old Red Sandstone or Pennant, and was found in the debris at the foot of the aren-awall between Entrances E and F.

8. (Pl. xxx, 8.) Slab, 26 in. by 22 in., with a number of letters overlapping one another. To treat them as ligatures is impossible; so treated, they are not sense. But there are two different styles of work in them: certain letters are picked, the others cut with a chisel or (more probably) a punch, and the latter are subsequent to the former, as appears from the way in which the picked V has diverted the upright of the cut T. Disentangling these two kinds of work, we get, in picked letters,

(*a*) Q IVL M

(the last letter possibly N); and then superimposed,

(*b*) HETVI

the V being cut over the top of the I in a way which reappears elsewhere.

(*a*) is clearly a name: Quintus Iulius Maximus, or the like.

(*b*) seems to me nonsense—random letters, a more probable explanation than *H*(*onos*) *et Vi*(*rtus*) or even *H*(*ilarus*) *et Vi*(*ctorina*).

The stone was found in unstratified Roman debris in Entrance B.

9. (Fig. 12.) Plate of lead, shaped and holed like the modern travelling luggage-label, as if for attachment to something by a string. Inscribed

Ɔ VINV
LIII
SVPIIR

C(*enturia*) *Vinulei Super*(*i*). 'Century of Venuleius Super', in two lines crosswise to the length of the plate.

10. (Fig. 12.) Plate of lead, 3 in. square; formerly ansate, but one of the *ansae* broken off; pierced with two nail-holes for attachment.

DOMNA NII
MIISIS DO TI
BI PALLIVM
IIT GALLICVLAS
QVI TVLIT NON

REDIMAT N · ·
· · · · · SANGVINII
SVA

'Lady Nemesis, I give thee a cloak and a pair of boots; let him who took (?) them not redeem them . . . with his own blood.'

Nemesis, the anger which one feels against people who have done wrong, is personified as a goddess, patroness of cursing.

Curses are found elsewhere in amphitheatres (cf. Dessau, 8755, Carthage; and R. Eggar in *Der römische Limes in Österreich*, xvi, 1926, 136 from the town-amphitheatre at Carnuntum) expressing ill wishes towards particular performers. In this case the meaning is not altogether clear. The dedicator may be (*a*) cursing some one who stole his cloak and boots, if *tulit* is for *abstulit*; (*b*) cursing some one identified as the wearer of a certain cloak and pair of boots, if *tulit* is for *portabat*. A possible sense is that A.B. curses C.D. for stealing A.B.'s cloak and boots. A.B. says to the goddess 'I make you a present of the articles in question (and you can obtain them for yourself by seeing that C.D. is killed in the arena); or, if you like, let him redeem them by getting well wounded'. I here assume that the general sense of the illegible letters is represented by *nisi fusa* or the like.

This explanation is at any rate psychologically possible. A.B., not having the courage to recover his own property, makes an extremely cheap present to the goddess in the hope that she will arrange for the death or injury of C.D., and at the same time salves his conscience in advance for not tackling C.D. about it should he emerge alive. He has done his best.

2. STAMPED TILES

By S. N. Miller

The normal legionary stamp at Caerleon took the form LEG II AVG (i. e. *Legio Secunda Augusta*), and the main varieties of lettering, etc., are represented by pl. xxxi. At Entrances D and H, however, bricks stamped LE II AVG ANTO or the like (i. e. *Legio Secunda Augusta Antoniniana*) were found in circumstances which have been described above (pp. 138 and 142). Some of these bricks are still *in situ* in the niche in Entrance D (Period III), and the additional title, therefore, being datable, throws light upon the chronology of that structure.

It was after the death of Severus in 211, or rather when Caracalla became sole emperor after the death of Geta early in 212,[1] that *Antoniniana* became common as a title of military units. It is found, however, in half a dozen auxiliary (though no legionary) inscriptions which bear an earlier date. Two of these, in which the title appears to have been added on the stone after the death of Geta, can be set aside, viz. *C. I. L.* xiii, 8825 (= Dessau 9186, Riese 174), and Dessau 9154. Of the others, three date from 201, viz. *C. I. L.* viii, 9827 (= Dessau 2493) and 9828 (both an *ala Augusta Parthorum Antoniniana*), and *C. I. L.* iii, 14485^a (= Dessau 9179, *Coh. I Aurelia Brittonum Antoniniana*); while one is as early as 160, viz. *Eph. Epig.* vii, 798 (*ala I Aug. P. An.*).[1] Mommsen, believing that the title *Antoniniana* did not occur till after 211, maintained that the inscription of 160 and the two inscriptions of 201 known to him (*C. I. L.* viii, 9827–8) had really been erected after their ostensible date (*Eph. Epig.* vii, 264). Cichorius, *s.v.* 'Ala' in Pauly-Wissowa i, 1256), rightly pointed out the improbability of Mommsen's view, and his objection was strengthened by the discovery after his article appeared of the third of the inscriptions dating from 201 (*C. I. L.* iii, 14485^a). This inscription, since it does not relate to the same unit as the others, tells also against Cichorius' own suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that the title might derive (like such titles as *ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana*, etc.) from some officer (unknown) of the name of Antoninus. Besides, when the troops later erased the name from the regimental titles they obviously regarded it as an imperial name, and it is significant that the title first appears (so far as our present evidence goes) under an Antonine emperor. The probable conclusion seems to be that, after the title had appeared in an exceptional case under Pius, it was revived under Severus when he had his son Bassianus (Caracalla), under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, associated with him as Augustus. Still, it is not common till after 211, when it is found as a title of a great variety of units (*equites singulares Augusti*, the *classis praetoria* at Ravenna, praetorian cohorts, urban cohorts, legions, auxiliary alae, cohorts and numeri, etc.).

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[1] None of the dated examples appears to belong to 211. A few date from 212, e. g. *C. I. L.* xiii, 7465 = Riese 184.

The lower limit of the occurrence of the title is definitely fixed. It continued to be used under Caracalla's successor Elagabalus; cf. *C. I. L.* vi, 31162 (= Dessau 2188, *equites singulares Antoniniani*, 219 A. D.), *C. I. L.* viii, 2564 (= Dessau 470, *leg. III Augusta p.v. Antoniniana*; after the death of Caracalla, who is here *divus*), Dessau 9083^a (*leg. I Minervia Antoniniana*; after the death of Julia Domna, who is here *diva*, i. e. after 217), *C. I. L.* iii, 2445 (= Dessau 2442, *leg. II Adiutrix p. f. Antoniniana*, 218 A. D.), *C. I. L.* iii, 5580 (= Dessau 4853, *leg. II Italica Antoniniana*, A. D. 219). But on his death in 222 the name (Antoninus) of Elagabalus was erased from the monuments,[2] and the title Antoniniana ceased to be used. So we find that units which bore the title Antoniniana under Caracalla and Elagabalus change it under Elagabalus' successor, Severus Alexander, to Severiana or Alexandriana or Severiana Alexandriana. For example, the *leg. XXII Primigenia*, which is Antoniniana under Caracalla (Dessau 4838) and Elagabalus (Dessau 2411), is Alexandriana in 229–30 (*C. I. L.* xiii, 7335, 7337 = Dessau 7096–7). So the *leg. XIV Gemina* changes from Antoniniana (*C. I. L.* iii, 11152 = Dessau 4240) to Severiana (*C. I. L.* xi, 2699 = Dessau 5013) or Severiana Alexandriana (*C. I. L.* x, 1254 = Dessau 1179). An auxiliary example from Britain: the *coh. I Fida Vardullorum*, which is Antoniniana under Caracalla (*C. I. L.* vii, 1043, dating from 215) and under Elagabalus (*C. I. L.* vii, 1045, where the erasure of Antoninus indicates Elagabalus), becomes, if Haverfield's reading in *Eph. Epig.* ix (p. 612, ad C.n. 1046) is correct, *S*(*everiana*) *A*(*lexandriana*). The lower limit of the occurrence of the title is therefore 222, and the period of its common use is the decade preceding that date.

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[1] This came from the same area as *C. I. L.* viii, 9827–8 just cited, and there can be no doubt that the unit is the same—*ala I Augusta Parthorum Antoniniana*.

[2] Cf. *Vita Elagabali* 17 'Nomen eius, id est Antonini, erasum est Senatu iubente'.

Key to Plate XXXI.

1. **LEG II ꜸG**, found with pottery of *c.* 120–150 A. D.
2. **LEG II ΛVG.** Not stratified.
3. **LEG II AVG.** Not stratified.
4. **LEG II VΛ[G].** Found in a Hadrianic deposit. The **Λ** and the **V** have been reversed in preparing the stamp.
5. **[LE]G II VΛG.** Impression of the same stamp as no. 4 found in an early repair (probably late 1st century) to the surface of the original ramp of Entrance B.
6. **LEG I̅I̅ Λ[VG].** Retrograde stamp found with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date.
7. **[L]EG II ΛVG.** Retrograde stamp, not stratified. An identical stamp was found in the latest stratum outside Entrance C with coins of *c.* 260–90 A. D., but the stamp was in use soon after 200 (see no. 8).
8. **LEG I̅I̅ ΛVG.** Similar to 7. Retrograde stamp with **L** upside down. Found in the make-up of the early 3rd-century road outside Entrance A.
9. **LE I̅I̅ Ꜹ[G . . . .].** Retrograde stamp. From a 3rd-century level in a rubbish pit outside Entrance C.
10. **LEG I̅I̅ Ꜹ G . . . . . .** From the same stamp as no. 9. Not stratified.
11. **LE I̅I̅ . . . . .** From debris on floor of chamber in Entrance D. Probably from the 3rd-century rebuilding.
12. **[LEG II AV]G ΛNTO**, i. e. **LEGIO SECVNDA AVGVSTA ANTONINIANA.** Found in the arena beside Entrance H. Identical stamps were found built into the structure of the niche in Entrance D.
13. **[LEG] II AVG ΛNTO.** Found in the early 3rd-century make-up adjoining the projecting **L**-shaped revetment, east of Entrance F.
14. **[LEG II A]VG ΛNTO.** Found in the arena beside Entrance H.
15. **[LEG I̅I̅ XXGAN[TO].** The **V** is superimposed upon the **A.** Found in the arena beside Entrance H.
16. **LEG I̅I̅ XXGΛN[TO].** Similar to no. 15 and found with it.

3. OBJECTS OF METAL AND BONE

(a) *Statuette* (pl. XXXII)

Tinned bronze statuette of Mercury, 4 in. high, with purse in right hand and caduceus missing from left. Not stratified.

(b) *Brooches* (figs. 13 and 14)

Of the twenty-three brooches found during the excavations the most important is no. 17, which illustrates a little-known stage in the evolution of a group of Teutonic types. A minor technical interest attaches to nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13, in which the catch-plate has apparently been cast flat with the bow and subsequently hammered over into position. This simple style, as Mr. R. G. Collingwood points out, appears to be a local Severn-side fashion; other examples from south-east Wales and from the Mendips may be seen in the museums at Cardiff, Newport, and Bristol.

1. Bronze brooch made of a single piece of wire with double bilateral spring and flattened bow. Cf. *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, 22, no. 1, dating from last quarter of 1st century A. D. Similar examples at Newstead and elsewhere must also be as late as the Flavian period, although the type is that of La Tène III. Not stratified.

2. T-shaped bronze brooch with semicylindrical spring-case, the chord caught up by a loop on the head. Not stratified. Almost identical with Curle, *Newstead*, 319, and pl. LXXXV, 4, dating from the 2nd century. Analogous examples at Wroxeter (1913

Report, 11) are dated 80–120 A.D., and the type is akin to the Polden Hill example which is probably of the 1st century.

3. Part of bronze brooch similar in type to no. 2. Not stratified.

4. Part of T-shaped bronze brooch with hinged pin. From the filling inserted into the earlier culvert outside Entrance A at the time of the building of the amphitheatre; it is therefore not later than the Flavian period.

5. T-shaped bronze brooch with hinged pin. Not stratified. Generally similar to no. 7, which was associated with pottery of late 1st-century date.

6. T-shaped bronze brooch with ribbed bow, and hinged pin. Not stratified. Somewhat akin to *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, pl. XV, 4, from a deposit dating from the late 1st and early 2nd century.

7. T-shaped bronze brooch with hinged pin in semicircular casing. Found on Road 2 of Entrance G, with abundant Flavian pottery. The type is derived from that of Polden Hill but the hinge is typologically later; the loop is here merely vestigial, and the stud, which had formerly fastened the loop to the head, has become a purely ornamental lozenge near the centre of the bow.

8. T-shaped bronze brooch with spring caught back to loop on head. On bow a lozenge-shaped projection (for which see no. 7) above simple incised pattern. Not stratified. Akin to *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, pl. XV, 6, dated late 1st and early 2nd century. The flattened bow, however, is more usually accompanied by a hinged pin, with which the type occurs at Caerleon in deposits dating from the first half of the 2nd century.

9. T-shaped bronze brooch, type similar to no. 8, with spring caught up in loop on head and two triangular sinkings on bow formerly filled with green enamel. Found in the Roman filling of the northern lateral staircase in Entrance H; this filling was inserted *c.* 125 A.D. and the brooch is therefore not later than that date.

10. T-shaped bronze brooch with hinged pin, and three lozenge-shaped panels on the bow formerly filled with enamel. The catch-plate is pierced. Not stratified, but akin to nos. 9, 13, and other examples here illustrated from late 1st-century and early 2nd-century deposits.

11. T-shaped bronze brooch similar to no. 10. The loop is closed, but an ineffective attempt has been made to pierce it. Not stratified.

12. Bronze brooch with hinged pin. On the bow, an oval boss containing a cruciform ornament with the quarters filled with green enamel; below two strips of green enamel divided and filled with a central indented rib. Not stratified. Similar brooches at Newstead (Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVI, 19–21) were not well dated, but one of them apparently belonged to the later (Antonine) occupation.

13. Bronze brooch with hinged pin, and with two oblong panels on the bow filled with yellow enamel. Found in level 9 on fig. 7, with pottery of *c.* 130–60 A.D.

14. Bronze trumpet-fibula with central acanthus-moulding and flattened under-side. Found in association with pottery of *c.* 100 A.D. This common type of fibula occurs freely in deposits dating from the first half of the 2nd century. It is thought to be typologically

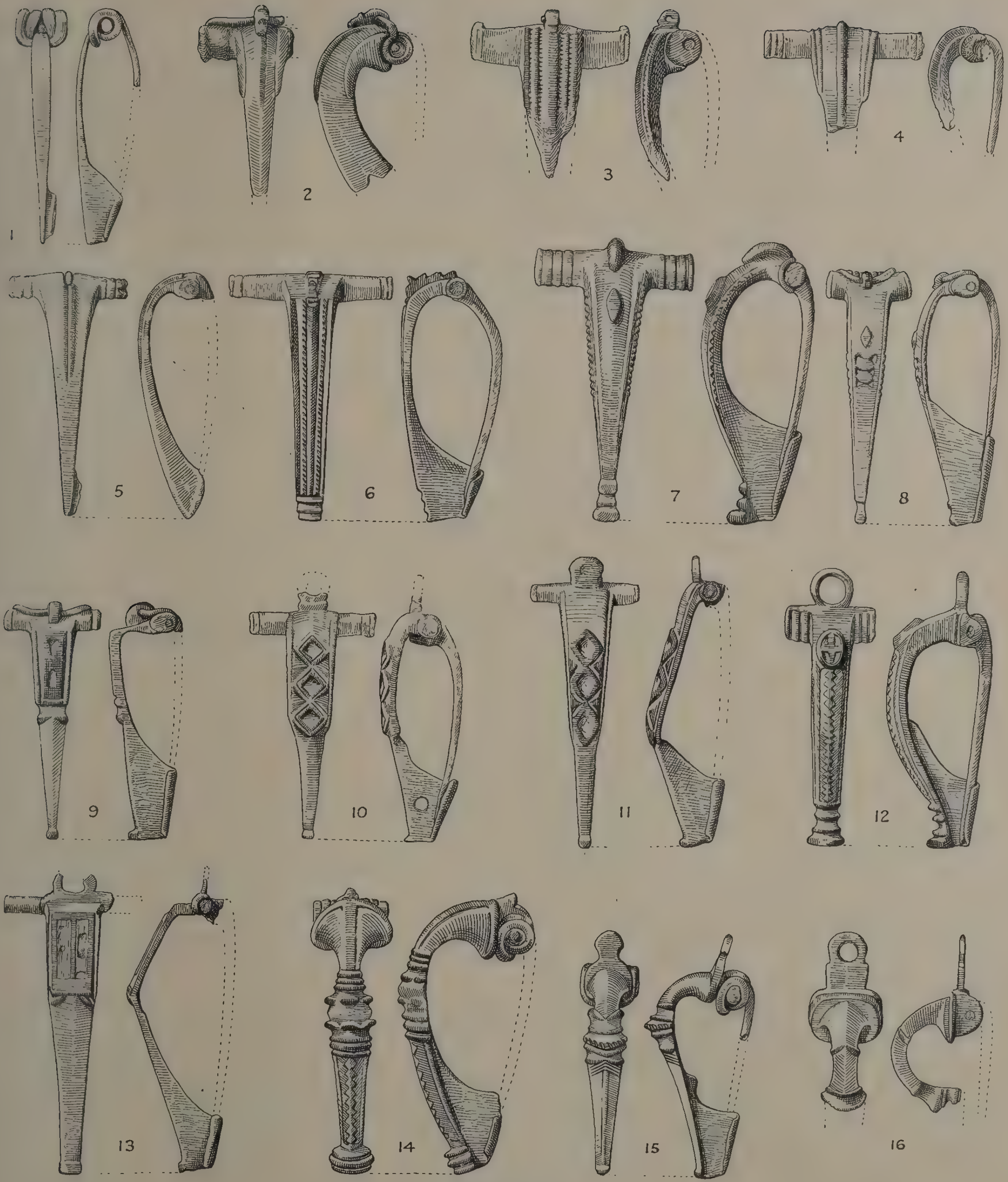
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Fig. 13. Brooches. ($\frac{1}{1}$)
(*See pp.* 161 ff.)

later than those examples which have a circular section, with the mouldings carried completely round the bow (see *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, 53). This may be so, but the flattened type appears to occur as early, or almost as early, as the circular type, and the latter certainly outlived the introduction of the former; e. g. an example with the flattened bow occurred at Wroxeter in a deposit dated about 110–30 A. D. (1912 *Report*, fig. 9, no. 7), whereas the Backworth fibula, which is circular in section, is dated by associated coins *c.* 140 A. D.

15. Bronze trumpet-brooch with flattened under-surface of bow and spring-pin. Not stratified. A modification of no. 14. Compare no. 16, and *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, fig. 10, no. 8, from a deposit of *c.* 110–30 A. D.

16. Fragment of bronze brooch similar to no. 15 except that the pin is hinged without spring and the head-loop has the normal piercing. Found in a deposit with pottery of *c.* 130–60 A. D.

17. Bronze brooch, plated with gold from the head to the transverse projection at base of the bow. The whole of the cylindrical foot and the under-surface are silvered. On the bow are four stud-shaped projections on a separate plate held to the bow by a rivet (see profile). At the head is a fifth stud-like projection with flattened under-surface. Found in the early 3rd-century level (*c.* 220 A. D.) close outside the amphitheatre between Entrances B and C.

This type is probably of Germanic origin and is derived from the 1st-century 'eye-fibula'; but the spherical moulding which commonly divided the foot from the bow in the latter—and may there be derived from a disc or plate actually threaded on to the bow has now become merely a flattened projection. This projection becomes increasingly common on brooches (often of the cross-bow type) from the mid 3rd-century onwards. A similar brooch has been found at Richborough, and two others are recorded from Corbridge (*Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd s., vii, 184). All these are of bronze, but one of the Corbridge examples had been silvered. None of the three is dated by associated finds, but Haverfield noted that 'they appear, from certain details, to be later than the middle of the 2nd century' and cited a parallel from Heddernheim in Germany (*Mitteilungen über römische Funde in Heddernheim*, ii, pl. III, 59) which must be earlier than 250 A. D. The Caerleon example seems to be the first recorded from a stratified deposit, and confirms Haverfield's suspicions as to the date of the type. The scarcity of examples suggests a limited duration, and the period *c.* 200–250 A. D. is probably a liberal estimate for the series.

18. Bronze knee-brooch, formerly with hinged pin. Not stratified. The hinge without spring is unusual in this type of brooch. The knee-fibula is thought to be mainly of Antonine date, but stratified examples are rare; see *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlix, 166, and *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd s., v, 402, and vii. 184–5, fig. 25. An almost identical hinged brooch has been found (so Dr. Cyril Fox tells me) in a 5th-century grave at Swaffham, Cambs., but may there be loot of considerably earlier date.

19. Small bronze brooch with oblong bow of unusual type, with terminal knobs and hinged pin. Found in Entrance G in association with pottery of *c.* 110–40 A. D. A similar brooch, also from Caerleon, is preserved in the Caerleon Museum. These brooches are

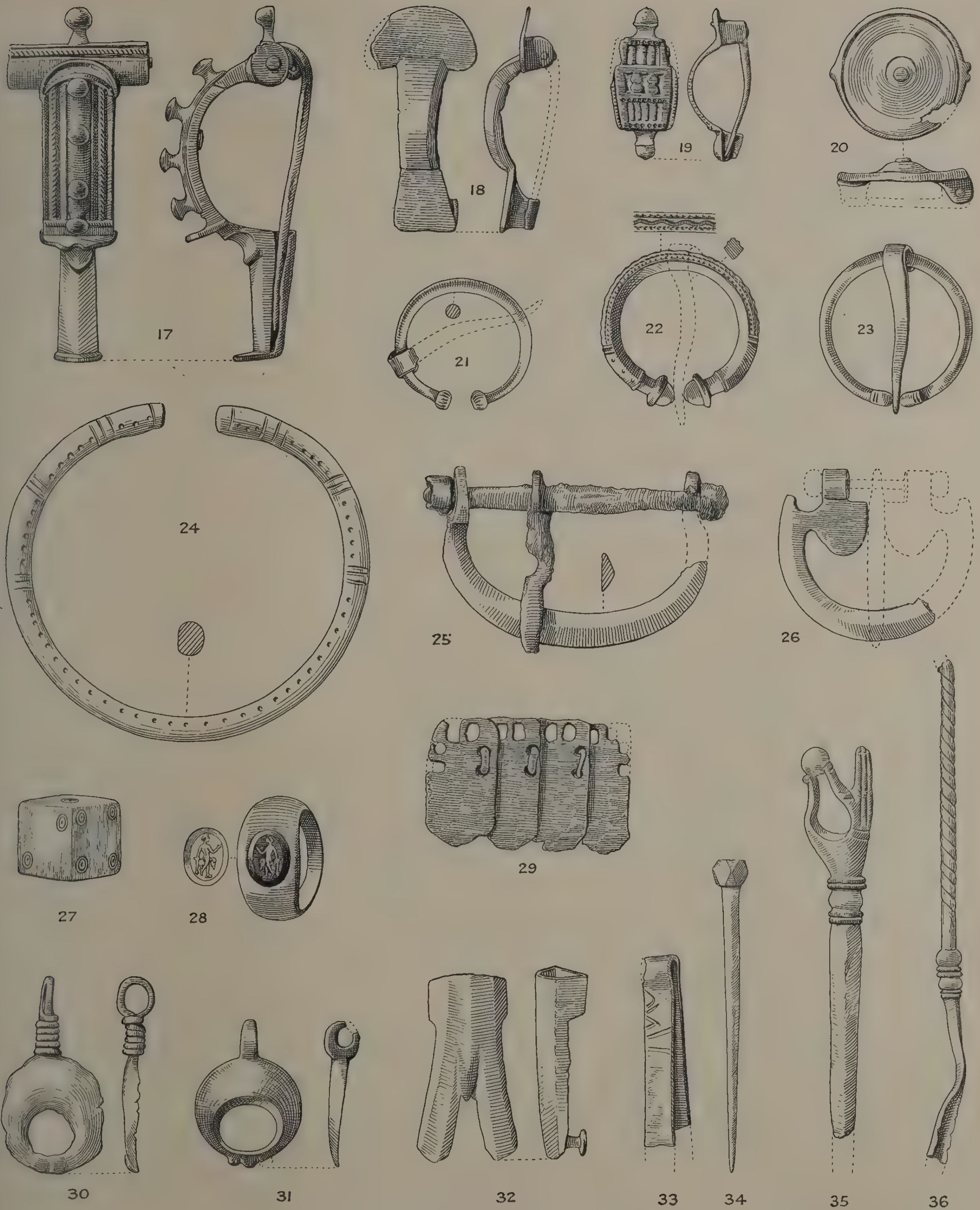
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Fig. 14. Objects of metal and bone. ($\frac{1}{1}$)
(*See pp.* 164 ff.)

akin to a type of which the evolution is discussed by Mr. Reginald Smith in *Archaeologia*, lxix, 29.

20. Circular 'buckler' brooch, formerly with hinged pin. Found in the make-up of the road of Period III immediately outside Entrance C, and therefore not later than the beginning of the 3rd century.

21. Bronze penannular brooch with grooved knobs. Not stratified. Similar brooches occur in the Antonine period and earlier at Newstead and Balmuildy, but are not closely dated.

22. Ornamented penannular brooch of bronze with knob-terminals. Not stratified.

23. Penannular brooch with reverted terminals. Found in association with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date. This type had a long life but occurred in a deposit as early as 80–120 A. D. at Wroxeter, 1914 *Report*, pl. XVI, no. 14.

(c) *Other Objects of Metal and Bone* (figs. 14 and 15)

24. Bronze bracelet decorated with incised lines and punctuations. Found in the arena but not stratified.

25. Bronze buckle. Found on Road 2 in Entrance G, with abundant Flavian pottery.

26. Bronze buckle found outside the amphitheatre. Not stratified.

27. Bone die, spotted 1 to 6, found in the covered drain running south from the amphitheatre.

28. Gold-plated bronze ring with dark blue paste intaglio, representing nude or slightly draped figure advancing left with right hand on column and left hand raised. Found in the 2nd-century roadway (*c.* 125 A. D.) adjoining Entrance C, externally. Cf. *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, pl. XVIII, 28.

29. Four scales of *lorica squamata* or scale-armour, from the 'make-up' of the original ramp of Entrance H, and therefore dating from the Flavian period. The scales are of bronze, tinned externally. Compare Curle, *Newstead*, 158.

30 and 31. Lunate pendants of a common Roman type. No. 30 was found in the early 3rd-century roadway of Entrance C, and no. 31 was from the 3rd-century level outside the amphitheatre.

32. Bronze socket containing remains of leather and studded at each of its two terminals. From a 3rd-century layer immediately outside Entrance C.

33. Remains of bronze forceps with irregular incised pattern (apparently not an inscription). Not stratified.

34. Bronze pin with traces of tinning, from the early 3rd-century filling of Entrance H.

35. Bronze pin with head in the form of a hand holding a globular object usually described as the apple symbolical of life. Found in a late 1st- or early 2nd-century patch of the road outside Entrance G. A common Roman type, e. g. *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, 13, and fig. 5, nos. 10 and 11; and *O. R. L. Zugmantel*, pl. XI, fig. 49.

36. Bronze ligula found with a coin of Titus in Road 4 in Entrance A. The associated pottery is of *c.* 90–120 A. D.

37. Fragment of bronze repoussé, silvered externally, representing a lion and a lioness. Found with a denarius of Hadrian and Hadrianic pottery (fig. 7, layer 7). Possibly from a sword-scabbard of the type found at Fulham and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain,* 81).

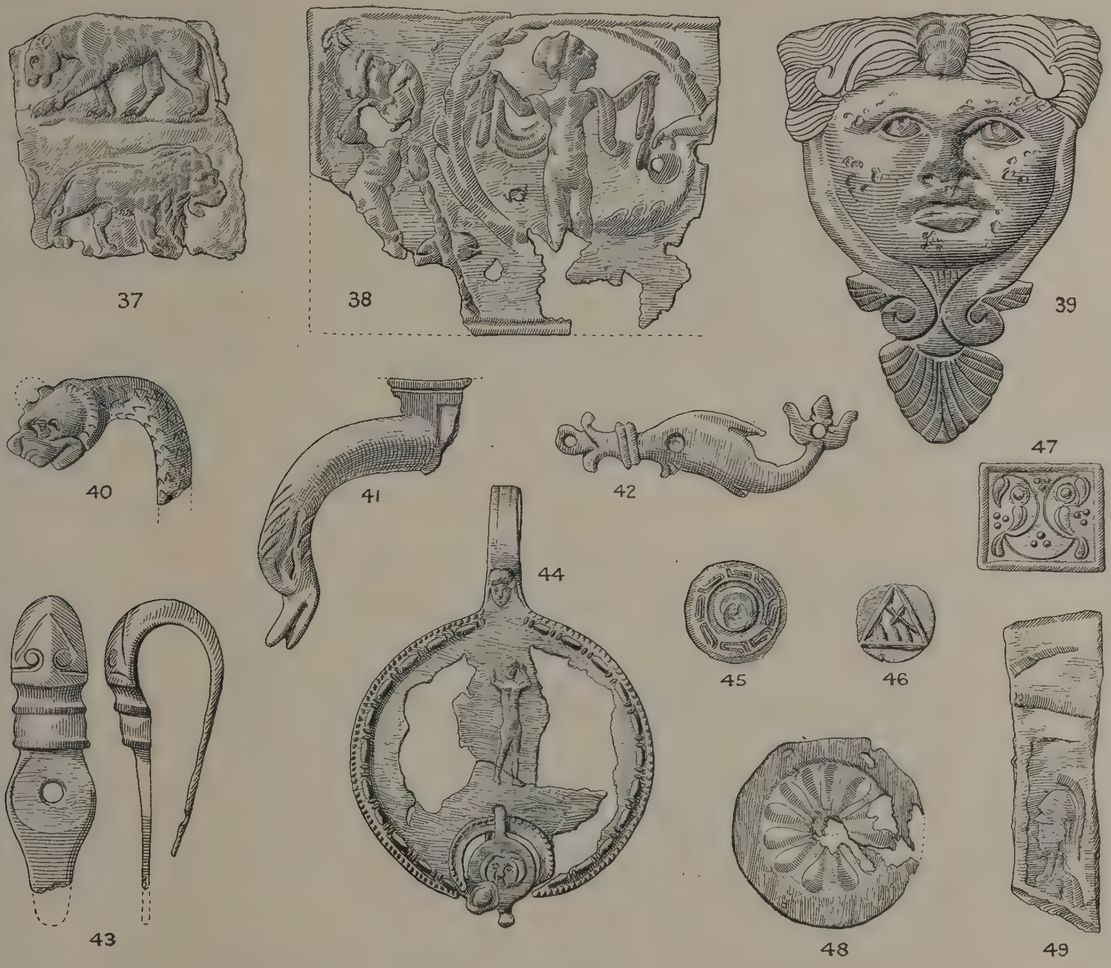


Fig. 15. Objects of metal. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

38. Damaged fragment of bronze repoussé, representing Venus (?) within a circular wreath, flanked on the left by Mercury (?) and on the right by a figure holding a jug. From the same layer as 37.

39. Curved plaque (probably from a metal vessel) in the form of a bronze face in low relief on an ornamented background of lead. Not stratified.

40. Part of bronze handle in the form of a lion's head. Found with Flavian pottery on Road 2 of Entrance G.

41. Bronze cup-handle in the form of a swan's head. Found in a layer which contained a well-preserved denarius of Hadrian (fig. 7, level 7).

42. Bronze attachment in the form of a dolphin.

43. Bronze attachment, possibly from a belt or sword-scabbard, but more probably for harness. From Entrance G in a layer with pottery of early 2nd-century date. Cf. Ritterling, *Das frührömische Lager bei Hofheim*, 171 and pls. XII and XIII.

44. Fragmentary phalera of gilded bronze, with repoussé decoration. This includes two heads and a figure, but in their damaged state their intent is uncertain. Found in a layer with a denarius of Hadrian and much Hadrianic pottery.

45. Small disc of repoussé bronze with central boss surrounded by key-pattern.

46. Lead disc bearing XIII within a triangle.

47. Small plate of silvered bronze with delicate repoussé decoration. From the latest level outside Entrance C, with coins of *c.* 258–96 A. D.

48. Disc of repoussé bronze from Road 3 in Entrance A, a layer which contained late Flavian pottery and a coin of Vespasian.

49. Strip of lead bearing a very roughly stamped head and shoulders of a helmeted figure.

Plate XXXII, 2.

1. Part of a seal-box lid, decorated with a ring of red enamel.

2. Spoon of white metal from within the bank of the amphitheatre, and therefore not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

3. Bone spoon.

4. Head of stud, from a layer contemporary with the building of the amphitheatre, i. e. Flavian.

5. Moulded bronze strip with studs for attachment.

6. Part of pair of bronze shears, from the arena.

7. Bronze ear-ring, found in association with coins of the Tetricus period.

8. Bronze plum-bob.

9. Small bronze whistle, from the arena.

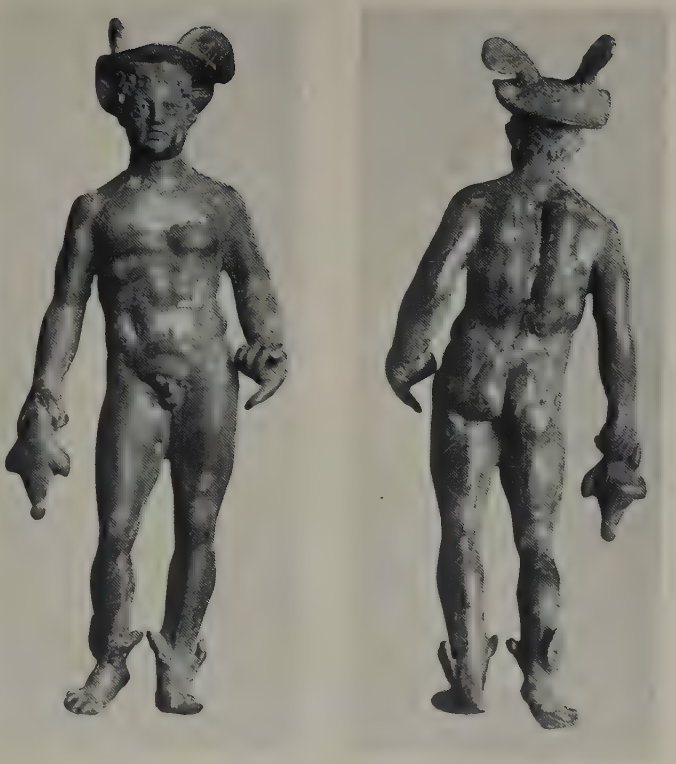
10. Bronze handle from the original make-up over the drain south of the amphitheatre, in association with Flavian pottery.

11. Bronze handle from layer 7, fig. 7, found with a denarius of Hadrian and abundant Hadrianic pottery.

12. Fragment of bronze ring, oval intaglio missing, found with a coin of Domitian on the surface of the earliest road in Entrance F.

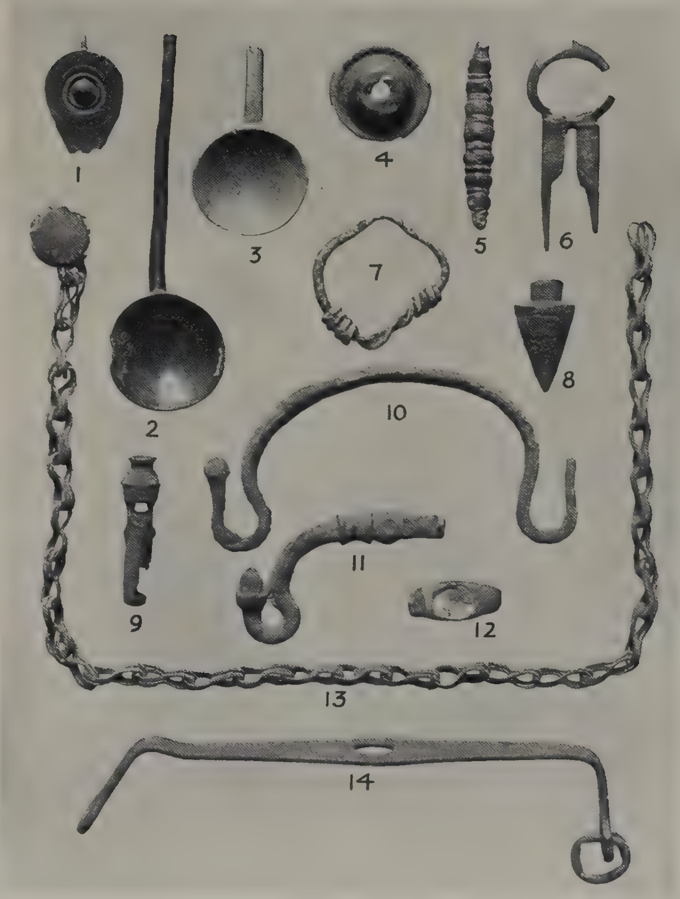
13. Bronze chain, from the arena.

14. Bronze balance-arm, from a Flavian deposit.



1. Statuette of Mercury, of tinned bronze ($\frac{1}{1}$)

(*See p. 161.*)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2. Objects of metal ($\frac{2}{3}$)

(*See p. 168.*)

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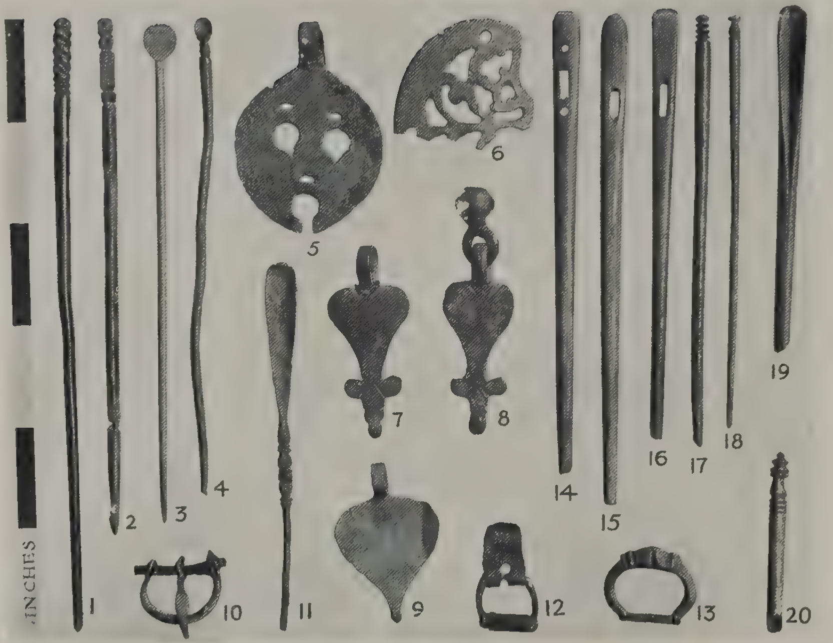
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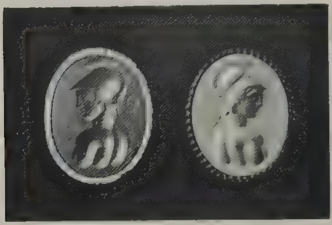
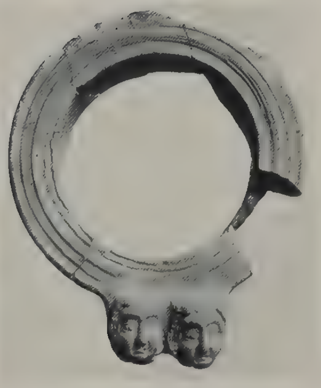
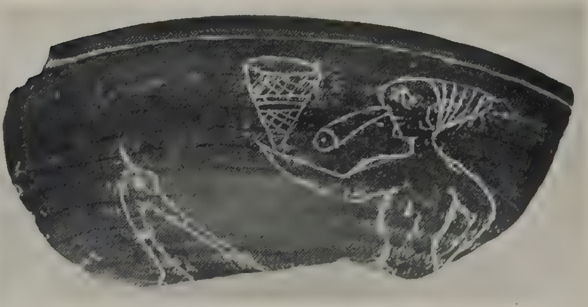
1. Objects of bronze and bone
(See p. 169.)



2. Intaglio and impression ($\frac{1}{1}$)
(See p. 170.)



3. Rim of jug (about $\frac{1}{3}$)
(See also fig. 21, no. 54.)



4. Bowl with incised decoration ($\frac{1}{1}$)
(See p. 188.)

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Plate XXXIII, 1.

1. Bronze pin with spiral-grooved head.

2. Bronze pin, from a layer of *c.* 100 A. D.

3. Pointed bronze instrument with circular flattened end set at a slight angle with the end; ? surgical.

4. Pointed bronze implement with slightly cupped expansion at end.

5. Silvered bronze pendant, from a layer containing abundant pottery of *c.* 130–60 A. D.

6. Fragment of pierced disc of silvered bronze, from a layer of Hadrian-Antonine period.

7. Bronze pendant, from the make-up of the 3rd-century level by Entrance F. Probably Antonine.

8. Similar bronze pendant with stud for attachment, from the same layer as 7.

9. Simpler bronze pendant, from same layer as 7.

10. Bronze buckle, found with Flavian pottery on Road 2 in Entrance G.

11. Bronze ligula.

12. Bronze buckle.

13. Bronze buckle.

14. Bone needle with triple piercing, found with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine period.

15. Bone needle, found with pottery of *c.* 100–20 A. D. in the Roman filling of Bath A.

16. Bone needle, found with Flavian pottery in the burnt layer on the seating-bank.

17. Bone pin, found with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine period.

18. Bone pin, found with a coin of Domitian and pottery of *c.* 100 A. D.

19. Bone ligula, found in Road 4 in Entrance G, with early 2nd-century pottery.

20. Bone pin, found with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine period.

FIG. 16.

50. Mason's axe, iron. Found in the footings on the inner side of the amphitheatre wall and therefore discarded contemporaneously with the building of the amphitheatre, *c.* 80 A. D. A common type of axe used probably for a variety of purposes both by smiths and by masons. From the circumstances of its finding, the present example may have been used as a spalling axe.

51. Iron banker-tool or mason's chisel for dressing stone. Found in the seating-bank of the amphitheatre, and therefore not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

52. Similar to 51. Also from the seating-bank.

53. Mason's trowel, iron. Found in layer 7, fig. 7, with a denarius of Hadrian and abundant Hadrianic pottery.

54. Part of iron spear-head with split socket. The blade has an ogee profile.

55–7. Three of eight iron styli found in the course of the excavations. No. 55 has bands of brass inlay and comes from the early 3rd-century level at Entrance C. It is probably therefore of Antonine date like most of the debris used in this level. Nos. 56 and 57 were found in layers with abundant pottery of *c.* 130–60 A.D.

58. Iron chain with traces of former coating of bronze. The terminal link ends in a horse's head. Found in a layer with abundant pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date.

59. Iron bucket-handle, from a layer of Hadrian-Antonine date.

60. Tongue of iron knife in incised bone handle. Found with abundant Flavian pottery on Road 2 of Entrance G.

61. Iron knife in plain bone handle.

62. Iron knife with carved bone handle. Found in the floor of the arena during the trial-excavations of 1909.

63. Iron buckle.

4. INTAGLIOS (Pl. xxxiii, 2, and Fig. 14, 28)

1. Jasper intaglio. Bust of Minerva. The modelling of the shoulders is weak, but the intaglio is nevertheless one of the best yet found in Britain.

2. Paste intaglio. See p. 166 and fig. 14, 28.

5. GLASS (Pl. xxxiv, 1)

1. Small white glass beaker with chariot design pressed into the surface from a mould and emphasized by subsequent cutting. Round the rim are traces of an incised inscription which presumably included exhortations and the names of charioteers. Compare the Colchester cup now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, 105). The beaker was found on Road 2 in Entrance G, with abundant Flavian pottery. Six or seven chariot cups approximately of this type have been found in Britain, but the centre of their manufacture seems to have been the lower Rhine and the neighbouring regions of Belgic Gaul, where they occur with objects of *c.* 100 A.D. (e.g. at Vetera, *Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, Führer I*, 1915, p. 73; see also A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, iii, 726).

2. Fragment of white glass beaker from the same layer as 1, 80–100 A.D.

3. Beaker of white glass found in the arena drain south of the amphitheatre. The drain was sealed by mortared slabs, but its contents cannot, of course, be dated closely.

4. Fragment of white glass with moulded pilaster and arcading found in layer 7, fig. 7, with a denarius of Hadrian and much Hadrianic pottery.

5 and 6. Two fragments of white cut-glass beakers, the former found in a layer with a coin of Domitian and pottery of *c.* 100 A.D. Glass of this type is common on Roman sites dating from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 2nd century.

6. LAMPS (Pl. xxxiv, 2)

1. Lamp with long neck defined by parallel ridges. Stamped on the base APRIO
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Found with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date, in layer 9, fig. 7. At Faimingen, on the German Limes, similar lamps signed by this maker were found in the earliest graves,

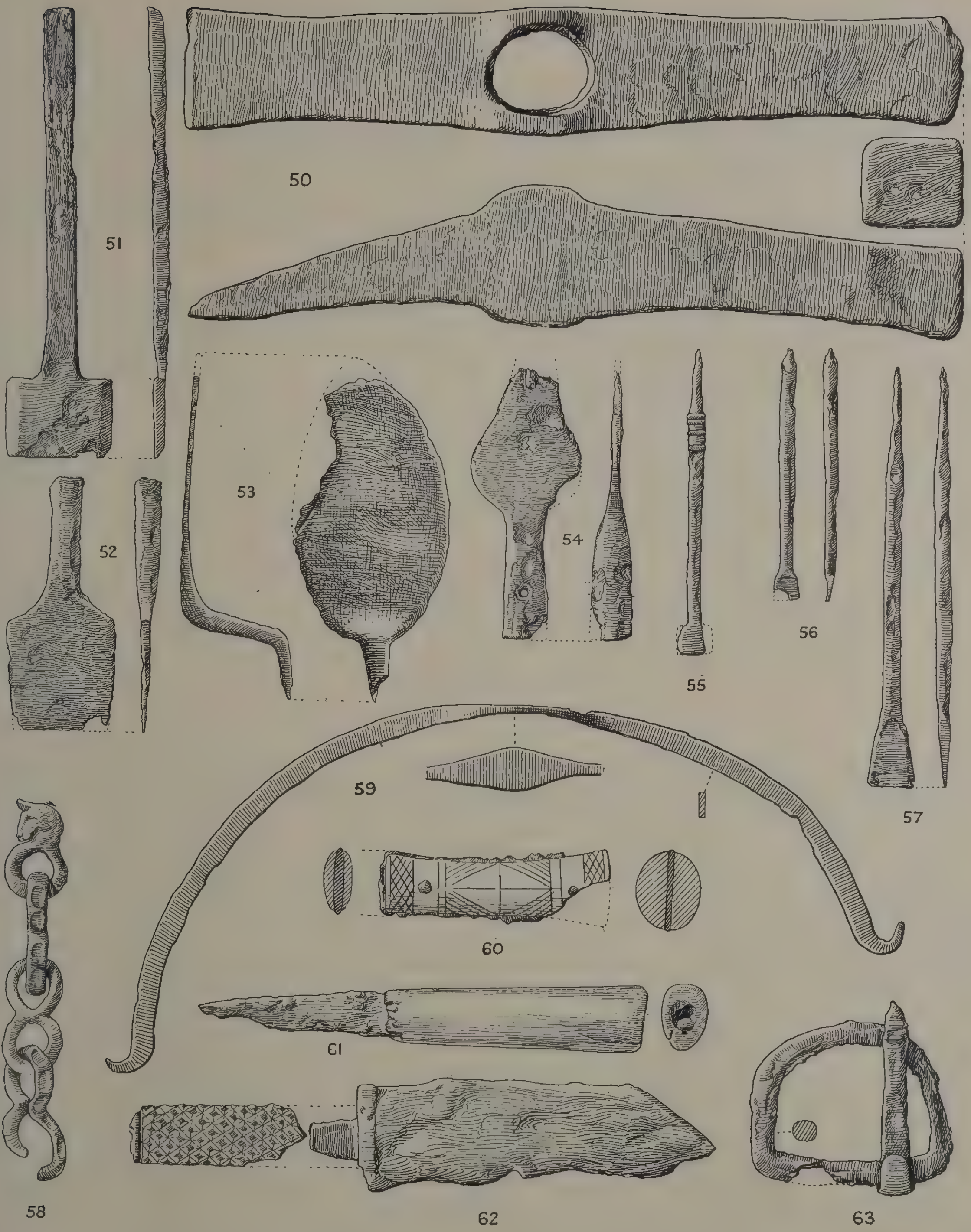
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Fig. 16. Objects of iron. (½)
(*See p.* 169.)

dated to the period Trajan-Hadrian. See *O. R. L.* 35, *Faimingen*, p. 102. Lamps of similar type are included in a large grave-group of *c.* 130–50 A. D. from Altenstadt (*O.R.L.* 37, *Altenstadt*, p. 10).

2. Lamp with small, ill-formed nozzle. Found in the road-repair overlying the layer which produced lamp 1. The associated pottery is of *c.* 110–60 A. D.

3. Lamp found in next occupation layer above that which produced lamp 2 above, associated with pottery also of Hadrian-Antonine date. The lamp itself is in form a rough derivative from no. 1. It is almost certainly of Antonine date.

4. Fragmentary base of a lamp stamped SEXTI. From same layer as 3.

5. Fragment of lamp with voluted nozzle, from a layer contemporary with the building of the amphitheatre; found with abundant Flavian pottery, including Samian stamped by COIVS (form 18) and RVFINVS (form 27).

6. Fragment of lamp with voluted nozzle, found on Road 2 in Entrance G with abundant Flavian pottery.

7. Unstratified lamp with small, poorly formed nozzle. A type not likely to be earlier than the Antonine period. Cf. no. 2.

8. Clay lamp-stand.

9. Roughly made lamp with remains of small horned nozzle. The horns are doubtless vestiges of the volutes characteristic of earlier lamps. Found with pottery of *c.* 80–110.

7. THE POTTERY

A. SAMIAN, OR *TERRA SIGILLATA*

Almost the whole of the Samian pottery from the amphitheatre has been examined by Dr. T. Davies Pryce, and many of the Samian stamps have been seen by Dr. Felix Oswald. Much help has been received throughout from both these acknowledged authorities on the subject. Dr. Pryce has, in particular, supplied the notes on the examples illustrated in this Report, and Dr. Oswald has not only edited the list of stamps but has also very kindly supplied the drawing and description of the important 'Donnaucus' bowl (fig. 18).

The study of Samian pottery has now reached a stage at which reference to the recognized type-series may, to a large extent, be allowed to replace detailed illustration. This policy has been followed in the main body of the present Report. The relatively few pieces here chosen for illustration are (i) those fragments of form 29 which bear significant decoration; (ii) typical fragments of the latest types of Samian from the site; and (iii) a few fragments from important strata, or otherwise of special interest. It may be emphasized that from a site such as Caerleon, where a pre-Flavian occupation is historically possible though unproven, every significant fragment of form 29, whether stratified or unstratified, should be illustrated and described. No other single group of evidence is in bulk so likely to determine ultimately the initial date of the foundation.

Plate xxxv, 1.

1. Form 29. Unstratified. Carinated contour; everted rim. The straight wreath of the upper frieze is somewhat similar to that below the central moulding on a form 29 at Brecon (Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, type S. 39) and to those employed in this situation by **COSIVS RVFVS**, **LVCCEIVS**, **MEDDILLVS** and **VITALIS** (R. Knorr, *Töpfer . . . des ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919, 24, 48, 55, 82). Part of a cruciform ornament on the lower frieze.

Period: Flavian.

2. Form 29. From the make-up of the road adjoining Entrance A and contemporary with the building of the amphitheatre. The scroll of the lower frieze is somewhat coarsely executed and has the blurred 'tendril union' of the late Flavian period.

Period: Flavian.

3. Form 29. From the burnt layer on the seating-bank near Entrance A, with Flavian pottery (fig. 17, 2, came from the same layer). Poor glaze; indifferent workmanship. The festoon of the upper frieze, with its cuneiform, spurred, and stipuled leaf and its tassel composed of a pendent leaf attached to a wavy line, is very similar to that used by **MEDDILLVS** (Knorr, 1919, 55, B). Part of a straight wreath beneath the central moulding.

Period: Flavian.

4. Form 29. Unstratified. Carinated contour. One of the stalks of the scroll of the upper frieze terminates in a spiral and a rosette. The beaded 'tendril union' of the scroll is blurred. Its lower concavities are filled with grouped leaves. Part of a scroll on the lower frieze.

Period: Flavian.

5. Form 29. From the same layer as no. 2 above. Everted rim. Poor glaze. The stalks of the scroll of the upper frieze terminate in a spiral with rosette and an ovate leaf. The lower concavity is filled with grouped leaves. Compare no. 4; probably the same bowl.

Period: Flavian.

6. Form 29. Unstratified. Faintly rouletted rim, a frequent late-Flavian characteristic. On the upper frieze are seen a dog to r., a diagonal ornament with triply divided terminal, as on late-Flavian ware at Brecon (S. 154), and a fan-tailed plant. This type of dog, with or without collar, occurs in the work of **MERCATO** (Knorr, 1919, 57, H and G) and **M. CRESTIO** (Knorr, 1919, text-fig. 17, E).

Period: Flavian.

7. Form 29 (?). Unstratified. Good texture, glaze, and execution. On the lower frieze is seen a garland composed of repeated bilateral leaves, a motive frequently met with in early sigillata, as at Hofheim (Ritterling, *Hofheim*, xxvi, 3, xxvii, 2, 6, 7, 10). Its prototype occurs in the work of the pre-Flavian potter **NAMVS** (Knorr, 1919, 60, A). Typologically the piece is of the period Nero-Vespasian. It bears a rivet-hole.

8. Form 29. From the same layer as nos. 2 and 5 above. Carinated contour. On the upper frieze, a grass-tuft, a common late-Flavian motive. The scroll of the lower frieze displays the deeply serrated leaves frequently met with in the Flavian period (cf. Wheeler,

Brecon, 51, 52; Knorr, *Rottweil*, 1912, xxi, 1). Double trifid 'tendril union', as used by MERCATO (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, xx, 1). Cupid, as used by CALVVS and VITALIS (Knorr, 1919, 17, 83).

Period: Flavian.

9. Form 29. From the same layer as nos. 2, 5, and 8, above. Carinated contour. Poor glaze: indifferent workmanship. The festoon of the upper frieze contains spirals ending in rosettes. The tassel is of a common Flavian type. On the lower frieze are seen the remains of a cruciform ornament and medallion.

Period: Flavian.

Note: With the exception of no. 7, all the above examples of form 29 appear to be mid- or late-Flavian.

Plate xxxv, 2.

1. Form 37, with stamp of PATERNVS. From the Roman filling of Bath A (see above, p. 144). The tongue of the ovolo has the ring-terminal typical of the potter. Large scroll with medallion. The heavy vine-leaf of the scroll is also characteristic of the work of CINNAMVS and occurs in the Antonine period at Newstead (Curle, *Newstead*, 225, 4, 7). Compare Déchelette, 1011, for the bird in the medallion.

Period: Hadrian-Antonine.

2. Form 72, with wheel-cut decoration. From the early 3rd-century occupation-level at Entrance C. Cut-glass technique is especially characteristic of the 3rd century, but it began to appear as early as the Antonine period, for a fragment of a beaker, Déch. 72, has been found by Mr. S. N. Miller at Old Kilpatrick on the Antonine Vallum.

Period: end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century.

3. Form 72, with wheel-cut decoration. Unstratified. A later example of cut-glass technique.

Period: third century.

4. Form 37, with stamp of IV[LIVS]. With pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date (fig. 7, layer 10). Panel and large medallion decoration. The figure in the panel probably represents a Cupid (cf. Déch. 229), a type which also occurs on early 2nd-century sigillata (cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery*, M 1514). Found with fig. 17, no. 7.

Period: Antonine.

5. Unusually good lion-head spout of a mortarium, form 45. Unstratified. This type began to appear late in the 2nd century, but it is more particularly characteristic of the first half of the 3rd century. At Niederbieber (190–260 A.D.) it is plentiful. The present example is probably early in the series.

FIG. 17.

1. Form 30. From an occupation-layer on the seating-bank by Entrance D. Worn glaze; fair workmanship. Plain band above the ovolo. Panel decoration, demarcated by rather fine wavy lines. There are three well-marked internal grooves below the rim. Entire and divided panels alternate, and contain the following types: (*a*) Lion to r (cf. Déch. 747, FLORVS), (*b*) Lion to l., both common Flavian types; (*c*) Cupid to r., as used by VANDERIO and VITALIS (Knorr, 1919, 80, 83) and as occurring in the Flavian period at

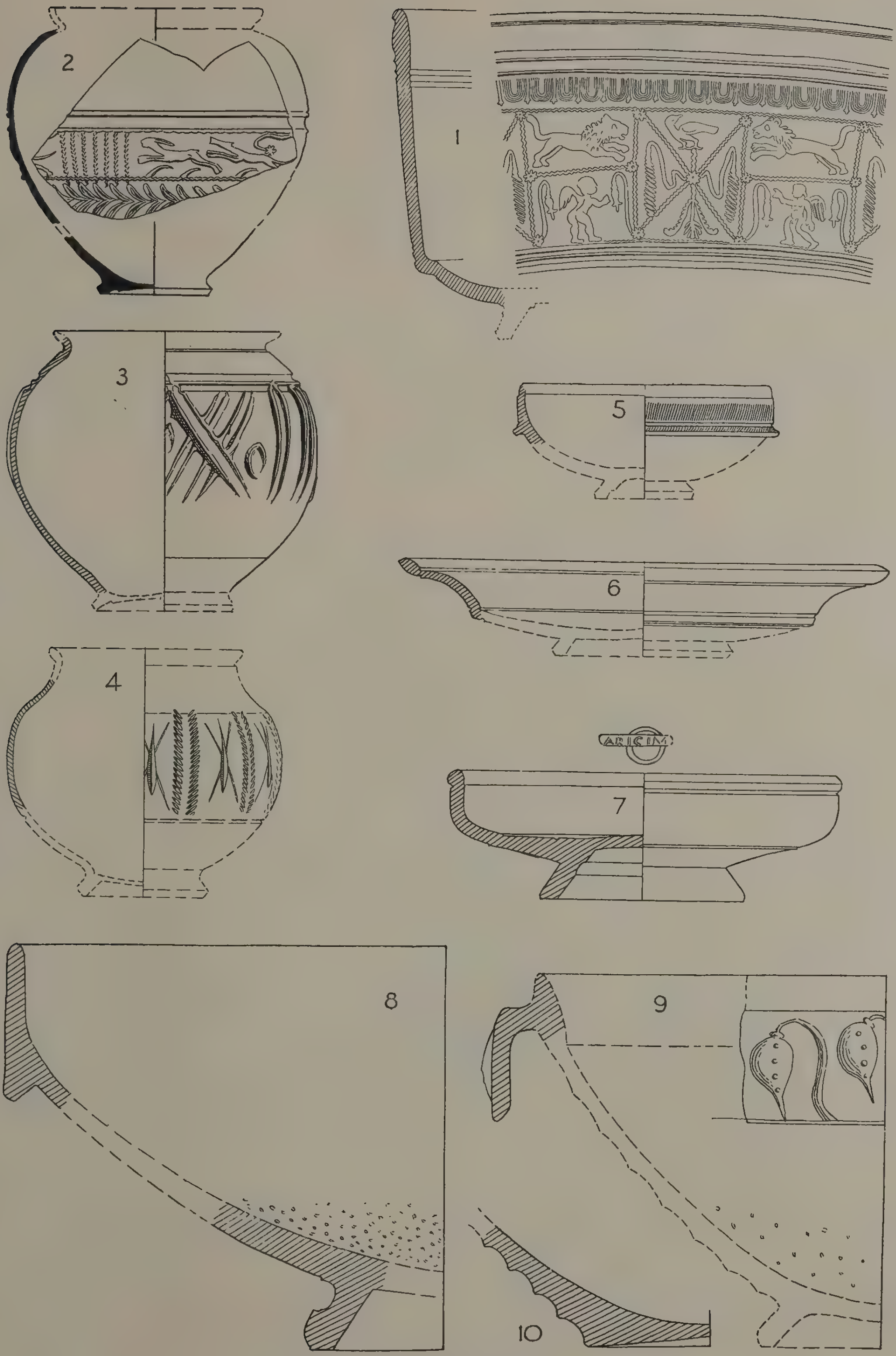
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Fig. 17. Samian pottery. (½)
(*See p.* 174.)

Pompeii (D. Atkinson, *Journ. Rom. Studies*, iv, no. 60) and Brecon (S. 173); Cupid to l., Cruciform ornament of Flavian type.

Period: Mid-Flavian.

2. Form 67. From the burnt layer on the seating-bank near Entrance A (pl. xxxv, 1, no. 3, came from the same layer). Decorated with vertical wavy lines and a dog chasing a hare, above conventional blades of grass. These types are essentially Flavian. Beneath is a straight wreath composed of repeated bilateral leaves. Fair glaze and execution.

Period: Flavian.

3. Form 67. With unusual decoration in barbotine. From the occupation-layer on Road 3 in Entrance G, with early 2nd-century pottery. The shape is that of the typically Flavian beaker, form 67. Barbotine decoration was seldom applied to this form, but had already appeared as early as the reign of Nero on the sigillata forms 35 and 36, and also in the Claudian period on varnished hemispherical cups (Ritterling, *Hofheim*, Abb. 54).

Period: the 'turn' of the 1st and 2nd centuries.

4. Form 72, with wheel-cut decoration. From the early 3rd-century road adjoining Entrance C. Good ware and technique.

5. Form 24–5. From the bottom of an early rubbish pit outside Entrance G. The layer containing this sherd was sealed by the layer contemporary with the building of the amphitheatre. The rim is finely striated. The upper surface of the central moulding also shows the striation, reminiscent of the complete striation of this moulding in its Arretine prototype (cf. Oswald and Pryce, xl, 1). Occasionally this cup has been found on sites which were first occupied early in the reign of Vespasian, as at York, but typologically it is pre-Flavian.

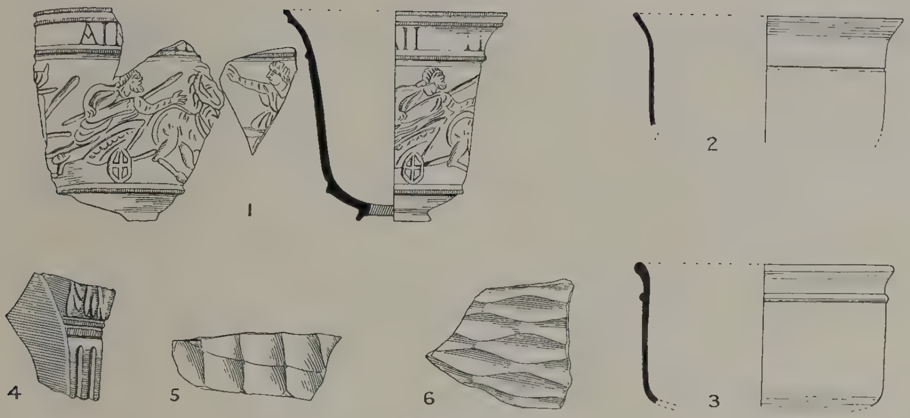
6. Form 'Curle 15'. From the occupation layer on Road 2, in Entrance G, with abundant Flavian pottery. The stratification of this very productive layer was particularly clear, and its evidence for the Flavian date of this sherd may be regarded as certain. The point is of some interest, since the first appearance of the type has hitherto been ascribed to the Trajanic period (see Oswald and Pryce, 197), although the campanulate cup (form 46) of similar form in Belgic technique has long been recognized at Haltern and elsewhere as being as early as the time of Augustus. Good glaze and texture. The quality of the present fragment and its provenance indicate quite clearly that examples were already being manufactured in the Flavian period.

7. Form 'Walters 79', with the stamp ARICI M. With pl. xxxv, 2, no. 4, and other pottery of Hadrian-Antonine period (fig. 7, layer 10). For the stamp, see p. 188. This form is particularly frequent in the Pudding Pan Rock collection (cf. R. A. Smith, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, xxi and xxii).

Period: Antonine.

8. Two fragments of mortarium, form 45. The rim is from the early 3rd-century layer adjoining Entrance C (equivalent to fig. 7, layer 12); the base, not of the same pot, is from the early 3rd-century accumulation against the L-shaped retaining wall outside Entrance G.

Period: third century (first half).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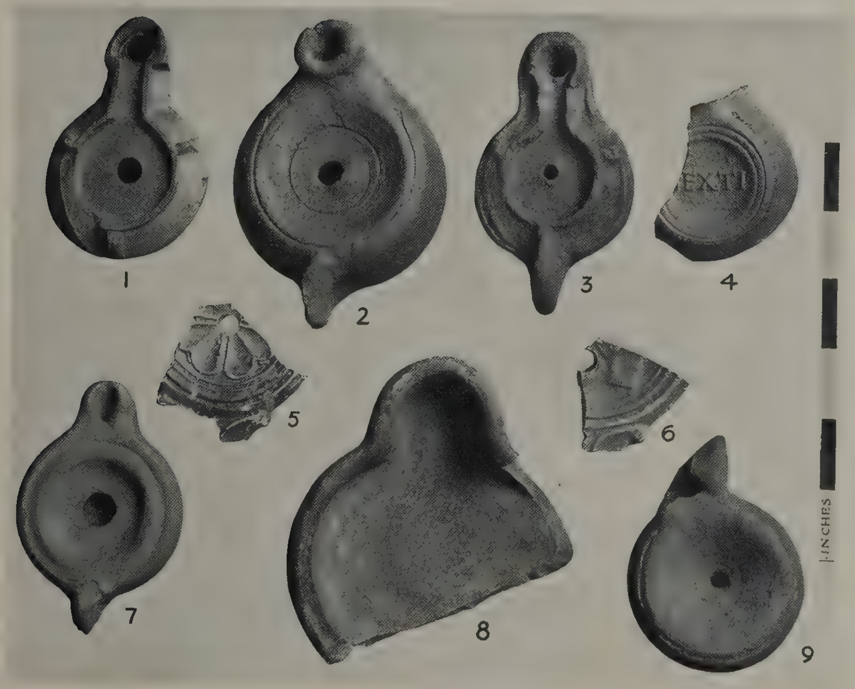
1. Glass (½)

(*See p. 170.*)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2. Lamps and lamp-stand

(*See p. 170.*)

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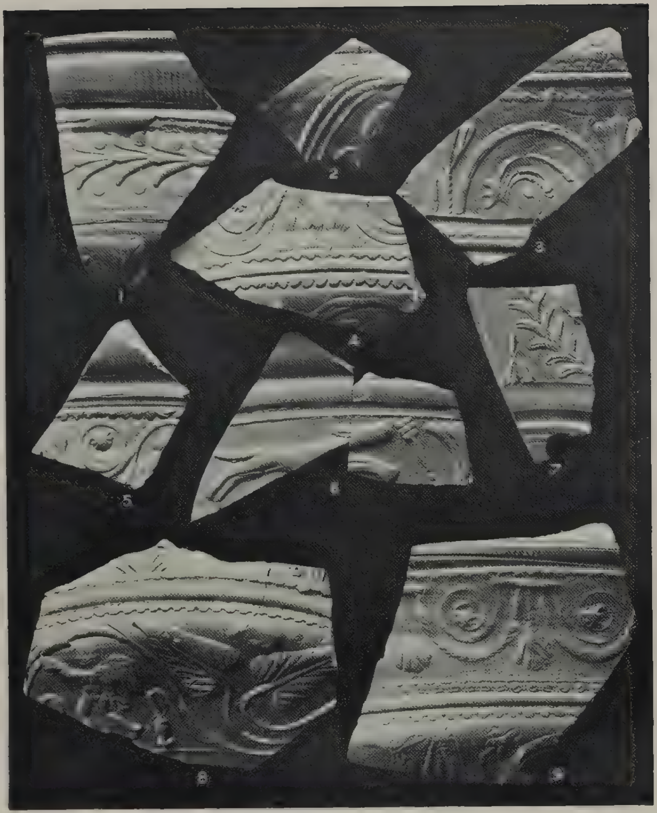
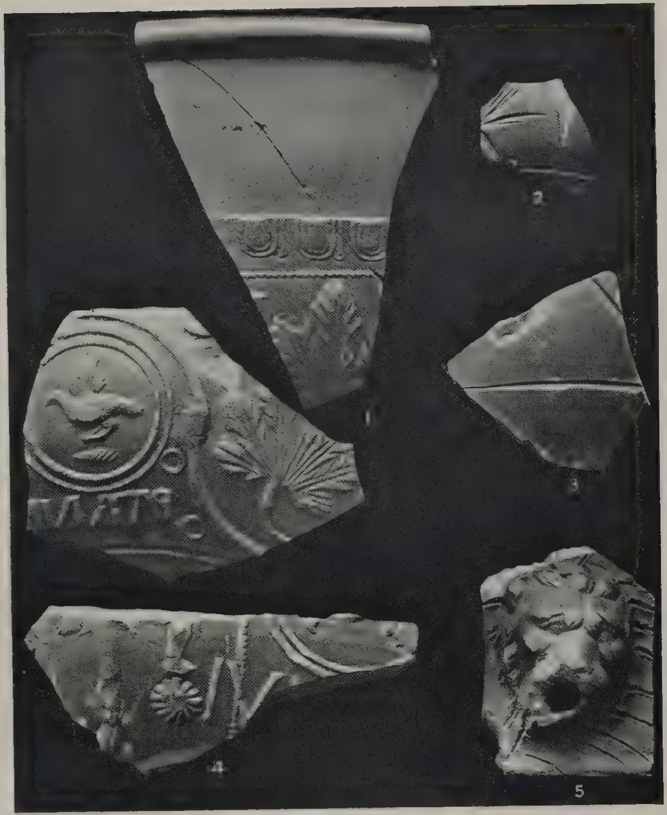


1. Samian pottery: form 29 ($\frac{2}{3}$)

(*See p. 173.*)



2. Samian pottery: 2nd and 3rd century sherds ($\frac{2}{3}$)

(*See p. 174.*)

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9. Form 43, with barbotine decoration on flange. From the early 3rd-century Road adjoining Entrance C (equivalent to fig. 7, layer 12). At Niederbieber (190–260 A.D.) this type dates from the earlier part of the occupation.

10. Base of 'Curle 21'. From the same layer as 9. This type may be assigned, in the main, to the second half of the 2nd century. It occurs in the Antonine period at Newstead (Curle, xl, 21). Horizontal fluting is not uncommon on sigillata mortaria, Drag. form 43 (cf. Oswald and Pryce, lxxiii, 5, 6, 7).

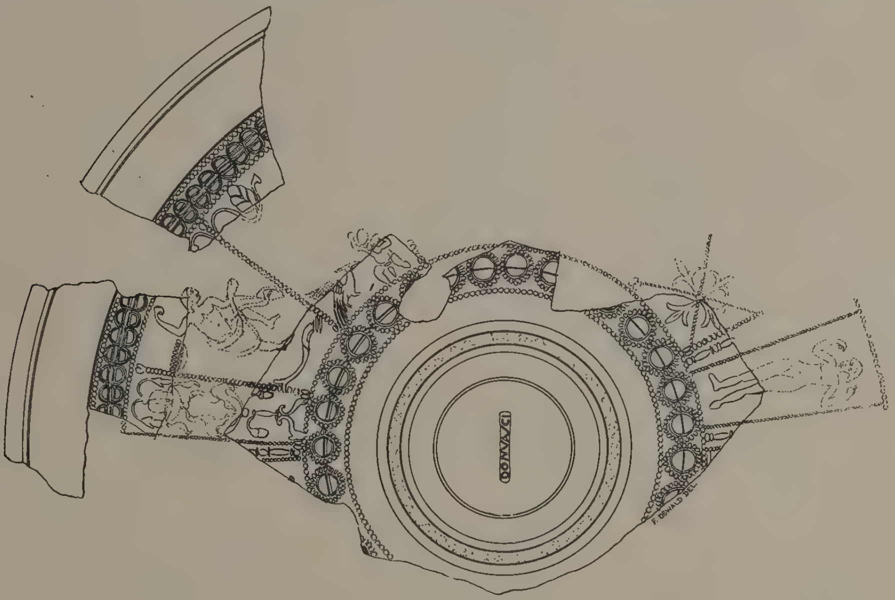

Fig. 18. (½)

FIG. 18. In regard to this bowl Dr. Felix Oswald has kindly supplied the following note. The discovery of a decorated bowl, form 37, stamped DON͡NA͡VCI on the basal exterior is of the highest importance, for the upper border of the decoration consists of a ƋD monogram repeated in series instead of the usual ovolo border. This ƋD monogram belongs to the second class of these monograms, as in the 'Excursus on the ƋD Monogram' by Dr. T. Davies Pryce and drawn by Dr. Felix Oswald (Wheeler, *Roman Fort near Brecon*, 193). In this class each D has a well-marked central core; and this bowl from Caerleon proves for the first time that the monogram in this form must now be associated with the potter DONNAVCVS and not (at any rate, exclusively) with DOECCVS.

The wreath which is used in series to form the lower border in this bowl has hitherto been found on bowls of the potters IANVARIS (Wroxeter) and IOENALIS (London Museum), who also uses bead-rows, both of fine and coarse beads, as in this bowl; and it is clear that the work of these potters and of DONNAVCVS possesses many characteristics in common.

Unfortunately much of the design of this bowl by DONNAVCVS is missing and there is no continuous section from top to bottom. There is a vertical 'candelabrum' ornament with small opposed dolphins at the base, and on the left side of this ornament is a vertical row of astragali between fine bead-rows. On the right side, separated by a row of large beads, is a conventionalized cornucopiae characteristic of the work of Vichy potters, and at the top of this panel is part of a 'crown' ornament (also used by IOENALIS), hitherto considered characteristic of Luxeuil ware, though Vichy was more probably the actual seat of manufacture, as indicated by moulds and bowls from Vichy in the St. Germain Museum. This panel also contains the arm and head of a dancer (Déch. 220, but a little larger as used by PAVLLVS on a form 37 at Leicester).

At the base of the next panel a pygmy (Déch. 440) can be seen fighting a crane of a type which occurs on another ᗡD sherd (form 67) from London (*Roman Fort near Brecon*, Fig. 86 A). The panels are divided by bead-rows, with two elliptical beads at the top and bottom of the vertical bead-rows. A double groove occurs on the inner side of the rim, and there is a slight step on the basal exterior recalling the similar step in the same position on form 29. The foot is rounded and not bevelled. The custom of stamping the potter's name on the basal exterior is rare, but is characteristic of IOENALIS and is thus another link between that potter and DONNAVCVS. The bowl was found in the Roman filling of Bath H with pottery of *c.* 90–120 A. D. and may on general grounds be ascribed to the decade 110–20 A. D.

Other examples with this particular ᗡD monogram occur as follows:
Form 30: London (Guildhall and Oswald collection).
Form 37: Leicester, London (British and London Museums), Colchester, York, etc.
Form 37, used as an ovolo border: Corbridge, Wroxeter, Cirencester, London.

B. Coarse Pottery

The examples here illustrated are chosen from well-marked groups and are dated, for the most part, by associated relics. Analogies are only cited, therefore, in special cases.

Amongst the 'coarse' pottery the most interesting group is distinguished by a fine, hard-baked orange clay with a somewhat soapy texture save where, in the best examples, it is brought to a smooth, glossy dark-orange surface. The distinctive colour, the excellence of the fabric, and the tendency to hard, precise modelling and to the imitation of metallic or Samian forms, combine to place this ware in a class by itself; and, since it is especially characteristic of Caerleon, it may reasonably be regarded as a product of the legionary kilns which the second legion (like its counterpart, the twentieth, at Chester and Holt) must have opened up somewhere within easy reach of the fortress. In the following pages this ware is therefore called 'legionary' in a special sense, and, in the illustrations, examples of it are distinguished by the addition of an asterisk (*) to the numeral.

The 'legionary' ware does not occur in 1st-century deposits. It seems to begin towards the end of the reign of Trajan, but its *floruit* coincided with the reign of Hadrian. The terminal date is less certain, but there is no indication that the ware was in use after *c.* 150 A. D.

(a) *Flanged bowls* (fig. 19)

The characteristic bowl was of the flanged type, with either a curved or a carinated side. Occasionally there is a rudimentary foot-stand. The flanges are generally furrowed

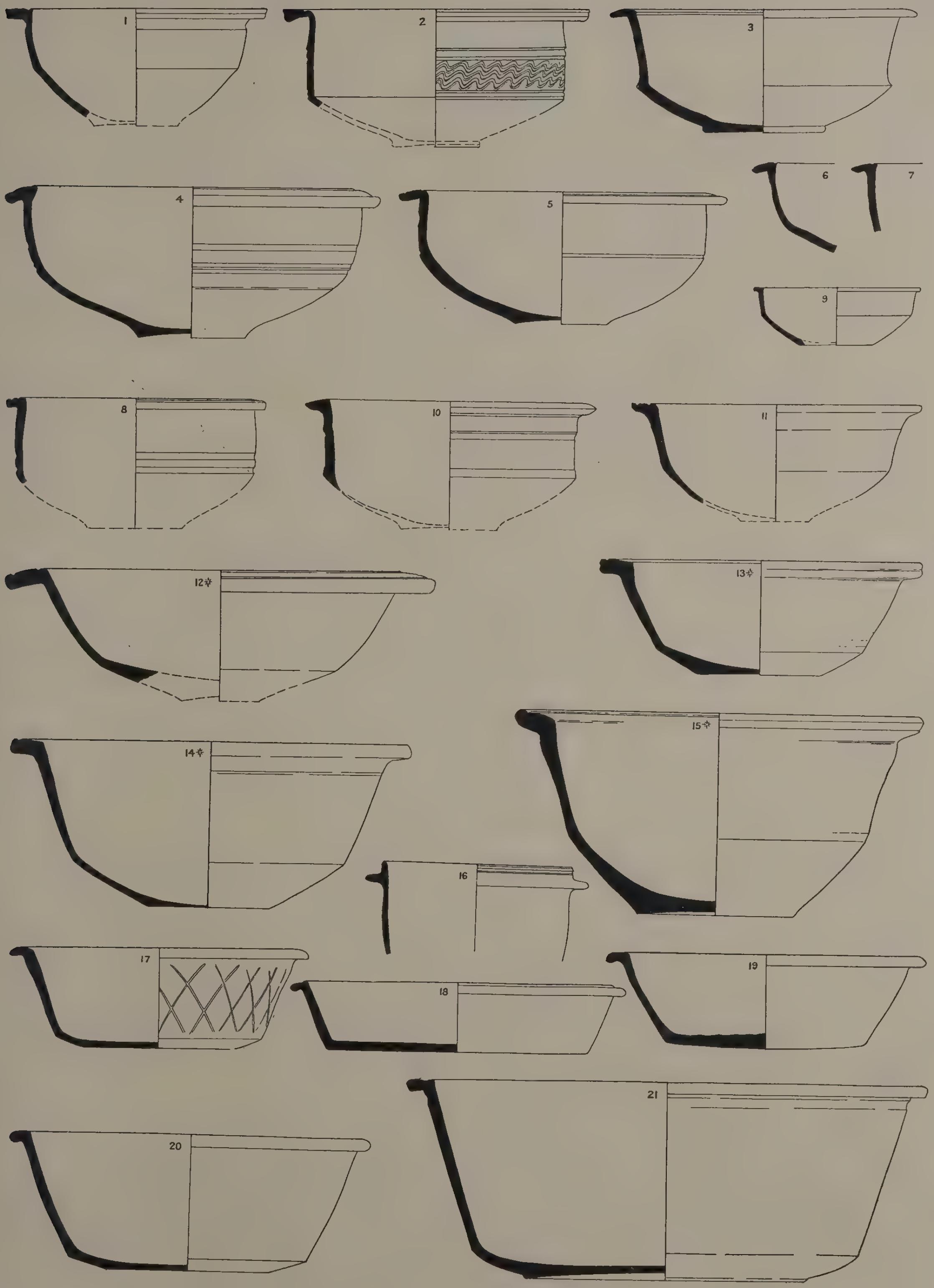
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Fig. 19. Coarse pottery. (¼)
(*See pp.* 178 ff.)

or reeded; but in the later examples the reeding is frequently absent or confined to a single furrow, and even in early examples the flange is occasionally plain. The only feature which appears to have a definite chronological significance is the angle formed by the flange with the shoulder of the bowl. In the 1st century this angle is normally less than a right angle (fig. 19, 1–10); but from *c.* 110 onwards the angle is usually obtuse (fig. 19, 11–15). The general type is common in the Flavian period, but dies out about the beginning of the Antonine period. The later variety, with the obtuse-angled flange, is commonly reproduced in the 'legionary' ware of the time of Hadrian.

1. Grey ware; reeded flange at right angles to shoulder. Found in the gravel of the seating-bank south of Entrance A, and therefore not later than *c.* 80 A.D.

2. Grey ware, reeded flange forming acute angle with shoulder; combed wave-pattern on side. From the occupation-earth covering Road 2 in Entrance G. The abundant pottery from this layer was definitely Flavian.

3. Dark grey ware; plain flange, slightly drooping; sharp carination, and rudimentary footstand. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

4. Grey ware; reeded flange, forming acute angle with shoulder; blunt carination. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

5. Pink-buff ware; reeded flange, forming acute angle with shoulder; blunt carination. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

6. Pink-buff ware with grey core; reeded flange forming acute angle with shoulder; blunt carination. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

7. Bright orange-buff ware with grey core; reeded flange forming acute angle with shoulder. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

8. Grey ware; reeded flange, forming acute angle with shoulder. From same level as 2. Flavian.

9. Buff ware; plain flange. From the make-up of Road 3 in Entrance A, with Flavian pottery and a little-used coin of Vespasian.

10. Grey ware, plain flange, at right angles to shoulder; sharp carination. From the make-up of Road 5 in Entrance A, with early 2nd-century pottery.

11. Grey ware; reeded flange, forming obtuse angle with shoulder. From Roman filling of hypocaust-room in Bath H, with a moderately worn coin of Vespasian and much pottery of *c.* 90–120 A.D. The filling was probably inserted *c.* 125 A.D.

12. Orange 'legionary' ware; reeded flange forming obtuse angle with shoulder. Found in the deep accumulation of debris shown as level 5 on fig. 7. The layer which sealed this (7 on section) contained a moderately well-preserved denarius of Hadrian, dated 120 A.D., and pottery of *c.* 100–25 A.D.

13. Similar, from the same layer as 12.

14. Similar, but from level 8 on section, fig. 7, i.e. from the layer which sealed the denarius of Hadrian referred to above (under 12). The associated pottery is of Hadrian-Antonine period, but predominantly of the earlier reign, with a sprinkling of pre-Hadrianic types.

15. Similar, from the same layer as 14.

16. Grey ware. From same layer as 9. Flavian.

17. Grey ware; plain flange, slight carination, and smoothed trellis pattern. From the same layer as 12. *c.* 100–25 A.D.

18. Grey ware. From the Roman filling of Bath A, with abundant Hadrian-Antonine pottery.

19. Grey ware. From the make-up of the final roadway of Entrance E, and therefore not later than *c.* 220 A.D. Associated with Samian of *c.* 130–60 A.D.

20. Grey ware; slight carination. From same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

21. Similar ware, from same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

(b) *Plates* (fig. 20)

In some degree reminiscent of the Samian form 32, the characteristic Caerleon plate in the time of Hadrian has a bold 'cut-away' profile and a slightly in-turned rim (nos. 25–32). Plates of this type are commonly, though not exclusively, of 'legionary' ware. The in-turned rim is rare before the 2nd century; an unusually early example of Flavian period, however, is illustrated as 24. The type is rare after the beginning of the Antonine period.

22. Pink-buff ware. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

23. Pink-buff ware. From same layer. Flavian.

24. Coarse buff ware. From same layer. Flavian.

25. 'Legionary' ware, with characteristic in-turned rim, in this case unusually elaborated by reeding or furrowing. From same layer as 12. *c.* 100–25 A.D.

26. Similar ware. From the level numbered 7 on fig. 7. Found with abundant Hadrianic pottery and a denarius of Hadrian dated *c.* 120 A.D.

27. Similar ware. From same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

28. Similar ware. From the level numbered 10 on fig. 7. Hadrian-Antonine.

29. Pink-buff ware. From the make-up of the roadway of Period III in Entrance D, with Samian of *c.* 130–60 A.D. Probably Antonine.

30. Similar ware. From same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

31. Dark buff ware. From same layer as 28. Early Antonine.

32. 'Legionary' ware. From level 8 on fig. 7. This layer immediately sealed the layer containing the denarius of Hadrian and much Hadrianic pottery. Hadrian-Antonine.

(c) *Copies of Samian forms* (fig. 20)

Copies of Samian forms are fairly abundant on the site, as is natural in view of the strongly Romanized environment of a legionary station.

33. Grey ware, imitation of Samian form 29, with smoothed herring-bone pattern. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

34. Grey ware, imitation of Samian form 37, with roulette-pattern. From the filling inserted into the original furnace-room of Bath H at the time of the building of the amphitheatre. Flavian.

35. 'Legionary' ware. Imitation of form 37, with irregular splashes of barbotine decoration. From same layer as 28. Hadrian-Antonine.

36. Similar ware and decoration, and from the same layer. Akin to Samian form 38. Hadrian-Antonine.

37. Similar ware. Imitation of Samian form 31. From level 9 on fig. 7.

38. Similar ware. Imitation of Samian form 'Curle 11'. From same layer as 29, with much pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date.

(d) *Miscellaneous Types* (fig. 20)

39. Buff ware. From Road 2 in Entrance G, beneath a layer containing much Flavian pottery. Flavian.

40. Thumb-pot of reddish ware with dark roughcast surface. From same layer as 26. Hadrianic.

41. Grey ware with combed wave-pattern. From the man-hole of Bath A, which was disused and filled up in the period Hadrian-Antonine.

42. Frilled bowl or tazza, of 'legionary' ware. From same layer as 32. Hadrian-Antonine.

43. Roughcast pot of reddish-buff ware, from the make-up of Road 6 in Entrance A. The road was prior to the reparation of Period III and subsequent to a road containing pottery of the period Trajan-Hadrian. It may therefore be ascribed to the Hadrian-Antonine period.

44. Pink-buff ware. Rim completed from another example. From burnt layer on seating-bank near Entrance A, with Flavian pottery. Other examples from the amphitheatre are of *c.* 75–100 A. D.

45. Buff ware. Fragmentary, but probably had handles like 44. From same layer as 10. Trajan–Hadrian.

(e) *Jugs* (fig. 21, and pl. XXXIII, 3)

46. Buff ware. Found beneath Bath A. Since this bath was built contemporaneously with the amphitheatre, the jug is not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

47. Buff ware. From the make-up of the original road in Entrance A, and therefore not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

48. Light buff ware. From same layer as 47. Not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

49. Buff ware. From same layer as 11. *c.* 80–110 A. D.

50. Buff ware. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

51. Buff ware. From same layer as 44. Flavian.

52. Buff ware. From same layer as 10. Early 2nd century.

53. Buff ware. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

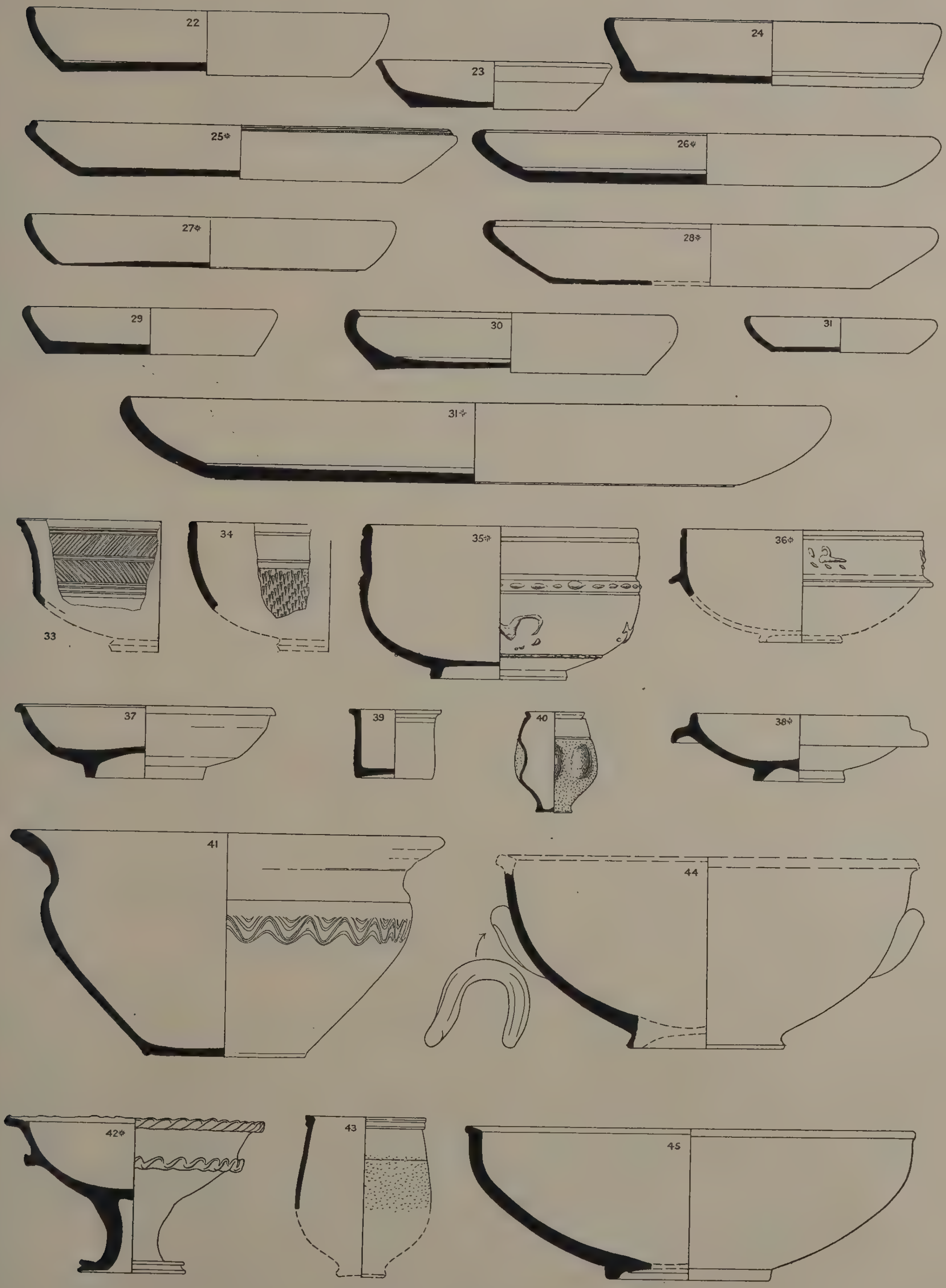
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Fig. 20. Coarse pottery. (¼)
(*See pp.* 181 ff.)

54. 'Legionary' ware. On each side of the neck is the imprint of a leaf identified by Professor F. W. Oliver, F.R.S., as plum or apple, probably the latter. The top of the handle is ornamented by two faces in relief, each impressed from the same mould (see also pl. XXXIII, 3). Found in a well-marked layer outside Entrance C, with early 2nd-century pottery and a worn coin of Domitian.

55. 'Legionary' ware. Smoothed wavy line round neck. From same layer as 28. Hadrian-Antonine.

56. Similar ware, from same layer.

57. Similar ware. From same layer as 26. Hadrianic.

58. Buff ware. Found with a Samian mortarium with vertical flange in the make-up of the road of Period III adjoining Entrance C. The revival of early forms, such as the ringed neck, and their association with new elements, such as the thick moulding below the funnel, are characteristic of 3rd-century jugs both in Britain and in Gaul.

(f) *Ollae, etc.* (fig. 21)

59. Grey ware, with combed wave-pattern. From same layer as 47. Not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

60. Reddish buff ware. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

61. Reddish buff ware. From filling inserted into north staircase of Entrance H, *c.* 125 A. D. The vessel is of 1st- rather than 2nd-century type.

62. Coarse grey ware. Smoothed oblique lines. From Road 4 in Entrance A, with coins of Vespasian and Titus and pottery of *c.* 75–100 A. D.

63. Grey 'rusticated' ware. From same layer as 2. Flavian.

64. Reddish buff ware. Found by footings of external amphitheatre wall and sealed by the first roadway; therefore not later than *c.* 80 A. D.

65. 'Legionary' ware. Akin in form to 64, but from same layer as 26 and therefore Hadrianic. The base is completed in broken outline from another example.

66. Similar ware. From same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

67. Fragment of large vessel of coarse gritty ware, clearly a native fabric. From make-up of latest roadway outside Entrance C, with coins of 254–96 A. D.

68. Fragment of gritty or 'vesiculated' ware, from same layer.

(g) *Mortaria* (fig. 22)

69. White ware. From same level as 2. Flavian. Typical of several examples from the Flavian layers of the site.

70. Pink-buff ware. From same layer as 11. *c.* 90–120 A. D.

71. Pink-buff ware. From same layer.

72. Reddish-buff ware. From same layer as 29. Probably Antonine.

73. Reddish-buff ware. From same layer as 19. Probably Antonine. This type occurs abundantly in 'legionary' ware from Hadrianic levels.

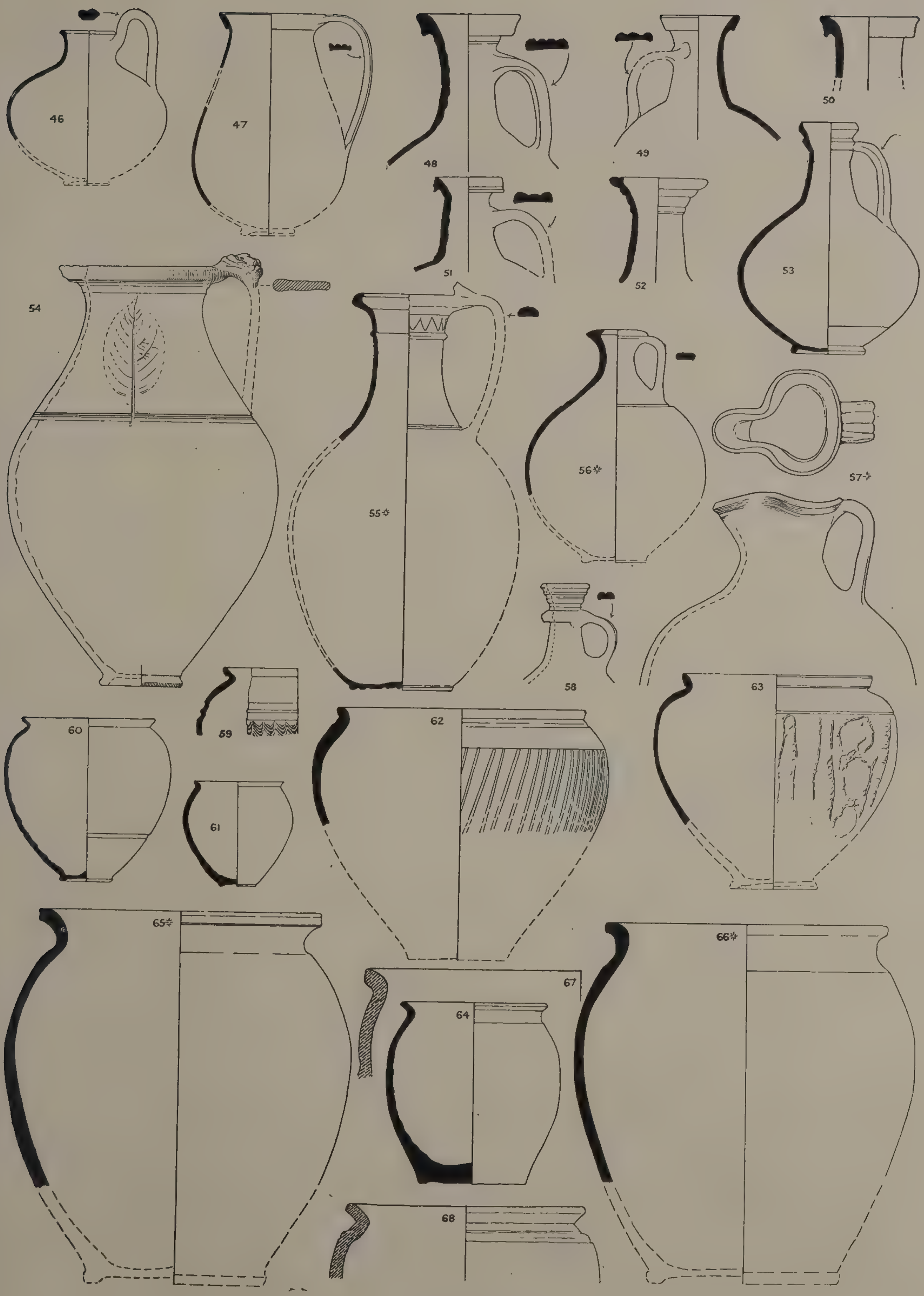
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Fig. 21. Coarse pottery. (¼)
(*See pp.* 182 ff.)

74. Pink-buff ware. From same layer as 18. Hadrian-Antonine.

75. 'Legionary' ware. Stamped with an unidentified stamp which occurs also on another example from the site. From same layer as 29. Probably Antonine.

76. Orange (but not 'legionary') ware. From the make-up of the early 3rd-century road near Entrance C. It overlies Antonine layers, and may be ascribed to *c.* 200 A. D.

77. Red ware with white slip. Part of stamp. From same layer as 76. Early 3rd century.

(h) *Amphorae* (fig. 23)

78. Light buff ware. From same layer as 54. Early 2nd century.

79. Light buff ware. From same layer as 9. Late Flavian.

80. Reddish-buff ware. From same layer as 14. This layer is predominantly Hadrianic, but contains a sprinkling of earlier pottery.

81. Buff ware. From layer 9 on fig. 7, with pottery of *c.* 130–60 A. D.

82. Buff ware. From same layer as 11. *c.* 90–120 A. D.

Few amphorae have been adequately published in this country, and comparatively few on the Continent of a date later than Claudius. The following remarks may therefore be appended in regard to the Caerleon examples.

In the first place, the type with 'peaked' handles, i. e. with handles sharply elbowed or pointed at the turn, is exceedingly rare at Caerleon, though two examples are preserved in the local museum. The type occurs on early Romano-British sites, such as Richborough (*First Report*, pl. XXII, 25, in a deposit of mid 1st-century date), and London (undated), and on Continental sites of Claudian or pre-Claudian period, such as Haltern (type 67). It seems to have died out almost completely soon after the middle of the century, and the Caerleon examples may either be late survivals or may be relics of a mid 1st-century occupation of the site—a possibility, however, which is not yet supported by substantial evidence.

On the other hand, certain Augustan and Claudian types survived with surprisingly little change into the beginning of the 2nd century. Thus the broad-mouthed Caerleon type 78, which occurred in a Trajanic deposit, is closely derived from Hofheim type 72 (Claudian) and Haltern type 69 (Augustan); the main difference being the heavy, downward-spreading flange of the Caerleon example, as contrasted with the everted rim of the Claudian and Augustan prototypes.

Again, the Caerleon types 79 and 80, dating from about 90–130 A. D., are descended from the type with straight handles, cylindrical neck, and carinated shoulder found at Haltern (type 66) and Hofheim (type 72). This early type occurs unchanged at Pfünz, which seems to have been founded at the end of the 1st century A. D.[1]; it there even retains the high acute-angled (but not peaked) handle which characterizes the early examples. The handles of the Caerleon specimens, however, have a rectangular instead of an acute-angled bend, and this variation is apparently a late feature.

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[1] *O. R. L.*, *Kastell Pfünz*, pl. XI, 25.

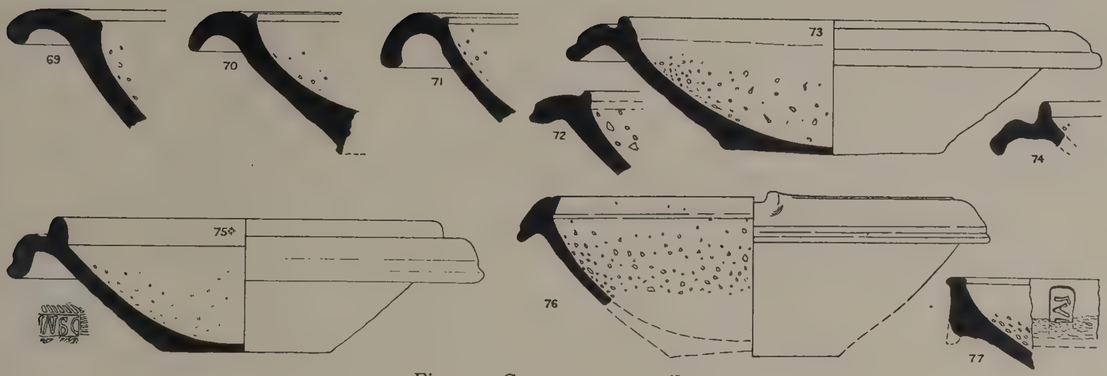
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Fig. 22. Coarse pottery. ($\frac{1}{4}$)
(*See p.* 184.)

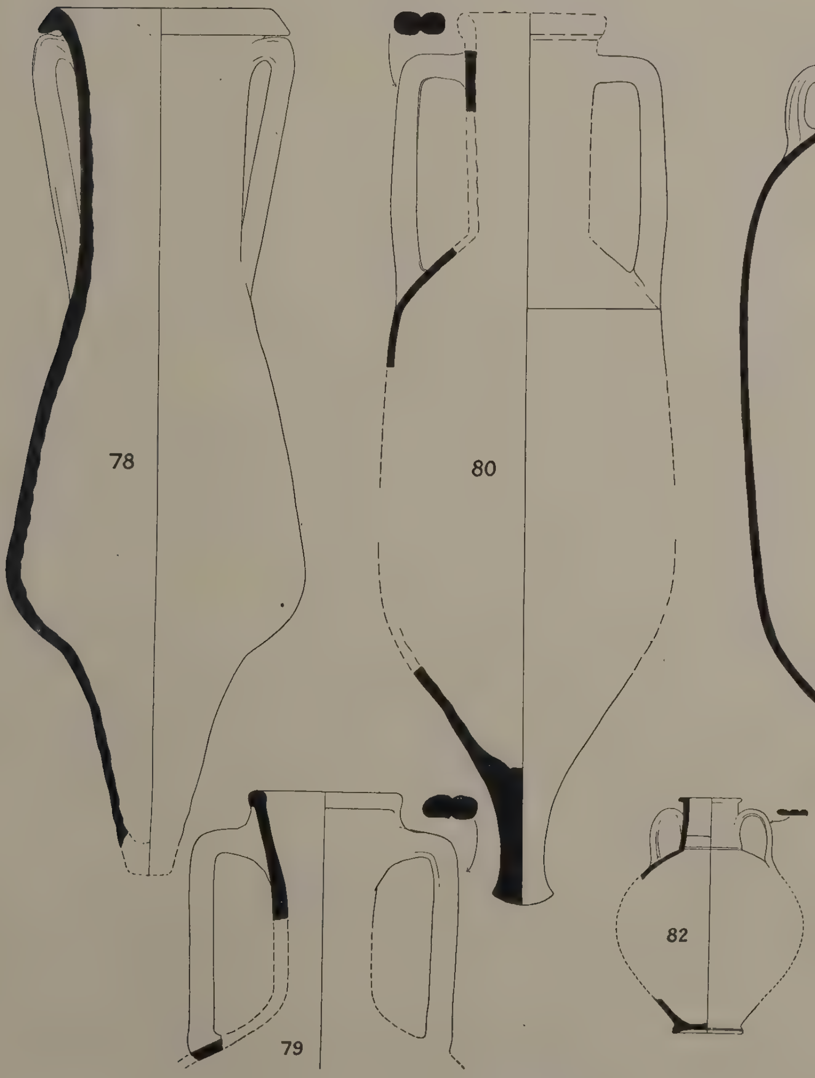
78
80
81
79
82

Fig. 23. Amphorae. ($\frac{1}{7}$)
(*See p.* 186.)

Lastly, the heavy Caerleon type 81 (probably Hadrianic), with the bluntly curved handles and the long, almost parallel sides, likewise reflects an Augustan prototype, Haltern type 70 (found also at Mont Beuvray). The Caerleon derivative has in comparison, however, somewhat atrophied handles; and the well-modelled, everted rim of the prototype has here become little more than a clumsy thickening.

Pl. xxxiii, 4.

Fragment of smooth, orange-coloured 'legionary' ware. The type is apparently a copy of the Samian form 'Ritterling 8'. The prototype occurs before and after the time of Claudius, but the present copy is derived from a layer which contained pottery of *c.* 130–60 A. D. The graffito decoration, executed roughly but with considerable spirit, represents a scene probably of cranes and pygmies. The pygmy has a nose in the form of a phallus, and holds a conical basket in his right hand.

C. Potters' Stamps

On Samian

ARICI M On the base of form 18/31. ARICVS or AVRICVS or more probably [T]AVRICVS (the A and R seem to be conjoined to form an intermediate V) appears to have been a long-lived potter or firm of Lezoux; the present example can scarcely be later than the beginning of the 2nd century, but the stamp occurs also in the Pudding Pan Rock group, which appears to date after the middle of the century (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 203; Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pot.*, M 1627).

AVRICI M On the base of form Walters 79. From a Hadrian-Antonine layer. This form scarcely appears before the middle of the 2nd century. For the potter, see above.

· · · VRICI OF On the base of form 33. Found in the Roman filling of the apse of Bath A with Hadrian-Antonine pottery. The stamp is probably that of AVRICVS or TAVRICVS (see above).

A.L.B.I.N.I.M On base of coarse form 33. Poor ware. 2nd century.

ALBV · · · NI On a very coarse and late-looking form 31. The potter Albucianus is represented in the Pudding Pan Rock find (late Antonine).

BANOLVCCI On base of form 33. Found with 2nd-century pottery (mostly Antonine) in the make-up of the early 3rd-century level in Entrance E. The stamp occurs in the Antonine period at Newstead (Curle, *Newstead*, 228 and 232; Walters, *Cat. Rom. Pot. Brit. Mus.*, M 2043–6; Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter*, 1912, 48; May, *Silchester Pottery*, 205).

CELSIANI M Apparently form 32, and probably of Antonine or later date.

OF COIV · · On base of form 18. From the make-up of the original ramp of Entrance A, i. e. not later than *c.* 80 A. D. Coius was apparently a Flavian potter of southern Gaul. The name is found on forms 15, 18, 27, and 33 in London, Cirencester, Colchester, Wroxeter, Wiesbaden, Xanten, etc.

· · OTTO On the base of form 18. Found in Road 3 in Entrance A with much Flavian pottery. The stamp of Cotto occurs elsewhere in groups dating from the latter part of the 1st century (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 216; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 57).

CO · · · On base of form 27. See previous stamp.

· · · TTO On the base of form 18. Found in Road 4 in Entrance A with much Flavian pottery and coins of Vespasian and Titus.

M CREST̅I̅O On the outside of form 37. Found in the Roman filling of the hypocaust of Bath H with pottery of *c.* 90–120 A. D. Crestio is a well-known South Gaulish potter of the Flavian-Trajan period (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 216; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 112).

ᗡD Used as an ovolo on form 37 from the Roman filling of the hypocaust in Bath H with pottery of *c.* 90–120 A. D. The monogram belongs to class ii of Dr. T. Davies Pryce's classification in Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, 196. This form of the stamp is apparently earlier than the Blickweiler series. On the present bowl it is associated with the stamp DON̅N̅A̅V̅CI. See commentary above, p. 177. From the Roman filling of the hypocaust of Bath H. The potter Donnaucus seems to have flourished in the period 80–120 A. D. (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 221).

OF FIRMO [N] On base of form 18. Found with pottery of the period Trajan-Hadrian. The group, however, included debris of earlier date, and the occurrence of this South Gaulish potter, who flourished *c.* 40–80 A. D., is doubtless due to this cause (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 222; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 80).

Ⓕ FRONTIN · · Possibly form 29. Frontinus was a Flavian potter of La Graufesenque (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 81).

G.E.N.I.T.O.R.I On base of early form 33. The stamp of this potter is recorded on forms 18/31, 31, 33, and 37 (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 224). He seems to have worked in the period Domitian-Trajan (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 71).

IV · · · In large letters on the outside of coarse form 37. Found in the uppermost layer prior to the early 3rd-century rebuilding of the amphitheatre. The stamp is that of the Antonine potter IVLIVS, who worked at Rheinzabern. See pl. XXXV, 2.

IVST · · · On base of form 33. Probably the earlier (South Gaulish) potter of the name Justus (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 82).

IIN · IIIIN · · On base of form 18/31. This undeciphered stamp occurs twice at Wroxeter (1912 *Report*, 64).

LI · LVF (Retrograde). On base of form 27. From a Flavian layer. The ware looks South Gaulish. Several stamps of LILVS occur at Rheinzabern, but none quite like the present example.

MAIO On base of form 27. Found in the material which sealed the arena drain south of the amphitheatre. There is a Maio of South Gaul of the period Claudius-Nero. The stamp occurs at London on Ritterling 8, Silchester on Ritterling 9, Colchester on 18 and 27.

MAT · · · On base of fine form 18/31. Possibly the potter Matugenus of the period Nero-Vespasian (Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 178).

[M]A[T]ERNINI . M. Probably form 32. The potter Materninus is represented in the Pudding Pan Rock find (late Antonine).

· · · MAXMIN On base of form 33. From the make-up of the early 3rd-century level in Entrance G. The fabric is coarse and probably late, but the potter does not seem to be dated.

OF MO On base of early form 33. MOMMO worked from the time of Claudius to that of Vespasian (Wheeler, *The Roman Fort near Brecon*, 239).

OSBIMANVS On base of form 33. Associated with Hadrian-Antonine pottery. For the potter see May, *Silchester Pottery*, 242.

PATERCLIN · · On base of form 18 or 18/31. For Paterclinus see May, *Silchester Pottery*, 244.

PATER · · · On base of form 18 or 18/31. Found in the seating-bank and therefore not later than *c.* 80 A. D. The stamp is probably that of PATERCLOS, whose name is found elsewhere on forms 19, 27, and 31. This potter seems to have worked mainly in the latter half of the 1st century (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 244).

PATERN · · On the outside of form 37 (pl. XXXV, 2). Found in the Roman filling of the apse of Bath A with pottery of Hadrian-Antonine date. The potter Paternus seems to have flourished at the beginning of the Antonine period (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 245).

OF PATRIC On the base of form 18. Found with abundant Flavian pottery on Road 2 in Entrance G. Patricius seems to have flourished *c.* 70–100 A. D. (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 246; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 56).

F PATRIC On base of form 18. Found with Flavian pottery. For the potter Patricius, see above.

OF PRIM · · · On base of form 18. Found with other Flavian pottery and a coin of Vespasian on the original ramp of Entrance E. This well-known potter (PRIMVS) worked at La Graufesenque apparently from the time of Claudius to that of Vespasian (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 249; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 54, etc.).

· · IMI On base of form 27. From the bottom of a rubbish pit containing much Flavian pottery, south of the amphitheatre. For the potter Primus, see above.

· · RIMAI On the base of form 18. The mutilated stamp probably represents *Primi manu.* For Primus, see above.

OTNIVQ Retrograde stamp of Quintus on form 31. Found with coin of Aurelius Caesar. Dr. Oswald writes: 'The stamps by Quintus of Lezoux are so much better executed that I think this is probably Rheinzabern ware. QVINO occurs on form 36 at Rheinzabern.'

REG · · · On base of form 18/31. Potters named Reginus, Regalis, Regillus, etc., of late 1st- and 2nd-century date, are all possible candidates for this stamp.

OF RVFIN On base of form 27. Found in the make-up of the original ramp of Entrance A and therefore not later that *c.* 80 A. D. Rufinus was a well-known La Graufesenque potter who worked from the time of Claudius to that of Vespasian (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 253).

OF RVFI . . . On base of form 27. See above.

SABINIA . . . Found with abundant pottery of *c.* 120–50 A. D. The stamps of Sabinianus occur at Lezoux, Neuss, and Rheinzabern, and possibly represent two potters, (i) mid-Gaulish of the time Flavian-Hadrian, and (ii) German, of the Antonine period. The latter only uses the stamp SABINIANVS F or SABINIAN F.

SABINIANVS Probably form 32. For the potter Sabinianus see above.

OF SEV . . . On the base of form 27. From Road 5 in Entrance A with pottery of Trajan-Hadrian date. Severus seems to have been for the most part a Flavian potter (May, *Silchester Pottery*, 260; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 56).

SVOB . . . . On base of form 31. From the filling inserted into the main staircase of Entrance D in Period III. The potter may be either Suobnedus or Suobnillus. The latter, who is more frequent, was a Lezoux potter of Trajan-Hadrian period.

VELOX F On the base of form 33. Velox was a Lezoux potter, probably Antonine.

VITALIS M S On base of very fine form 18. Found immediately above cover-slab of arena drain, south of the amphitheatre. The stamp probably means 'made by the slave of Vitalis', on the analogy of the stamp GERMANI F(ECIT) SER(VVS).

8. COINS

In identifying the coins much help has been given by Mr. Harold Mattingly, of the British Museum.

Of the 242 Roman coins found during the work, 60 came from stratified layers and have been mentioned in their contexts. Of the post-Roman coins, 5 only were of medieval date; these were also stratified (above, p. 151). Fifty later coins were found in the surface-soil or in the trenches of 'stone-robbers', but apart from a group of 7 Bristol tokens (dated 1652) and an Irish halfpenny of Charles II, they were in no case earlier than the time of George I.

(*a*) Summary of Roman Coins

	AR	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ
Republican				
c. 108 B. C.	1			
Marcus Antonius (33–31 B. C.)	1			
Probably Marcus Antonius	1			
Imperial				
Augustus (43 B. C.–14 A. D.)	1			
Probably Claudius		1		
Nero or Vespasian			1	
Vespasian (69–79 A. D.)	1	1	11	
Probably Vespasian			3	
Titus (79–81 A. D.)			2	
Domitian (81–96 A. D.)		2	14	
Probably Domitian			4	
Nerva (96–8 A. D.)	1	1	1	
1st Century			5	

	AR	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ
Brought forward	6	5	41	
Trajan (98–117 A. D.)		1	13	
Probably Trajan			1	
Hadrian (117–38 A. D.)	1	2	7	
Probably Hadrian		1	1	
Sabina, wife of Hadrian (128–36 A. D.)	1			
Antoninus Pius (138–61 A. D.)	2	2	4	
Faustina I (died 141 A. D.)	1	1	1	
Marcus Aurelius (161–80 A. D.)		1	5	
Possibly M. Aurelius			1	
Faustina II (died 175 A. D.)		1	1	
Verus (160–9 A. D.)			1	
Possibly Commodus (180–92 A. D.)			1	
Albinus (193–7 A. D.)	1			
Septimius Severus (193–211 A. D.)	2		1	
Julia Domna (193–217 A. D.)	1			
Geta (209–12 A. D.)	1			
Elagabalus (218–22 A. D.)	2			
Severus Alexander (222–35 A. D.)	2			
Philippus II Arabs (244–9 A. D.)	1			
Trebonianus Gallus (251–3 A. D.)				1
Valerianus (253–60 A. D.)				1
Gallienus (254–68 A. D.)				7
Probably Gallienus				1
Salonina, wife of Gallienus				1
Postumus (258–67 A. D.)	1			1
Probably Postumus				1
Victorinus (265–7 A.D.)				4
Claudius II Gothicus (268–70 A. D.)				9
" " (posthumous)				1
" " (barbarous)				1
Tetricus I (268–73 A. D.)				18
" (probably)				8
" (barbarous)				10
Tetricus II (268–73 A. D.)				8
" (barbarous)				1
Numerianus (283–4 A. D.)			1	
Carausius (287–93 A. D.)				8
" (barbarous)				1
Allectus (293–6 A. D.)				1
Radiate crowns				4
Diocletian (284–305 A. D.)			1	
Licinius (307–23 A. D.)				1
Constantine I (306–37 A. D.)				8
Constantine I and contemporaries				6
Constantine II (317–40 A. D.)				5
Constantius II (323–61 A. D.)				7
Constans (333–50 A. D.)				2
Constans or Constantius				1

	AR	1 Æ	2 Æ	3 Æ
Brought forward	22	14	80	117
House of Constantine, uncertain attribution				3
Magnentius (350 A. D.)				1
Valens (364–78 A. D.)				1
Fourth century				4
	22	14	80	126

Total, 242.

(*b*) Summary of Post-Roman Coins

Edward I–III (silver pennies)[1]	5
Charles II (halfpenny)	1
Hoard of Bristol tokens dated 1652	7
George I–III (pennies and halfpennies)	33
Victoria (one sixpence and two pennies and one halfpenny)	4

(*c*) Details of Roman Coins

Republican

c. 108 B. C.

1. *Obv.* PIETAS. Head of Pietas, *r.*
   Rev. Aeneas carrying Anchises. In field, to *r.*, M. HERENM. Grueber, *Brit. Mus. Cat.* i, p. 195, no. 1231 ff. AR. *c.* 108 B. C.

Marcus Antonius

2. *Obv.* · · ·]ANT AVG[· · · · · ·] P.C. Praetorian galley to *r.*
   Rev. LEG ? III. Military eagle between two standards. 'Fleet' AR. 33–31 B. C.

Possibly Marcus Antonius

3. *Obv.* Illegible ? galley.
   Rev. Obliterated.
   Wreck of a plated denarius.

Imperial

Augustus (43 B. C.–14 A. D.)

4. *Obv.* CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE. Head, laureate, *r.*
   Rev. C. L. CAESARES AVGVSTI F COS DESIGN · PRINC · IVVENT.
   Cohen 43. Denarius.
   Found between Entrances B and C, fig. 7, layer 10.

Possibly Claudius I (41–54 A. D.)

5. *Obv.* Obliterated.
   Rev. ? Minerva fighting, *r.* SC in field.
   1 Æ.

Nero or Vespasian

6. *Obv.* [· · · · · ·] CAESAR A[· · · · Head, *r.*
   Rev. Obliterated.
   2 Æ.

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[1] Three silver pennies of Edward I (one Durham and one London mint), all dated *c.* 1302–7; one silver penny of Edward II (London mint); one silver halfpenny (London mint), probably of Edward III and issued between 1331 and 1334.

VESPASIAN (69–79 A. D.)

7. *Obv.* [IMP CAES] VESPASIAN AVG COS [VIII PP]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. Aequitas standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Cf. Cohen 6. 2 Æ. 77–8 A. D.
Found in mortar of uppermost preserved course of buttress to east of Entrance B.
Condition when lost, good.

8. *Obv.* IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. · · · · · Eagle on globe. SC in field.
Cohen 482. 2 Æ. 77–8 A. D.
Found in the first substantial re-make (i. e. Road 3) of the ramp in Entrance A.
Condition when lost, moderately good.

9. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS III. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Eagle on globe. SC in field.
Cohen 480. 2 Æ (As). 71 A. D.
Found in the make-up of Road 4, just outside Entrance A.
Condition when lost, worn.

10. *Obv.* [IMP CAE]S VESPASIAN AVG COS III or IIII. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Victory advancing *l.*, carrying shield inscribed S.P.Q.R. SC in field.
Cohen 465 or 466. 2 Æ. 71 or 72 A. D.
Found in black occupation-layer on earliest ramp in Entrance E.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

11. *Obv.* [IMP CAES VESP]ASIAN AVG P M T[R P] P[P COS III].
Rev. [S.P.Q.R. OB · CIVES SERVATOS] in oak wreath.
Probably Cohen 529. 1 Æ.
Found in the burnt capping of the floor of Period II in the chamber of Entrance H, with nos. 29 and 71.
Condition when lost, poor.

12. *Obv.* [IMP · CAE]S · VESPASIAN AVG COS [III ?]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Altar. In exergue [P]ROVID[ENT].
Cohen 396. 2 Æ. ? 71 A. D.
Found in filling (inserted at the time of the building of the amphitheatre) of original furnace-room of Bath H.
Condition when lost, fairly good.

13. *Obv.* IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. Aequitas standing *l.*, with ? scales and sceptre. SC in field.
Cohen 6. 2 Æ. 77–8 A. D.
Found in filling of hypocaust-room of Bath H.
Condition when lost, fairly good.

14. *Obv.* IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS III. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIA [AVGVSTI]. Victory advancing *l.*, holding ? wreath and palm. SC in field.
Cf. Cohen 607. 2 Æ. 71 A. D.
In Roman filling of later furnace-room of Bath H.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

15. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. Head, bare, *r.*
Rev. COS VIII. Prow with star above it.
Cohen 137. Plated denarius.

16. *Obv.* · · · ·] VESPASIAN [· · · · Head, *r.*
Rev. Eagle on globe. SC in field.
Cohen 482? 2 Æ.

17. *Obv.* [IMP] CAES VESPASIAN [AVG]. Head, *r.*
Rev. Eagle on globe; head, *r.* SC in field.
Cohen 480–1. 2 Æ. 71–3 A. D.

18. *Obv.* IMP CAES [· · · ·] SP[· · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Altar. In exergue · ROVIDENT. SC in field.
Cohen 400. 2 Æ.

19. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Securitas seated *r.*, holding head in *r.* hand and sceptre in *l.*
Cohen 506? 2 Æ.

Probably Vespasian

20. *Obv.* · · · ·]AS[· · · · · Laureate head, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure (? Fides) holding patera and cornucopiae.
2 Æ.

21. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure standing *l.*, holding palm and cornucopiae.
2 Æ.

22. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

Titus (79–81 A. D.)

23. *Obv.* T·CAES·IMP AVG·F·TR·P COS VI [CENSOR]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Altar; in exergue PROVIDENT.
Cohen 176. 2 Æ. 77–8 A. D.
Found in the make-up of Road 4 in Entrance A.
Condition when lost, worn.

24. *Obv.* T·CAES·IMP AVG F TRP COS VI CENSOR. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Spes standing *l.*, holding flower in *r.* hand and catching up dress with *l.* SC in field.
Cohen 217. 2 Æ. 77–8 A. D.

Domitian (81-96 A. D.)

25. *Obv.* IMP·CAES·DOMIT·AVG·GERM·COS XII CENS PER PP. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. Virtus standing *r.*, holding spear and ? parazonium. SC in field.
Cohen 648. 2 Æ. 86 A. D.
Found in a patch of Period I, over the pit outside Entrance C.
Condition when lost, very good.

26. *Obv.* [IMP CAES DO]MIT AVG GERM COS[· · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. AE [· · · ·]GVSTI. Aeternitas ? standing *l.*, holding heads of sun and moon *l.* SC in field.
2 Æ.
Found in a patch on Period I outside Entrance C.
Condition when lost, rather worn.

27. *Obv.* [IMP·CAES·DOMIT·AVG·GERM·COS ? CENS·PER·P.P.]. Head, ? radiate.
Rev. [VIRTVTI AVGVSTI]. Virtus standing *r.*, holding spear and parazonium.
Cf. Cohen 647 ff. 2 Æ.
Found in the Period III filling of the eastern half of Entrance E.
Condition when lost, worn almost smooth.

28. *Obv.* [CAESAR AVG F] DOMITIANVS COS V. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Spes moving *l.*, holding flower in *r.*, and catching up dress in *l.* hand. SC in field.
Cohen 454. 2 Æ (*As*). 77-8 A. D.
Found in occupation-layer on earliest ramp in Entrance F.
Condition when lost, good.

29. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XVI CENS P[ER PP]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. IOVI VICTORI. Jove seated *l.*, holding Victory and sceptre. SC in field.
Cohen 316. 1 Æ. 95-6 A. D.
Found with nos. 11 and 71 in the burnt capping of the floor of Period II in the chamber of Entrance H.
Condition when lost, rather worn.

30. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM XII CENS PER P.P. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. Moneta standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Cohen 327. 2 Æ. 86 A. D.
Found in make-up of steps inserted, in Period II, in Entrance H.
Condition when lost, fairly good.

31. *Obv.* [IMP CAES DOMIT[IAN AVG GE]RM COS XII CENS PER PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [MONETA AVGVSTI]. Moneta standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cohen 327. 2 Æ. 86 A. D.
Found in the charcoal at the mouth of the later furnace in Bath H.
Condition when lost, mint.

32. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XI [CENS PER PP ?]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Domitian and Rhine, holding spear in *l.* hand. SC in field.
Cohen 504 ? 1 Æ.

33. *Obv.* [IMP C]AES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XII CENS [PER PP]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. Moneta, standing *l.*, holding scales in *r.* hand, and cornucopiae in *l.* SC in field.
Cohen 327. 2 Æ. 86 A. D.

34. *Obv.* IMP CAES [DOMIT] AVG GERM COS XII CENS PER PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. FORTVNA [AVGVSTI] Fortuna standing *l.*, holding rudder in *r.* hand, cornucopiae in *l.* SC in field.
Cohen 122. 2 Æ. 86 A. D.

35. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XIII CENS PER PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. Virtus standing *r.*, holding spear and parazonium (?). SC in field.
Cohen 655. 2 Æ. 87 A. D.

36. *Obv.* CAESAR AVG F [DOMIT]IANVS COS V̄. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Spes, standing *l.*, holding flower in *r.* hand and catching up dress with *l.* SC in field.
Cohen 455. 2 Æ.

37. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT[· · · ·] COS [· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. Moneta, standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cf. Cohen 323 ff. 2 Æ.

38. *Obv.* IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS XII (?) PER PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [MONETA AVGVSTI]. Moneta standing *l.*, holding scales (?) and cornucopiae.
Cohen 327. 2 Æ.

39. *Obv.* · · · · ·]ES [· · · · ·] M[· · · · · · Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Fortuna, standing *l.*, holding (?) rudder and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cf. Cohen 120 ff. 2 Æ.

40. *Obv.* · · · ·] ERM [· · · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, standing *l.*
2 Æ.

Probably DOMITIAN

41. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Virtus standing *r.*, holding spear and (?) parazonium. SC in field.
2 Æ.

42. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure.
2 Æ.

43. *Obv.* Obliterated.
Rev. Draped figure holding spear.
2 Æ.

44. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

NERVA (96–8 A. D.)

45. *Obv.* IMP NERVA CAES [· · · · ·] M PM TR P II.
Rev. IMP II COS II TR[· · · Moneta standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Cohen 91. Denarius.

46. *Obv.* · · · ·] CAES AVG PM [· · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
1 Æ.

47. *Obv.* IMP NERVA CAES AVG PM TR[· · · · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. LIBERTAS [PVB]LICA. Libertas standing *l.*, holding cap and sceptre. SC in field.
Cohen 120. 2 Æ (Dupondius).

1ST CENTURY

48. *Obv.* Laureate head, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

49-52. Four undecipherable 1st-century coins, all 2 Æ.

TRAJAN (98–117 A. D.)

53. *Obv.* IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM PM[· · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. TR POT·[COS II ?]. SC in field. Pietas standing *l.*, raising *r.* hand, and placing *l.* on breast. SC in field.
Cohen 612. 2 Æ.
Found in filling of north stair of Entrance D.
Condition when lost, moderately good.

54. *Obv.* [IMP CAES NERV]AE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM[· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Salus (?) seated *l.*, holding patera, feeding snake coiled round altar.
Cohen 485. 1 Æ.

55. *Obv.* IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO [· · · ·] COS V PP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. The Emperor on horseback galloping *r.*, about to spear a fallen foe. SC in exergue.
Cohen 505. 2 Æ. 104-10 A. D.

56. *Obv.* Laureate head, *r.*
Rev. SPQR OP[TIMO PRINCIPI]. Fortuna (?) standing *l.*, holding rudder (?) and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cohen 470. 2 Æ.

57. *Obv.* Head, laureate ?, *r.*
Rev. SPQR OP[TIMO PRI]NC[IPI]. Abundantia standing *l.*, holding corn-ears (?) and cornucopiae. At her feet a child. SC in field. ALIM · IT[AL] in exergue.
Cohen 8 ? 2 Æ.

58. *Obv.* IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS V. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Draped figure, ? Fortuna or Abundantia.
Cohen 410. 2 Æ.

59. *Obv.* IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM PM. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. TR POT COS II. Female figure, seated *l.*, on a chair fashioned of cornucopiae, holding sceptre in *r.* hand. SC in exergue.
Cf. Cohen 618. 2 Æ.

60. *Obv.* [IMP CAES NE]RVA TRAIAN AVG GERM [· · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [T]R POT [COS II ?]. Victory advancing *l.*, holding shield inscribed [SPQR]. SC in field.
Probably Cohen 614. 2 Æ.

61. *Obv.* · · · ·] TRAIAN [· · ·]GER[· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Victory flying *r.*, holding wreath. SC in field.
2 Æ (early *As*).

62. *Obv.* Laureate head, *r.* (early Trajan).
Rev. Draped figure, *l.*
2 Æ.

63. *Obv.* Radiate head, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure standing *l.*, holding cornucopiae in *l.* SC in field.
2 Æ.

64. *Obv.* Laureate head, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, *l.*
2 Æ. 98 A. D.

65. *Obv.* .....]IAN AVG [..... Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

66. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ (Dupondius).

Probably TRAJAN

67. *Obv.* Head, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

HADRIAN (117–38 A. D.)

68. *Obv.* [IMP CAESA]R TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG. Head laureate, *r.*
Rev. P[M TR P] COS III. Pax (Pax Victrix) seated *l.*, holding Victory and branch.
Cohen 1147. Denarius. *c.* 120 A. D.
Found in level 7 against amphitheatre wall between Entrances B and C (see fig. 7).
Condition when lost, moderately well-preserved.

69. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG [PM TRP COS III]. Head radiate, *r.*
Rev. [VIRTV]TI [AVGVSTI]. Virtus standing *r.*, holding spear and parazonium.
Cohen 1470. Dupondius.
Found in the make-up of Period II main stairs, at the back of the blocking of the door in the cross-wall of Entrance D.
Condition when lost, moderately good.

70. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG PM TRP COS III. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. Moneta standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cohen 977. Dupondius. 121–2 A. D.
Found in make-up of road of Period II in Entrance E.
Condition when lost, very good.

71. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG PM TRP COS III. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. MONETA AVGVSTI. Moneta, draped and standing, *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae. SC in field.
Cohen 977. Dupondius. 121–2 A. D.
Found with nos. 11 and 29 in burnt capping of the floor of Period II in the chamber of Entrance H.
Condition when lost, very good.

72. *Obv.* IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADR[· · · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Fortuna seated *l.*, holding rudder and cornucopiae. SC in field. FORT RED in exergue.
Cohen 756? 1 Æ.

73. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, *l.* SC in field.
1 Æ.

74. *Obv.* [IMP] CAESAR TRAIAN [· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. PONT MAX TR POT COS III. Jupiter seated *l.*, holding ? Victory and sceptre. SC in field. FORT RED in exergue.
Cohen 760. 2 Æ.

75. *Obv.* · · ·] TRAIAN [· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, ? Pietas, *l.*
2 Æ.

76. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

77. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

Probably HADRIAN

78. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Figure, standing *l.* SC in field.
2 Æ.
Found in Period II occupation over main drain outside Entrance B.
Condition when lost, fairly good.

79. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, standing *l.*
1 Æ.

SABINA, WIFE OF HADRIAN (128–36 A. D.)

80. *Obv.* SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG PP. Bust, diademed and draped, *r.*; hair dressed on nape of neck.
Rev. VESTA. Vesta seated *l.*, with palladium ? and sceptre.
Cohen 85. Denarius.

ANTONINUS PIUS (138–61 A. D.)

81. *Obv.* ANTONINVS AVG PIVS [P.P. TRP]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [COS IIII]. Rome seated *l.*, holding Victory and spear? SC in field.
Cohen 225 (?). 1 Æ.
Found in Entrance A in make-up of top road (pl. xxv, level 7).
Condition when lost, worn.

82. *Obv.* ANTONINVS [PIVS]. Head, *r.*
Rev. Female figure, standing *l.*
2 Æ.
Found in Entrance A, in make-up of top road (pl. xxv, level 7).
Condition when lost, worn.

83. *Obv.* [ANTONINVS AVG PIVS] P·P· TR·P·XVIII. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. BRITANNIA COS IIII. Britannia seated *l.* SC in field.
Cohen 117. 2 Æ.
Found in the filling (Period III) over the main steps in Entrance D.
Condition when lost, worn.

84. *Obv.* ANTONINVS [· · · Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. IMPERATOR II. Victory standing *l.*, holding wreath in *r.* hand and palm in *l.*
Cohen 438 or 9. Denarius.

85. *Obv.* ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP XII. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. COS IIII. Moneta, standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Denarius. 149 A.D.

86. *Obv.* ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP COS III. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [CONCORDIA] EXERCITVM. Concordia standing *l.*, holding victory in *r.* hand and standard in *l.* SC in field.
1 Æ.

87. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, ? Fortuna, *l.*
2 Æ.

88. *Obv.* · · · ·]NINVS [· · · ·
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

FAUSTINA THE ELDER (died 141 A.D.)

89. *Obv.* DIVA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Veiled head, *r.*
Rev. [PI]ETA[S AVG]. Pietas, *l.*, dropping grains of incense upon lighted altar and holding patera in *l.* hand.
Cohen 240. 1 Æ.
Found in latest road surface between Entrances E and F.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

90. *Obv.* DIVA FAVSTINA. Bust, without veil, draped, *r.*
Rev. CONSECRATIO. Peacock, *r.*
Cohen 175. Denarius.

91. *Obv.* Female bust, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, ? Augusta. SC in field.
2 Æ.

MARCUS AURELIUS (161–80 A.D.)

92. *Obv.* M. ANTONINVS AVG GERM TRP XXIX. Head radiate, *r.*
Rev. IMP VII COS III. Abundantia standing *l.*, holding corn-ears and cornucopiae; *l.*, a modius. SC in field.
Cohen 334. 2 Æ. 176 A.D.
Found in Entrance A, in make-up of top road (pl. xxv, level 7).
Condition when lost, fairly good.

93. *Obv.* M. ANTONINVS AVG [TR · P · XXV ?]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. COS III. Jupiter seated *l.*, holding thunderbolt and sceptre.
Not in Cohen. 1 Æ.
Found in latest road-surface between Entrances G and H.
Condition when lost, much worn.

94. *Obv.* AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII FIL. Head, *r.*
Rev. TR · POT · VIIII · COS II. Minerva standing *l.*, holding owl in *r.* hand, spear in *l.*; shield, *r.* SC in field.
Found in the filling (Period III) over main steps in Entrance H.
Cf. Cohen 678. 2 Æ. 155 A. D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

95. *Obv.* AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG [PII FIL]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [TP POT] VIIII COS II. Minerva standing *l.*, holding owl and spear.
Cohen 678. 2 Æ. 155 A. D.
Found in layer 11, fig. 7.
Condition when lost, much worn and burnt.

96. *Obv.* IMP CAES M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG PM. Head, bare, *r.*
Rev. SALVTI AVG [COS II(?)] TRP XVII. Salus standing *l.*, and feeding snake coiled round altar. SC in field.
? Cohen 566. 2 Æ.

97. *Obv.* · · · ·] ANTONINVS [· · · ·] TRP XX[· · · · Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. MPVI SIII. Victory, *r.*, with foot on step; *r.* hand on hip, holding shield inscribed VIC GER.
Cohen 258. 2 Æ.

Possibly Marcus Aurelius

98. *Obv.* Head bare, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, *l.*, ? Annona.
Cf. Cohen 333. 2 Æ.

Faustina the Younger (141–75 A. D.)

99. *Obv.* FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust draped, without veil, *r.*
Rev. SAECVLI FELICIT. Twin boys on throne. SC in field.
Cohen 193. 1 Æ.

100. *Obv.* DIVA FAVSTINA [PIA]. Bust, draped and veiled, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure, Aeternitas or Ceres, standing front, head *l.*, raising veil and holding torch. SC in field.
? Cohen 3. 2 Æ.

Verus (160–9 A. D.)

101. *Obv.* [IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG]. Bust, bare, *r.*
Rev. [FELIC. AVG. TR. P COS II S · C] Galley.
Cf. Cohen 70 ff. 2 Æ.

Possibly Commodus (180–92 A. D.)

102. *Obv.* Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
2 Æ.

ALBINUS (193–7 A.D.)

103. *Obv.* [IMP CA]E[S] D CLO SEP ALB A[VG]. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [SA]ECVLI FEL COS II. Female figure, *l.*, holding branch in *l.* hand and caduceus in *r.*
Cohen 64. Denarius. 193–7 A.D.
Found in the occupation capping the filling (Period III) over the main steps in Entrance D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193–211 A.D.)

104. *Obv.* [L·SEPT·SEV·PERT] AVG·IMP. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [PM TR P VI COS II PP?]. Pax, seated, *l.*
Cf. Cohen 444. Denarius.
Found in top road outside Entrance A.
Condition when lost, fair.

105. *Obv.* L SEPT SEV[ERVS PE]RT AVG IMP III. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. DIS AVS[PICIB·TR·P II] COS II PP. Hercules and Liber both standing *l.*
Cohen 120. 2 Æ.
Found outside Entrance C in a level contemporary with the latest buttresses (cf. fig. 7, layer 12).
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

106. *Obv.* L·SEPT·SEV·PERT·AVG·IMP·IIII. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. Securitas seated *l.*, holding globe in *r.* hand.
Cohen 646. Denarius.

JULIA DOMNA (193–217 A.D.)

107. *Obv.* [IV]LIA AVG. Head, *r.*
Rev. CERERI [FRVGIF]. Ceres sitting *l.*, holding corn-ears and torch.
Cohen 14. Denarius (plated).
Found in the latest occupation-level, outside Entrance F.
Condition when lost, very good.

GETA (209–12 A.D.)

108. *Obv.* P. SEPT GETA CAES PONT. Young head, draped, *r.*
Rev. NOBILITAS. Nobilitas standing *r.*, spear in *r.* hand, and palladium in *l.*
Found in the occupation-level over the filling (Period III) of the eastern half of Entrance E.
Cohen 90. Denarius.
Condition when lost, very good.

ELAGABALUS (218–22 A.D.)

109. *Obv.* ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. SACERD DEI SOLIS ELAGABAL standing *r.*, sacrificing over altar and holding a club. In the field, a star.
Cf. Cohen 249. Bad denarius.
Found in top occupation-layer between Entrances A and B, close to amphitheatre wall.
Condition when lost, very good.

110. *Obv.* IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. SVMMVS SACERDOS AVG. Male figure, *l.*, holding patera and palm branch
Cohen 276. Denarius.
Found in the filling (Period III) over the main steps in Entrance H.
Condition when lost, mint.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER (222–35 A. D.)

111. *Obv.* IMP·SEV·ALEXAND·AVG. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. ABVNDANTIA AVG. Abundantia, *r.*, pouring forth contents of cornucopiae.
Cohen 1. Denarius.

112. *Obv.* IMP·SEV·ALEXAND·AVG. Youthful head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. PM TR P VIII COS III PP. Mars advancing *l.*, carrying spear and trophy.
Cohen 365. Denarius. 228 A. D.

PHILIPPUS II ARABS (244–9 A. D.)

113. *Obv.* IMP·PHILIPPVS·AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev PRINCIP V VVENT. Youthful figure, *l.*, holding globe in *r.* hand, and spear reversed in *l.*
Hybrid. Antoninianus.

TREBONIANUS GALLUS (251–3 A. D.)

114. *Obv.* IMP CAE C VIB TREB GALLVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. LIBERTAS AVGG. Libertas standing *l.*, holding cap (?) and transverse sceptre.
Cohen 67. 3 Æ.
Found above the filling of Period III over the main steps of Entrance H.
Condition when lost, good.

VALERIANUS (253–60 A. D.)

115. *Obv.* IMP·C·LIC· VALERIANVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. APOLLINI CONSERV. Nude figure of Apollo, *l.*, holding branch in *r.* hand and lyre in *l.*
Antoninianus.

GALLIENUS (254–68 A. D.)

116. *Obv.* [IM]P GALLIENVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. DIANAE CONS AVG. Antelope moving *r.* ϵ below.
Cohen 153. 3 Æ.
Found with nos. 133, 146–9, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

117. *Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. DIANAE CONS AVG. Stag moving *l.* Mint mark in exergue, Γ.
Cf. Cohen 157. 3 Æ.
Found in topmost level against amphitheatre wall by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.

118. *Obv.* [GAL]LIENVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. FIDES MILITVM. Fides standing *l.*, with military standard in either hand. Mint mark XII in field.
Cohen 238. 3 Æ.
Found in latest surface against the amphitheatre wall between Entrances B and C.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

119. *Obv.* IMP GALLIENVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. DIANAE CONS AVG. Stag moving *r.*, head turned *l.*
Cohen 153. 3 Æ.

120. *Obv.* [GALLI]EN[VS AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. [IOVI PR]OPVGN[AT]. Jupiter striding *l.*, with thunderbolt uplifted in *r.* hand and pallium floating from *l.*
Cohen 382 ff. 3 Æ.

121. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Abundantia, *r.*, pouring forth contents of cornucopiae.
Cohen 5? 3 Æ.

122. *Obv.* GALLIE[NVS] AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.

Possibly GALLIENUS

123. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Fortuna standing *l.*, holding rudder? and cornucopiae.
3 Æ.

SALONINA, WIFE OF GALLIENUS

124. *Obv.* SALO[NINA AVG]. Bust, diademed and draped, on crescent, *r.*
Rev. PVDICIT[IA]. Pudicitia, *l.*, drawing veil over face with *r.* hand and holding transverse sceptre with *l.*
Cohen 92. 3 Æ.
Found in latest surface against amphitheatre wall between Entrances B and C.
Condition when lost, worn.

POSTUMUS (258–67 A. D.)

125. *Obv.* IMP C POSTVMVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. IOVI VICTORI. Jupiter striding *l.*, holding spear and brandishing a thunderbolt.
Cohen 161. Antoninianus.

126. *Obv.* IMP C POSTVMVS PF [AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PM·TR·P·COS III PP. Mars, standing *l.*, holding globe and spear.
Cf. Cohen 261 ff. 3 Æ.

Possibly POSTUMUS.

127. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. ? Abundantia pouring forth contents of cornucopiae.
Cohen 268. 3 Æ.

VICTORINUS (265–7 A. D.)

128. *Obv.* [IMP C VICTOR]INVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. [PIE]TAS [AVG]. Pietas standing *l.*, dropping incense upon an altar.
Cohen 93. 3 Æ.

129. *Obv.* [IMP C VICTORINVS PF AVG]. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [INVICTVS]. Sol, radiate, striding *l.*, *r.* hand raised, *l.* holding whip.
Cohen 46. 3 Æ.

130. *Obv.* [IMP C VICTORINVS PF AVG]. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. Virtus, helmeted, standing *r.*, holding spear and leaning on shield.
Cohen 131. 3 Æ.

Imitation of Victorinus

131. *Obv.* OSINISVM A. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Figure, standing *l.*
3 Æ.

Claudius II Gothicus (268–70 A. D.)

132. *Obv.* IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Bust draped, radiate, *r.*
Rev. AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas standing *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Cohen 6. 3 Æ.
Found in topmost level outside Entrance C.
Condition when lost, good.

133. *Obv.* IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. LIBERALITAS AVG. Liberalitas standing *l.*, holding cornucopiae and account board.
3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 146–9, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, fairly good.

134. *Obv.* IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. FELICITAS AVG. Felicitas standing *l.*, holding caduceus and cornucopiae.
Cohen 79. 3 Æ.

135. *Obv.* IMP C CLAVDIVS [AVG]. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [IOVI VICT]ORI. Jupiter standing *l.*, holding thunderbolt and sceptre.
Cohen 130. 3 Æ.

136. *Obv.* IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIA AVG. Victory, *l.*, holding wreath and palm.
Cohen 293. 3 Æ.

137. *Obv.* [IMP or IMP C CLAVDIV]S [AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. [VICTOR]IA AVG. Victory standing *l.*, holding wreath and palm.
Cohen 293. 3 Æ.

138. *Obv.* IMP C CL[AVDIVS AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. [PROVID.] AVG. Providentia, standing *l.*, holding wand over globe in *r.* hand and cornucopiae in *l.*
Cohen 220? 3 Æ.

139. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Obliterated.
Cohen 109? 3 Æ.

140. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. ?PAX EXERCI. Pax standing *l.*, holding branch and sceptre.
Cf. Cohen 209. 3 Æ.

Posthumous coin, struck by Quintillus

141. *Obv.* [DIVO C]LAV[DIO]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. [CONSECRATI]O. Altar aflame, wreath in central panel.
Cohen 50 ff. 3 Æ. ? Plated.

Local imitation of Claudius II Gothicus

142. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Unintelligible legend (CONSECRATIO type). Eagle, *r.*, on perch.
3 Æ.

Tetricus I (268–73 A. D.)

143. *Obv.* [IMP C TETR]ICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. P[AX AVG]. Pax standing *l.*, holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.
Cohen 95. 3 Æ.
Found in latest surface against the amphitheatre wall between Entrances B and C.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

144. *Obv.* Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. ? LAETITIA AVG.
Minim.
Found in topmost level against amphitheatre wall between Entrances B and C.
Condition when lost, poor.

145. *Obv.* Radiate head, *r.*
Rev. [SPE]S A[VG]? Spes moving *l.*
3 Æ.
Found in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

146. *Obv.* [IMP C TETRICVS PF AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PIETAS AVG. Pietas standing *l.*, dropping incense on altar, and holding vertical sceptre in *r.* hand.
Cf. Cohen 116. 3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 133, 147–9, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, worn.

147. *Obv.* [IMP C T]ETRICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. HILARITA[S AVG]. Hilaritas standing *l.*, holding long palm and cornucopiae.
Cohen 49. 3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 133, 146, 148–9, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, moderately good.

148. *Obv.* IMP [T]E[TRICVS P]F AVG. Head, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [LAE]TITIA AV[G . .]. Laetitia holding wreath and (?) anchor.
Cf. Cohen 70 ff. 3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 133, 146–7, 149, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.

149. *Obv.* IMP C TE[TRICVS PF AVG]. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Unstamped.
3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 133, 146–8, 179 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, worn.

150. *Obv.* IMP C TETRICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PAX AVG. Pax standing *l.*, holding olive branch and transverse sceptre.
Cf. Cohen 95 ff. 3 Æ.
Found on latest floor of the chamber in Entrance H.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

151. *Obv.* [IM]P C TETRICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PAX AVG. Pax standing *l.*, with olive branch and vertical sceptre.
Cf. Cohen 95. 3 Æ.
Found above the filling of Period III over the main steps in Entrance H.
Condition when lost, worn.

152. *Obv.* [IMP TE]TRICVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. PAX [AVG]. Pax standing *l.*, holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.
Cohen 95. 3 Æ.

153. *Obv.* [IMP TE]TRICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PA[X AVG]. Pax standing *l.*, holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.
Cohen 95. 3 Æ.

154. *Obv.* IMP TET[RICVS PF] AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. HIL[ARITA]S A[VGG]. Hilaritas standing *l.*, with long palm branch and cornucopiae.
Cohen 53 ff. 3 Æ.

155. *Obv.* IMP C TETRICVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [VIRTVS] AVGG. Virtus, helmeted, standing *l.*, holding spear and shield.
Cohen 207. 3 Æ.

156. *Obv.* [IMP TET]RICVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. · · ·]IAE AVG]. ? Pietas, draped, standing *l.*, dropping incense upon an altar and holding a box.
Cf. Cohen 116 ff. 3 Æ.

157. *Obv.* Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. Draped figure standing *l.*, *r.* hand outstretched.
? Salus.
3 Æ.

158. *Obv.* [IMP TETR]ICVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. · · · · AVG. Draped figure, *l.* ? Pax.
Cf. Cohen 95 ff. 3 Æ.

159. *Obv.* [IMP TET]RICVS [PF AVG]. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. Virtus ? standing *l.*, holding shield and spear.
? Cohen 207. 3 Æ.

160. *Obv.* Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. ? Pax standing *l.*, holding ? olive branch and vertical sceptre. 3 Æ.

Possibly Tetricus I

161–8. Eight other coins, all 3 Æ, may be attributed to this emperor.

Barbarous Tetricus I

169. *Obv.* Barbarous Tetricus I.
Rev. ?
3 Æ.
Found in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, worn.

170. *Obv.* Barbarous Tetricus I.
Rev. Obliterated.
3 Æ.
Found in the latest level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, rather worn.

171. *Obv.* ·····ICVS PF AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. Barbarous Pax type.
3 Æ.

172–8. Seven barbarous coins, all 3 Æ, may be attributed to this emperor, generally of uncertain type; one or more perhaps with Pax on the reverse.

TETRICUS II (268–73 A. D.)

179. *Obv.* C PIV ESV TETRICVS CAES. Youthful bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. SPES AVGG. Spes moving *l.*, holding flower and catching up dress.
Cohen 87 (?). 3 Æ.
Found with nos. 116, 133, 146–9 in topmost level by the latest buttresses between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

180. *Obv.* ·····ICVS CAES. Youthful bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. Victory standing *l.*, holding wreath and palm.
? Cohen 101. 3 Æ.

181–2. *Obv.* C PIV [ESV TETRICVS CAES]. Youthful bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. PIET[AS AVGG]. Sacrificial implements, vase turned *l.*
Cohen 53. 3 Æ.

183. *Obv.* Youthful bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [PIETAS AVGG]. Sacrificial emblems, vase *r.*
Cohen 48–53. 3 Æ.

184–6. Three other coins, all 3 Æ, may be attributed to this emperor, one with PAX reverse.

Barbarous TETRICUS II

187. *Obv.* ···NVIPC TITPIC···· Youthful bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [PIE]TAS AVG. Sacrificial implements, vase, *l.*
3 Æ.

NUMERIANUS (283–4 A. D.)

188. *Obv.* IMP NVMERIANVS AVG. Bust, radiate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. PIETAS AVGG. Mercury standing *l.*, holding bag and caduceus. Mint mark KAΔ in exergue. Rome. Mark transferred from Serdica; pay for the Persian War, 283 A. D. (Webb, *Num. Chron.*, 5th series, i, 1921, p. 42, and see *Richborough* (1922–3), 133, no. 324). Antoninianus.

CARAUSIUS (287–93 A. D.)

189. *Obv.* [IMP C CARAVSIVS P]F AVG. Head, radiate, *r.*
Rev. PAX AVG. Pax standing *l.*, with olive branch and vertical sceptre. BE in field. Mint mark MLXXI. London.
3 Æ.
Found in topmost level between Entrances C and D.
Condition when lost, moderately worn.

190. *Obv.* [IMP·C·CARAVSIVS P·F· AVG] or possibly [VIRTVS CARAVSI AVG]. The legend is largely obliterated. Bust, helmeted and cuirassed *l.*
Rev. MONETA AVG. Moneta, *l.*, holding scales and cornucopiae.
Variant of Cohen 172 ff. 3 Æ.

191. *Obv.* [IMP] CARAVSIVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate, cuirassed, and draped, *r.*
Rev. [PAX] AVG. Pax standing *l.*, holding olive branch and transverse sceptre. SP in field. Mint mark in exergue C (Colchester).
Cohen 209. Antoninianus.

192. *Obv.* IMP [CA]RAVSIVS [PF] AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. PAX [AVG]. Pax standing, *l.*, holding olive branch and transverse sceptre. SP in field. Mint mark MLXXI in exergue. London.
Webb 128. 3 Æ.

193. *Obv.* [IMP CARAVSI]VS AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. Pax standing *l.*, with olive branch and vertical sceptre.
3 Æ.

194. *Obv.* IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG. Bust apparently twice struck, once upside down; radiate.
Rev. P[AX] AV[G]. Pax standing *l.*, holding branch and vertical sceptre.
Antoninianus.

195. *Obv.* IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. SPES PVBL[ICA]. Spes advancing *l.*, holding flower in *r.* hand and catching up dress in *l.*
Cf. Cohen 338. 3 Æ.

196. *Obv.* IMP CARAVSIVS [PF] AVG. Bust, radiate and draped, *r.* The face double struck.
Rev. [LA]ETITIA AVG. Laetitia standing *l.*, holding wreath and anchor.
? Cohen 122. 3 Æ.

Barbarous Carausius

197. *Obv.* Imitation of Carausius.
Rev. Type of Fortune.
3 Æ.
Found in top level between latest buttresses, Entrance C–D sector.
Condition when lost, good.

Allectus (293–6 A. D.)

198. *Obv.* IMP C ALLECTVS PF AVG. Bust, radiate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Providentia, *r.*, holding globe in *r.* hand and palm branch in *l.* SP in field. Mint mark C.
3 Æ.
Found in topmost level between Entrances B and C.
Condition when lost, mint.

Radiate crowns (254–96 A. D.). Uncertain attribution.

199–201. *Obv.* Where discernible, bust, radiate and draped, *r.*
Rev. (1) SPES. (2) Pax type. (3) Undecipherable.
All 3 Æ.

202. Imitation of 3rd-century 3 Æ.

DIOCLETIAN (284–305 A. D.)

203. *Obv.* IMP DIOCLETIANVS PF AVG. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMAИI. Genius, semi-nude, wearing the modius, standing *l.*, with patera and cornucopiae; pallium hanging from *l.* arm. In field BΓ. Mint mark TR (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 94. 2 Æ.

LICINIUS (307–23 A. D.)

204. *Obv.* IMP LICINIVS PF AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GENIO POP ROM. Male figure, draped, *l.*, modius on head; holding cornucopiae in *l.* arm and patera in *r.* In field T.F. Mint mark ATR in exergue.
Cohen 49. 3 Æ.

CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT (Caesar 306, Augustus 307–37 A. D.).

205. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust, helmeted and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. Altar inscribed VOTIS XX; thereon a globe; three stars above. Mint mark PTR (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 20. 3 Æ. 320–4 A. D.

206. *Obv.* CON[STAN]TIN[VS ....].
Rev. [BEATA TRANQVILLITAS] altar much corroded. Mint mark ... ON in exergue.
3 Æ. 320–4 A. D.

207. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Head, laureate, *r.*
Rev. [GLORIA E]XER[CITVS]. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and resting on shield. Between them two standards. Mint mark TRS (Trier) in exergue.
? Cohen 253. 3 Æ. 333–5 A. D.

208. *Obv.* IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol, radiate, standing *l.*, *r.* hand extended, *l.* holding globe; pallium over *l.* arm. TF in field. Mint mark PLN (London) in exergue.
Cohen 530. 3 Æ. 313–17 A. D.

209. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol, radiate, standing *l.*, *r.* hand extended, *l.* holding globe; pallium over *l.* arm. SF in field. Mint mark ? PTR in exergue.
Cf. Cohen 541. 3 Æ. 313–17 A. D.

210. *Obv.* IMP [CONSTAN]TINVS AVG. Bust, laureate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [SOLI] INVICTO COMITI. Sol, radiate and draped, standing *l.*, *r.* hand extended, *l.* holding globe; pallium over *l.* arm. TF in field. Mint mark lost.
Cf. Cohen 519. 3 Æ. 313–17 A. D.

211. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust, laureate and draped, *r.*
Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol, radiate, *l.*, *r.* hand extended, *l.* holding globe; pallium over *l.* arm. Mint mark PTR (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 508. 3 Æ. 313–17 A. D.

212. *Obv.* ..... STANTINVS ..... Bust, helmeted and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIAE LAE[TAE] PRINC [PERP]. Two Victories facing, placing a shield inscribed [VOT]PR on an altar.
? Cohen 635. 3 Æ. 320 A. D.

Constantine I and contemporaries.

213. *Obv.* [CONSTANTINOPOLIS]. Bust of Constantinopolis, *l.*, with sceptre.
Rev. Victory standing *l.*, holding spear and shield, and placing *r.* foot on prow of vessel.
Cohen 21. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

214. *Obv.* .... CONSTANTI ..... Head, diademed, *r.*
Rev. [GLORIA E]XERCIT[VS]. Two soldiers, facing, each holding a spear and resting on shield; between them one standard.
3 Æ.

215. *Obv.* POP R[OMANVS]. Youthful bust, laureate and draped, *r.*, with cornucopiae over *l.* shoulder.
Rev. Within an oak wreath, an eight-point star. Mint mark in centre CONSS (Constantinople).
Cohen, vii, *Le peuple romain*, p. 332, 2. 3 Æ. *c.* 337 A. D.

216. *Obv.* VRBS ROMA. Head of Roma, *l.*, helmeted and wearing imperial mantle.
Rev. She-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus. Above, two stars. Mint mark TRS (Trier) in exergue.
3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

217. *Obv.* VRBS ROMA. Bust of Roma, *l.*, helmeted and wearing imperial mantle.
Rev. She-wolf, suckling Romulus and Remus. Above, two stars. Mint mark PLG (Lyons) in exergue.
3 Æ.

218. As no. 217. Mint mark TRP (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 20. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

Constantine II (Caesar 317–37 A. D., Augustus 337–40 A. D.)

As Caesar

219. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCI[TVS]. Two soldiers, facing, each holding a spear and shield. Between two standards, a wreath. Mint mark TRP (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 122. 3 Æ.

220. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark illegible.
Cohen 122. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

221. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Head, laureate and cuirassed, *r.* Double struck.
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark ? PTR in exergue.
Cohen 124. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

222. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN [NOB C]. Bust, diademed and draped, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them a standard bearing the Chi Rho. Mint mark PLG in exergue.
Cohen 113. 3 Æ.

223. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield, Between two standards, a branch. Mint mark ? TRP in exergue.
Cohen. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

CONSTANTIUS II (Caesar 323–37 A. D., Augustus 337–61 A. D.)

As Caesar

224. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark [? T]RS in exergue.
Cohen 104. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

225. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark TR · P (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 104. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

226. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark PLG (Lyons) in exergue.
Cohen 104. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

227. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCI[TVS]. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, two standards. Mint mark TRP (Trier) in exergue.
Cohen 104. 3 Æ. 330–5 A. D.

228. *Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between two standards, a wreath. Mint mark TRS (Trier) in exergue.
3 Æ.

229. *Obv.* [FL] IVL CONSTANTIVS N[OB C]. Bust, laureate and cuirassed; *r.*
Rev. GLOR[IA EXERC]ITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, one standard. Mint mark *PLC in exergue.
Cohen 92. 3 Æ. 335–7 A. D.

As Augustus

230. *Obv.* D · N · CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIAE DD · AVGG Q NN. Two Victories, facing, each holding wreath, below palm. Mint mark TRP (Trier) in exergue.
3 Æ.

CONSTANS (Caesar 333–7 A. D.; Augustus 337–50 A. D.)

231. *Obv.* CONSTANS PF AVG. Bust, laureate and draped, *r.*
Rev. GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them a standard inscribed V. Mint mark PLN ? in exergue.
Cohen 65. 3 Æ.

As Augustus

232. *Obv.* CONSTANS [PF AVG]. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN. Two Victories, facing, holding wreath and palm. D in field. Mint mark TRP (Trier) in exergue.
Cf. Cohen 179. 3 Æ. 342–8 A. D.

Constantius II or Constans

233. *Obv.* Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. VICTORIAE DD AVGG Q NN. Two Victories, facing one another, holding wreath and palms.
3 Æ.

House of Constantine. Uncertain attribution.

234. *Obv.* · · · · CONS · · · · Bust, laureate and cuirassed, *r.*
Rev. BEAT[A TRANQVILLI]TAS. On altar, inscribed [VOT]IS XX, a globe; above ? three stars. Mint mark PTR (Trier) in exergue.
3 Æ.

235. *Obv.* · · · · · · CONST · · · · · · Head, laureate and draped, *r.*
Rev. [GLORIA] EXER[CITVS]. Two soldiers, facing, each holding spear and shield. Between them, one standard.
3 Æ.

236. *Obv.* Obliterated.
Rev. Two soldiers.
3 Æ. 330–7 A. D.

Magnentius (350 A. D.)

237. *Obv.* [D · N · MAGNENTIVS PF AVG]. Bust draped, head bare, *r.*
Rev. [VICTORIAE DD · NN · AVG ET CAES]. Two Victories, holding a wreath enclosing VOT V MUL X.
Mint mark in exergue ? $\frac{\text{AMA}}{\text{AMB}}$ (Ambianum).
Cohen 68. 3 Æ.

Valens (364–78 A. D.)

238 *Obv.* D N VALENS PF AVG. Bust, diademed and draped, *r.*
Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory advancing *l.*, with wreath and palm branch. OF II in field.
Mint mark CONS T (Arles) in exergue.
Cohen 47. 3 Æ.

4th century.

239–42. Four coins; bust, where discernible, laureate, *r.*; one reverse possibly Gloria Exercitus type. Three are 3 Æ; one a minim.

9. REPORT ON THE ANIMAL BONES FROM THE CAERLEON AMPHITHEATRE

By Professor D. M. S. Watson, F.R.S.

The majority of the bones found are broken pieces of food-animals, the horse and dog being rare.

The animals represented in the bones submitted to me are:

Horse, 5 bones
Ox (*Bos longifrons*), 51 bones
Sheep or goat, 4 bones
Pig, 20 bones
Red deer, 7 bones
Dog ? Wolf ? Fox
Hare
Cock
Small birds, indeterminable
Fish, indeterminable bone.

The horse is represented by a fragmentary skull, and by some other bones amongst which a complete metacarpal is 240 mm. in extreme length and 37 mm. wide at the narrowest part of the shaft. This represents a comparatively small horse with rather thick legs. It is materially larger than some earlier British horses.

The oxen are represented by a considerable series of frontlets with attached horn cores, as well as by numerous bones. The whole series represents one rather uniform and easily recognized breed. The horn cores are short, slender, and flattened. They lie in the plane of the forehead and are slightly curved, so that the convex surface is toward the occiput and the top of the horn toward the muzzle.

The largest horn core is 105 mm. in length, 46 mm. in width at its widest, and 30 mm. thick at the same point. One fully mature skull has very small horn cores whose dimensions, measured in the same way, are 55 × 29 × 16 mm. This skull has an extremely convex forehead with a pronounced boss just in front of the occipital margin. The other skulls with normal horn cores are similar but less extreme in the structure of this region.

The lower jaws are short, with an exceptionally great convexity of the lower border. The third lower molar has a small third column; indeed in one case this is nearly obsolete, being present only in the lower part of the tooth.

These oxen agree very closely with those described by J. W. Jackson from the Early Iron Age sites of All Cannings Cross, Swallowcliffe Down, and the Glastonbury lake-village. They are remarkably small, one of the larger metacarpals being only 180 mm. in length.

It is a most interesting fact that so unusual a breed of cattle should have persisted unchanged for some 500 years. It is remarkable also that the cattle from the Roman fort of Segontium (Carnarvon) in North Wales belong to a different type.

The other animals present no points of interest.

10. APPENDIX

NOTES ON THE PLANNING AND SETTING-OUT OF THE AMPHITHEATRE (fig. 24)

By J. A. Wright

The planning and possible method of setting out the amphitheatre at Caerleon have a certain technical interest and may be worthy of brief consideration.

It is perhaps assumed that Roman amphitheatres are elliptical in outline. This, however, does not appear to be strictly correct. A closer study of the plans of these buildings reveals the fact that some, if not all, are constructed from centres, i.e. the curves are arcs of a circle. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that the Romans were familiar with the ellipse and might be expected to have used one or other of the simple mechanical ways of describing this figure.

Of the various ways of drawing an ellipse, the method whereby the curve is traced from a cord equal in length to the major axis and attached at its ends to the foci of the ellipse is perhaps the most practical one to employ on a roughly levelled site. Another straightforward method would be to lay off a series of perpendiculars from the major axis. Nos. 1 and 2 illustrate these methods.

That neither of them was used at Caerleon is obvious from no. 3, which shows the outline of the Caerleon arena with a true ellipse, constructed from the same diameters, imposed upon it. The variation at its greatest width is approximately 3 ft. 3 in.

How then was the Caerleon arena laid out?

An approximation to an ellipse can be described by the employment of four, eight, or more centres, the increase being in multiples of four. A nearer approximation to the true elliptic curve is obtained by increasing the number of centres, but any number beyond eight would appear to have little, if any, practical advantage over the mechanical methods of describing the true ellipse. The ratio of the diameters governs the position of the centres and to some extent the number of centres used. The longer the major axis in proportion to the minor axis, the flatter the greater curve and in consequence the longer the radius and the further the centre from the middle of the figure. The position of the centres for the greater curves likewise governs those for the lesser curves.

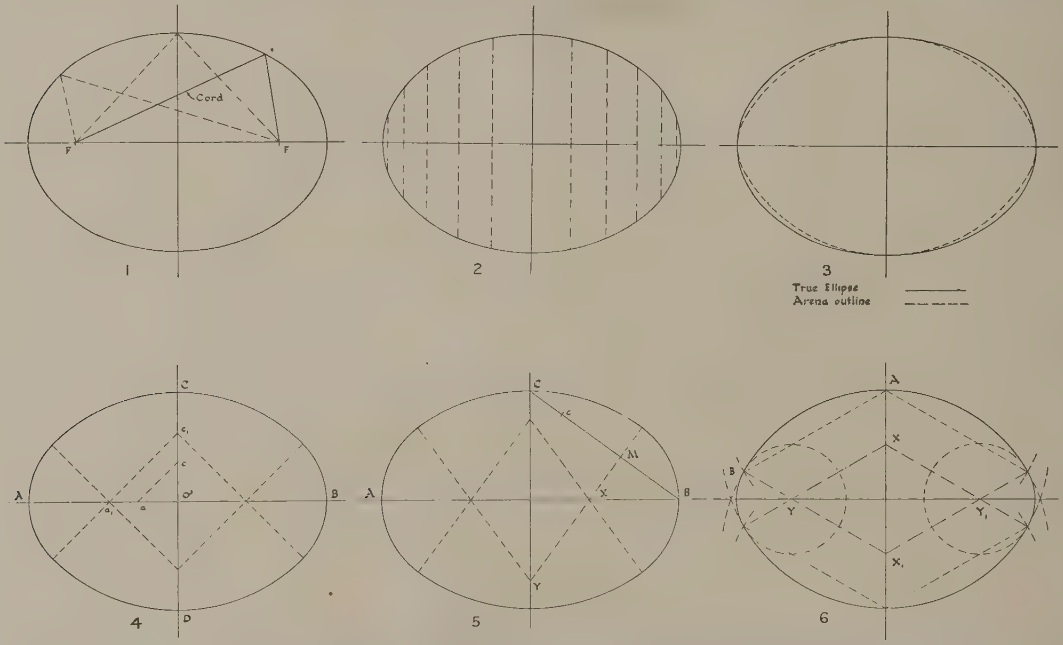

Fig. 24. 1 and 2, methods of setting out true ellipses. 3, true ellipse superimposed upon the Caerleon arena. 4 and 5, methods of setting out approximate ellipses. 6, method used in setting out the Caerleon arena.

Numbers 4 and 5 show two text-book methods of constructing an approximate ellipse from four centres. In the first method the centres are found in the following manner. Take half the difference of the axes and set it off from the intersection point *o* along each axis to *a* and *c*. Draw *ac* and set off half its length along *aA* and *cC* to a_1 and c_1. The latter are two of the centres, the other two being found by marking off equal distances from *o* along the axes in the opposite directions. By extending c_1, a_1, and the corresponding radial lines the limits of each arc are determined.

The method shown in no. 5 is as follows. Draw a line joining the vertices of the axes *C* and *B*. Lay off *Cc* equal to the difference of half the axes. Bisect *cB* at *M* and draw a perpendicular through *M*, cutting the major axis at *x* and the minor at *y*. *x* and *y* are the two centres, the corresponding ones being found as before. The first method gives a slightly narrower figure at the haunches than the true ellipse and does not apply satisfactorily where the minor axis is less than two-thirds the major axis. The second method gives a slightly fuller curve at the haunches than the true ellipse.

If we turn now to the plan of the Caerleon arena, we must, before tentatively applying the above principles and methods, make allowance for two small variations from a strictly geometrical outline. The first of these is the presence of slight local irregularities due to subsequent structural movement; and the second is the slight flattening (representing 2½ ft. on an actual length of 184 ft.) at the ends of the longer axis where the former freestone quoins of the two main entrances (B and F) seem to have been set, quite naturally, at right angles to the axis instead of on a true curve. With these provisos, it is sufficiently clear that the arena-plan was struck from four centres, i. e. X, X_1, Y, and Y_1, on no. 6.

In setting out this plan, it is evident that the shorter axis was laid down first as a base-line. In the first place, on the allowance of 11·7 in. to the Roman foot, this axis works out at the round number of 140 Roman feet. Secondly—and more important—the centres for the greater curves, which must have been set out first, lie on this axis. Moreover, the use of this axis as the base-line is only reasonable when we consider the building in relation to its site and surroundings. The site was a suitable one in many respects, but, as the excavations have shown, the space was limited in one direction, i. e. from east to west. On the eastern side the site is bounded by the fort ditch, and on the western side there is at least one building which was in existence prior to the planning of the amphitheatre. There was thus no option for the builders of an amphitheatre but to establish first the ends or vertices of the shorter axis within the restricted space available.

The method of setting-out was as follows (no. 6). It was found that the centres X, X_1 for the greater curve lay on the minor axis at points exactly midway between the intersections with the major axis and its vertices, making the radius for the curve three-quarters the length of the minor axis, or 102 ft. 4½ in. (105 Roman feet) to be exact. The next and perhaps the most important point was to determine the extent of the curve, for on the length of the arc depends the position of the radial lines and consequently the position of the centres for the lesser curves. The length of the arc was found by a process of trial and error, the limits being established at a distance in a straight line from the vertex of the minor axis equal to the radius of the curve; i. e. $AB = AX_1$, etc., and ABX, etc., are equilateral triangles. Y and Y_1, the points of intersection of the terminal radii of the larger curves and the longer axis, are the centres for the lesser curves, the radius for these curves being exactly one-third the length of the radius of the greater curve, or 34 ft. 1½ in. (35 Roman feet). It is doubtful, however, whether the lesser curve was ever described, or, if it was, the line was not adhered to, for, as stated above, the ends of the arena are flattened. Indeed the intervals between the jambs of the main entrances (B and F) and the ends of the greater curve, being short, were possibly set out by eye, which perhaps accounts in part for the irregularity in the arena-wall adjacent to the entrances.

The irregularity of the external wall of the amphitheatre and of the spacing of the outer ends of the entrances shows that these features were secondary in the lay-out of the amphitheatre, and were perhaps left more largely to the discretion of the various gangs employed (see above, p. 114).

An attempt to apply to other Roman amphitheatres the principles illustrated by the Caerleon example shows that, whilst adhering generally to the system indicated, the Roman surveyors did not attempt any uniformity in detail. Amongst the larger amphitheatres perhaps that which most nearly exemplifies in detail the same processes as Caerleon is the example at Trier, where, however, the *longer* axis was the determining factor of the site and was therefore used as the base-line.

VI.—*An Investigation of two Anglo-Saxon Kalendars (Missal of Robert of Jumièges and St. Wulfstan's Homiliary).* *By* Sir Ivor Atkins, *D.Mus., F.S.A.*

Read 15th March 1928

The Anglo-Saxon kalendars which survive are so few in number, and are contained in manuscripts which, whether considered from the liturgical or the historical point of view, are of such first-rate importance, that any attempt to elucidate some of the many problems which they present, as for example those of chronology and provenance, must, surely, be well worth while. The present dean of Wells, Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, who has himself thrown so much light upon the early kalendars of Wells and of Somerset, draws attention to the human interest attaching to such documents, to the fragments of history hidden away in them waiting to be pieced together and set in their places; and points out that they are capable of throwing a sidelight now and then on periods as distant and as dark as the tenth century.[1] The dean tells us that he found his task intriguing, and indeed the attempt to unravel the secrets of these ancient kalendars is attended with more than ordinary difficulties, so many are the will-o'-the-wisps besetting the path. The occasional rewards are, however, so great, and bring such satisfaction, that the many disappointments inevitable at some stages of the task are quickly forgotten, and it is likely that these documents will continue to fascinate scholars as much in the future as they have in the past.

The present paper is an attempt to clear up the relationship between two more than usually intriguing kalendars, those of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and of Wulfstan's Homiliary. For the sake of convenience I shall quote them from time to time by the symbols R and WH.

Before attempting this task it is necessary to give some account of each. As the Missal of Robert of Jumièges has been thoroughly described by the late Mr. H. A. Wilson in his introduction to the Henry Bradshaw Society's edition of that book, I shall content myself by giving only such particulars about it as are necessary to the present purpose.

The Missal received its present name from the fact that at one time it belonged to Robert of Jumièges, who, as we learn from a note at the end of the manuscript, gave it, while bishop of London (i. e. between 1044 and 1050), to the monastery of Jumièges, of which he had formerly been abbot. It was his intention that the book should be preserved there as a memorial of himself. At

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[1] *Muchelney Memoranda*, Somerset Record Society, 1928.

Jumièges it is said to have remained until 1791, when the monastery was dissolved. It then passed to the Public Library at Rouen, where it now lies.[1]

The Homiliarium S. Wulfstani, in which our second kalendar is found, is the first of two manuscripts forming a collection of sixty Anglo-Saxon sermons which appear to have been copied for the use of St. Wulfstan, at one time prior and afterwards bishop of Worcester.[2] Both volumes are in the Bodleian, where they are now catalogued as MSS. Hatton 113 and 114. The first was formerly known as MS. Junius 99. It is to this volume that the kalendar, which is in Latin, is prefixed. Its provenance was discussed in 1908 by Mr. Edmund Bishop in *The Bosworth Psalter* when, because of the presence in the kalendar of certain Evesham feasts to which he drew attention, he expressed the opinion that the manuscript must have belonged to that monastery.[3] At a later date the Rev. H. M. Bannister was able to make a more extended examination of the feasts and obits, and the evidence of both—but, perhaps, more particularly of the obits—enabled him, in his 'Note on MS. Hatton 113', to set out in detail arguments which, as he wrote, 'appear to connect it with the church and bishop of Worcester'.[4] These arguments were accepted by Dr. W. H. Frere, the present bishop of Truro, in 1921, when the kalendar was printed for the first time in the second volume of *The Leofric Collectar*,[5] edited by him. It was there set out in a valuable table of comparative kalendars of the church of Worcester from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.

Such is the brief account of the two kalendars which are the subject of the present paper. When placed side by side these documents show an affinity which is remarkable. That contained in St. Wulfstan's Homiliary was written about sixty years later than the kalendar in R, and consequently, as might be expected, the Homiliary kalendar includes many additional feasts; amongst them, of course, some specially associated with Worcester. But the remarkable feature of the Worcester kalendar is that, with the exception of the six feasts enumerated below, it reproduces all the feasts of R.[6] If R were a kalendar of the ordinary type, with no marked individuality, there would be nothing very striking in this wholesale adoption of its entries by WH. But the case is otherwise. Examination shows that it contains entries, reproduced by WH (and in some instances by one other Worcester kalendar contained in St. Wulfstan's Collectar), which apparently are found nowhere else in extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[1] Here, then, is a clear indication of close relationship between the two documents—a relationship which Mr. Edmund Bishop was the first to notice. Discussing the kalendar of R in *The Bosworth Psalter*,[2] where he printed a table of its unusual feasts, giving references to other documents in which they are found, Mr. Bishop pointed out that its affinities 'seem evidently to show that it (that is, a kalendar of this type) was at any rate a "source", direct or indirect, of the two kalendars [WH] and Wo[3] that have been commonly assigned to Worcester just before the Conquest'.

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[1] Its press-mark is Y. 6, and catalogue number MS. no. 274.

[2] Prior *c.* 1050, bishop of Worcester, 1062–95.

[3] *The Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 161–2.

[4] Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, Oxford, 1916, Appendix IV, p. lx.

[5] Henry Bradshaw Society, 1921.

[6] 2 Jan. Isidori. epī. 25 Jan. Proiecti. mar. 3 Mar. Adriani. 3 July. Transl. Thomae Aplī. 18 Aug. Elenae. reḡ. 29 Dec. Tibbae. uir.

It is to be noticed that WH alters or corrects the date of two feasts, namely, iv. Non. Mar. DCCC Mar̄. (at v Non. in R), Non. Mar. Perpetue et Felicitatis (at ii Non. in R), and iii. Id. Jul. Mildrythae uirg. (at iiii Id. in R), and adds to the entry at vi Id. Mai, septimi. cyrilli.

Admitting R then, or a kalendar of the same type, to be the basis of WH, it becomes imperative, if we are to solve the problem of the relationship between the two, that we should examine it carefully with a view to ascertaining, if possible, for what church it was intended.

When, in 1896, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges was published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, Mr. H. A. Wilson, its editor, came to the conclusion that the manuscript from which it was printed was written by a scribe of the Winchester school, either in the Old or the New Minster (the New, perhaps, rather than the Old), and that there were no sufficient grounds for stating that it was specially intended for any other monastery than that in which it seemed to have been written.[4] It was his view that the evidence of the kalendar and the *Proprium Sanctorum* distinctly indicated that the book must be connected with Winchester. M. André Pottier, after a like study of kalendar and *Proprium*, had expressed the opinion that the book was written for use at Ely, and, in support of his view, drew attention to the presence, in the Canon of the Mass and in the Litany, of saints connected with that monastery, namely, Etheldreda, Sexburga, Withburga, and Eormenhilda.[1]

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[1] 17 Mar. Uuitburgę. uirḡ. (R, WH, Wo).

1 Apr. Beati Baronti monachi (R, WH only). The usual date is 25 Mar. The *Martyrologium Gallicanum* (du Saussy, Paris, 1637) has at 8 Kal. Apr. Dep. Barontii et Desiderii monachorum qui natione Galli . . .

21 June. Apollonaris. mar. (R, WH, Wo). All three MSS. include also the more usual feast at 23 July).

23 Aug. Timothei et Apollonaris (of Reims. R, WH). This feast occurs also in a St. Albans kalendar of xi cent.

[2] pp. 160–1. When Mr. Bishop drew up this table the Bury Psalter kalendar does not seem to have been in his possession. It is to be noted now that the following, which appear in his table of rare feasts, are found in that kalendar also; Peter the Deacon (20 Apr.), Wilfrid (24 Apr.), John of Beverley (7 May), Transl. of St. Andrew (9 May), Christina (19 July), Amandus (26 Oct.), and Benedict (4 Dec.).

[3] The symbol WH stands for MS. Junius 99, now MS. Hatton 113 (Wulfstan's Homiliary); the symbol Wo for C.C.C.C. MS. 391 (Wulfstan's Collectar). The latter kalendar is printed in the *Leofric Collectar*, vol. ii, pp. 589–600. Wo has many fewer of the unusual feasts which are common to R and WH; we may therefore leave the kalendar of Wulfstan's Collectar out of consideration in this paper.

[4] *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* (H. B. S.), London, 1896, Introduction, pp. xxxix–xl.

In discussing the provenance of the kalendar at a later date (1908) Mr. Edmund Bishop declared himself unable 'to make any suggestion as to the place where, or the particular church (if any) for which the missal may have been written', but expressed the opinion that the number of Winchester feasts that it contained was 'not satisfactory—still less, cogent—evidence of its connexion with Winchester'. The utmost, he thought, that could be said was that it was 'doubtless the earliest extant example of that wholesale adoption of such feasts which soon became general'.[2]

It will be well, then, to make a fresh examination of the kalendar, dealing first with this question of Winchester feasts. Mr. Bishop has shown that during the eleventh century these were freely adopted by other churches and that this free adoption was 'the cause in the past of the assignment to Winchester of kalendars which, when fully considered and examined in their various constituent elements, appear not only to be not kalendars of Winchester but also to follow a different tradition and to rest on a different basis'.[3] It is no longer necessary to labour this point, but the following table will show at a glance how widespread the adoption was. The table shows the feasts specially associated with Winchester which are found in three Winchester kalendars and in six kalendars of other churches. The three Winchester kalendars quoted are:

WT = Brit. Mus. Titus D. xxvii New Minster *c.* 1030
WV = Brit. Mus. Vitellius E. xviii Old Minster *c.* 1050
A. 60 = Brit. Mus. MS. Arundel 60 ,, Post Conquest

while the kalendars of churches adopting these feasts are indicated thus:

R = Missal of Robert of Jumièges xi cent. *init.*
Bu = Bury Psalter (MS. Vatic. Reg. 12) 1032–5[4]
Cr = Crowland Psalter (MS. Douce 296) xi cent.[5]
Sh = Sherborne Sacramentary (C.C.C.C. MS. 422) *c.* 1060
WH = Wulfstan's Homiliary (Worcester) (Hatton MS. 113) 1064–70
Wo = Wulfstan's Collectar (Worcester) (C.C.C.C. MS. 391) 1064–93

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[1] E. Frère, *Manuel du Bibliographe normand*, Rouen, 1860, vol. ii, pp. 310 sqq.

[2] *The Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 161–2.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–2.

[4] The date of this kalendar turns on the date of the Translations of St. Hiurminus (24 Jan.) and St. Botulf (14 Feb.). As these translations were carried out under the sanction of Canute, it seems reasonable to suppose that they were effected in the lifetime of that king. But the evidence is conflicting.

[5] This kalendar is sometimes assigned to Peterborough, but, apart from other evidence, the presence of two notable Crowland feasts, that of St. Pega (8 Jan.), and the Translation of St. Guthlac (30 Aug.), neither of which is found in any other kalendar, shows conclusively that it is a kalendar of Crowland. Mr. Edmund Bishop (MS. note-book, no. ix) and Dr. W. H. Frere (MS. Collations of Kalendars) ascribe it to Crowland.

Winchester Feasts.

		Winchester.							Worcester.	
		WT	WV	A. 60	R	Bu	Cr	Sh	WH	Wo[1]
9 Jan.	Translation of Judoc	—	—	—		—		—		—
12 Mar.	Elphege		—							
15 June.	Eadburga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2 July.	Swithun	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 ,,	Hedda	—	—	—			—			—
8 ,,	Grimbald	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 ,,	Translation of Swithun	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 Aug.	Ethelwold	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Sept.	Translation of Birinus and Cuthbert[2]	—	—	—	—	—	Cuth.	—	—	—[3]
10 ,,	Translation of Ethelwold	—	—	—	*	—	—	—		—
18 Oct.	Justus	—	—	—	*		—	—	—	—
30 ,,	Ordination of Swithun		—		—				—	
4 Nov.	Birnstan	—	—	—						—
3 Dec.	Birinus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10 ,,	Octave of Birinus		—	—						—
13 ,,	Judoc	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		13	16	14	9	10	10	11	10	14

* In Sanctorale of R only.

From this table we see that of sixteen feasts in the Winchester kalendar, Vitellius E. xviii, ten or eleven are found in the calendars of Bury St. Edmunds, Crowland, and Sherborne, while the late eleventh-century Worcester Collectar includes as many as fourteen. The Missal of R has nine only. While this is what one would expect in a non-Winchester book it is clearly an insufficient number for one intended for Winchester use.

We may now examine R in regard to the grading of the feasts of English saints in the kalendar and *Sanctorale*. In the kalendar we find, as Mr. H. A. Wilson has pointed out, that the high festivals are divided into three classes, each being distinguished thus:

Class I	by the use of		gold uncial characters.
Class II	,,	,,	gold rustic capitals.
Class III	,,	,,	gold minuscule.

In the *Sanctorale* the masses for the principal feasts are distinguished by having their first words written in gold, some having the added distinction of full-page illuminations.[4]

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[1] From Kalendar and *Sanctorale*.

[2] A Festival of St. Cuthbert at 4 Sept. is found in the ninth-century kalendar, MS. Digby 63.

[3] Cuthbert in a later hand.

[4] Amongst the latter we may note the masses for St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew; each has a full-page illumination, and each the whole of its first page written in gold.

With this to guide us we find that the grading of feasts of English saints is as follows:

In the Kalendar:

Feasts of the first class	Edward (K. and M.). Cuthbert. Augustine.
Feasts of the second class	Etheldreda. Ethelwold (Deposition).
Feast of the third class	Tibba.

In the *Sanctorale*:

English saints whose masses have their first words written in gold:

Cuthbert,
Dunstan,[1]
Augustine,
Etheldreda,
Ethelwold (Deposition).

It will be seen that in the main both lists agree. The only distinctive feasts appear to be those of Etheldreda, Ethelwold, and Tibba, while it is noticeable that the list includes only one Winchester feast.

We may now turn our attention to the masses provided for feasts of English saints. Here we find Winchester represented by

Translation of Swithun (971),
Deposition of Ethelwold (984),
Translation of Ethelwold (996),
Birinus.

East Anglia by

Eormenhild,
Guthlac,
Botulf,
Alban,
Etheldreda,
Edmund (King).

The remaining English saints for whom provision is made are:

Augustine,
Cuthbert,
Dunstan,
Oswald (King),
Kenelm,
Edward (K. and M.).

In considering the provision made for Winchester saints we are struck by the absence of the older feasts, e.g. the two of Judoc, the Deposition of Swithun, and the feasts of Edburga and Grimbald. To all of these the highest rank is accorded in the Winchester kalendar, Arundel MS. 60. On the other hand, prominence is given to three late tenth-century feasts, namely, the Translation of St. Swithun and the two feasts of Ethelwold, festivals which are not specially distinguished in Arundel MS. 60. The distinction given to these three feasts is at once remarkable and suggestive. We are reminded of that great religious movement of the tenth century towards the re-establishment of monasticism in England, in which St. Ethelwold took so prominent a part—a movement which, as Ælfric in his *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi* has pointed out, was greatly helped by the many miracles said to have been wrought at the tomb of St. Swithun after the translation of that saint's remains in the year 971.[1]

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[1] St. Dunstan's name does not appear in the kalendar.

But we must defer further consideration of this line of inquiry to a later stage, merely pointing out, at the moment, that on the score of Winchester feasts there has been little evidence to show that the Missal of Robert of Jumièges was intended for use at Winchester.

We must now turn to examine the martyrological entries of R. As Mr. Edmund Bishop has remarked, 'these items of our ancient kalendars . . . are the most important of all for ascertaining the real filiation or relationship of documents of this class'.[2] For the purpose of such inquiry the following Anglo-Saxon kalendars are available:

	WESSEX	
	Salisbury MS. 150	*c.* 950
Glastonbury	Leofric Missal	*c.* 980
Winchester	Titus D. xxvii	*c.* 1030
	Vitellius E. xviii	*c.* 1050
	Arundel MS. 60	*c.* 1070
Sherborne	C.C.C.C. MS. 422	*c.* 1060
? Wells	Vitellius A. xviii	*c.* 1060–80 [3]
Wessex	Cotton MS. Nero A. II	? 1030 [4]
	CANTERBURY	
Bosworth Psalter	B.M. Add. MS. 37517	x cent. (*fin.*).
	EAST ANGLIA	
Bury	MS. Vatic. Reg. 12	1032–5
Crowland	Bodl. MS. Douce 296	xi cent.
	NORTHERN	
? York	Bodl. Digby MS. 63	*c.* 870 [5]
	WORCESTER	
Wulfstan's Homiliary	Bodl. Hatton MS. 113	1064–70

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[1] 'Atheluuoldus . . . Cujus praedicationem maxime juvit sanctus Suuithunus; eodem tempore relevatus; quia quod Atheluuoldus verbis edocuit, hoc Suuithunus miraculis mirifice decoravit.' *Vita S. Æthelw.* in *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ii, 262 (R. S.).

[2] *Bosworth Psalter*, p. 19.

[3] This kalendar has recently been examined in detail by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson in *Muchelney Memoranda* (Somerset Record Soc., 1928).

[4] Printed in *Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 165–71, and assigned by Mr. Edmund Bishop to 'furthermost Wessex'.

[5] Mr. Edmund Bishop has investigated this kalendar and has shown it to be of Northern origin. He suggests that it may be a kalendar of York. *Bosworth Psalter*, p. 158.

Of seventy-two martyrological entries comprised in the kalendar, twenty-seven are not found in either of the three Winchester kalendars. Even allowing for the fact that the kalendar in R probably belongs to the beginning of the eleventh century, whilst that of the earliest of the extant Winchester kalendars belongs to a period about thirty years later, the absence of so many must be considered remarkable. But a further examination shows that the following are not found in *any* of the eight Wessex kalendars enumerated, while only one of the entries is found in the Canterbury kalendar:

1.	28 Feb.	Oswald (archbp.).
2.	17 Mar.	Withburga, V.
3.	1 April.	Barontus (monk).
4.	20 „	Peter the Deacon.
5.	21 June.	Apollinaris.
6.	3 July.	Transl. of Thomas (Ap.).
7.	19 „	Christina, V.
8.	23 Aug.	Timothy and Apollinaris.

Of these no. 1 is found in Bury, Crowland, and Wulfstan's Homiliary,
no. 4 in D (the northern kalendar), and „ „
no. 6 in Canterbury, Bury, and „ „

while nos. 2, 3, 5, 8, only occur elsewhere in the Homiliary. There are other entries common to R, Wulfstan's Homiliary, and one or more of the kalendars of the East Anglian group, which are found in only one Wessex kalendar. Such are the following, found only in Cotton MS. Nero A. II:[1]

8 Feb.	Cuthman.
27 „	Invention of the head of St. John Bapt.
7 May.	John of Beverley.
9 „	Translation of St. Andrew.
18 Aug.	Helena.

while Wilfrid, 24 April, is found only in Salisbury MS. 150, of the Wessex kalendars quoted; and Ethelbert, K and M, only in Sherborne. Thus the results of our examination tend to establish an affinity between the kalendars of R, Bury, Crowland, and Wulfstan's Homiliary.

We may now take up the line of inquiry suggested by the emphasis thrown upon the late tenth-century Winchester feasts connected with Saints Ethelwold and Swithun. St. Ethelwold, guided by Dunstan, was largely instrumental in rebuilding the monasteries which had been destroyed by the Danes towards the close of the ninth century. Of the monasteries restored and refounded by him none stands out more prominently than Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, whose foundation charters are dated 970, 972, and 973 respectively. About the same time, St. Oswald, who held the sees of Worcester and York together, working again under the inspiration of Dunstan, turned his attention to Ramsey, where Ethelwin had offered to build a monastery for him. Ramsey's charter is dated 974, but as early as 969, or thereabouts, Oswald had planted there a small body of monks drawn from his foundation at Westbury-on-Trym. That the bishop was greatly interested in the newly revived East Anglian monasteries is shown by the fact that he attested all four charters of Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, and Ramsey.

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[1] This kalendar, which appears to show East Anglian or Northern influence in some of its entries, is examined in detail by Mr. Edmund Bishop (*Bosworth Psalter*, pp. 152-3).

The question now arises, Is it possible that R was written for one or other of these monasteries? Before attempting an answer we must possess ourselves of certain further evidence of possible provenance contained in the body of the Missal, but not present in the kalendar. Let us take the Litany.

No English saint is found in the group of martyrs, but the presence there of Florentinus suggests a connexion with the translation of that saint's body to Peterborough in 1016.[1]

The English names amongst the confessors are Cuthbert and Guthlac, the one of northern, the other of East Anglian origin.

The English virgin saints are in two groups, separated by Petronilla, the patron saint of France. In the first are

Aetheldryth, Uuitburh,
Sexburh, Eormenhild,

all four associated with Ely. In the second are

Cynesuuith,
Cyneburh,
Timba,

three saints associated with Peterborough, and, like those in the Ely group, closely related by ties of kinship. The name Timba is identical with Tibba.

Mr. H. A. Wilson drew attention to another possible clue. 'In the series of prayers for use in different parts of the monastery', he says, 'there is one intended for use at the entrance to the church, which speaks of the place as having been hallowed in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew.'[2]

With these further clues to work upon let us consider the claims of each monastery in turn. We may begin with Ely, testing the kalendar of R by the provision which it makes for the festivals peculiar to that church. These, like those of Winchester, were adopted widely by other churches in the eleventh century. Only one, that of Ercongotha (21 Feb.), appears to be confined to Ely. Others, as for example the two feasts of Etheldreda (23 June and 17 Oct.), those of Sexburga (6 July), and Eormenhilda (13 Feb.), are found in the kalendars of R, Bury, Crowland, Winchester, Sherborne, and Wulfstan's Homiliary. The two feasts of Withburga are of rarer occurrence. Apart from Ely kalendars the Deposition (17 Mar.) is found only in R and WH; the Translation (8 July), only in Crowland, Sherborne, and the late tenth-century Canterbury kalendar.[1] The omission from R of this last feast, which commemorates the translation of the saint's remains from Dereham to Ely by Brihtnoth,[2] the first abbot of Ely, in the year 974, is significant. Withburga was the sister of Etheldreda, and the feast of her translation was one of the important Ely festivals. We have seen that the feast is already found at Canterbury by the end of the tenth century; its absence, then, from R, coupled with the absence of the feast of Ercongotha, must be taken as clear proof that R was not intended for use at Ely.

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[1] When, in 1013, Queen Emma was sent oversea for her safety to the court of her brother Richard of Normandy, she was accompanied in her journey by Ælfsi, abbot of Peterborough, who is said to have remained there three years with the queen. During his stay in France Ælfsi bought the body of Florentinus from the monks of Bonneval who, however, retained the saint's head. The body would therefore appear to have been brought over in 1016 (Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, 1786, pp. 14, 251; *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Thorpe), ii, 119).

[2] *Missal of R. of J.*, p. xxxviii. The prayer will be found on p. 279.

Thorney's claims may be quickly disposed of. The church was built 'to the praise of the Trinity'[3] and a remarkable feature in its history was the translation thither by Ethelwold of the bodies of Botulf, Athulf, Huna, Tancred, Tothred, Hereferth, Cissa, Tova, and Benedict Biscop.[4] The only one of these saints commemorated in R is Botulf.

Nor is Ramsey promising. The Translation of St. Benedict, 11 July, is wanting in R, and it is unthinkable that this Fleury feast could be missed, even through carelessness, from a book intended for use in a church which owed its foundation to St. Oswald.

Moreover we should expect to find some mention of others whose bodies lay at Ramsey, e.g. Felix, first bishop of East Anglia, and Ethelred and Ethelbert. Possibly, too, the Invention of Ivo, 24 April (1001), and the Translation of Oswald, archbp. (1002), would have found a place.

When we turn to Peterborough we are on firmer ground. Keneswitha, Keneburga, and Timba, whose names are found in the Litany, are closely connected with that monastery. The two first were daughters of Penda, king of Mercia, and were present with their brother King Wulfhere at the hallowing of the monastery in 664 and afterwards attested the king's grant to it. Their bodies lay at Castor, and that of Tibba (or Timba), their kinswoman, at Ryhall.

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[1] In *Bosworth Psalter*.

[2] *Gesta Pontificum*, Will. of Malmesbury (R. S.), p. 324.

[3] *The Times of St. Dunstan*, J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Oxford, 1923, p. 117.

[4] *Gesta Pontificum*, Will. of Malmesbury (R. S.), pp. 327, n. 4, and 328.

The remains of all three, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle tells us,[1] were translated to Peterborough in one day and offered to St. Peter by Ælfsi the abbot.[2] The feast of the translation was kept on 6 March,[3] and according to Capgrave the translation took place in 1005.[4] If we are to understand by this the old reckoning of the year, i.e. 6 March 1005/6, this would agree with Howorth, who, without giving his authority, places it in 1006.[5] It cannot have been before that year, for the 'Peterborough' Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expressly states that the translation was carried out by Ælfsi, and we know that Kenulf, who was Ælfsi's immediate predecessor as abbot of Peterborough, only succeeded Alphege as bishop of Winchester in November 1005.[6] We may therefore place the date of the translation at 6 March 1006.

It was probably one of Ælfsi's first acts as abbot and it would be quite in keeping with what we should expect of him, for he is said by Gunton to have been 'very inquisitive after relics'. The same abbot, as we have already seen, brought the body of Florentinus to Peterborough in 1016, and the presence of that saint's name in the Litany of R is further evidence connecting that missal with Peterborough. There is yet one further link between the two. It will be remembered that the church for whose use the missal was intended is said to have been consecrated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew. Now the Peterborough addition to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, under the year 656, that the monastery of Medeshamstede [Peterborough] was hallowed in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew.[7] It will be noticed that the name of the Virgin is missing here. It is possible that it was added later, but it is not necessary, perhaps, to attach much importance to its absence.[8] Nor does the fact that the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was written between 1121 and 1155 weaken the case, for it shows that this was the tradition down to the twelfth century. Moreover, there is further confirmation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle statement in the fact that the abbey was re-dedicated to the same saints in 1237.[9]

Let us now sum up and tabulate the results of our investigation of R.

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (Thorpe), ii. 96.

[2] Ælfsi succeeded Kenulf, who was appointed bishop of Winchester in 1005.

[3] The feast does not appear in the kalendar of R (for reasons which will be suggested later).

[4] *Nova Legenda Anglie,* f. ccxxiii. 'Anno autem domini millesimo quinto reliquie sanctorum Kyneburge et Kyneswide et Tibba ad monasterium de Sancti Petri cum magno honore translate sunt.'

[5] Howorth, *Golden Days of the English Church,* iii, 209.

[6] *The Times of St. Dunstan,* Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, Oxford, 1923, p. 106.

[7] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Plummer, i, 30.

[8] Dr. J. Armitage Robinson has drawn my attention to the fact that St. Mary became popular in dedications in the Dunstan-Oswald-Ethelwold period.

[9] Murray's *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England,* Eastern Division, London, 1862, p. 60.

We have found:

(1) That its kalendar shows distinct affinity to those of the East Anglian churches of Bury and Crowland, and also to that in Wulfstan's Homiliary, MS. Hatton 113, the provenance of which has not yet been ascertained.

(2) That its kalendar includes the Peterborough feast of Tibba, or Timba, to which it gives distinction by the use of gold minuscule.

(3) That the Litany invokes amongst martyrs St. Florentinus, whose relics were brought to Peterborough monastery about 1016; and amongst virgins, Saints Cyneswith, Cyneburga, and Timba, three saints associated with Peterborough, whose remains were translated to that monastery in 1006.

(4) That the dedication of Peterborough monastery to Saints Peter, Paul, and Andrew, as recorded by the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (and confirmed by the later ceremony of 1237 or 1238), is, save for the omission of the name of the Blessed Virgin Mary, identical with that of the dedication of the church for whose use the Missal of R was intended.[1]

These findings can only point to one conclusion, namely, that the Missal of Robert of Jumièges was written for use in the abbey of Peterborough. The consideration of the probable date of the manuscript, and of the place where it was written, must be deferred for the moment in order that we may investigate the source of the kalendar of St. Wulfstan's Homiliary —a kalendar so closely related to that in R as to reproduce practically all its entries. Is it possible to discover the reason for this relationship, and to account satisfactorily for the presence in a Worcester book of a kalendar which our investigations so far have shown to be one of Peterborough Abbey? It is, I think, possible to do so, and the explanation which I shall now offer of their connexion, while at once interesting almost to the point of romance, will, I hope, prove both accurate and convincing. It is bound up with the history of St. Wulfstan. Born about 1008, Wulfstan received his early education at Evesham Abbey. From Evesham he passed to Peterborough, where under Abbot Kenulf (992–1005) the school of the monastery had gained a great reputation. The principal authority for St. Wulfstan is the life by William of Malmesbury, printed in *Anglia Sacra*,[2] which that historian tells us was substantially a translation into Latin of one in Anglo-Saxon, written by Colman, who was for fifteen years chaplain to St. Wulfstan and died in the year 1113. In that life there is an account of an incident which occurred at Peterborough on the occasion of a visit to the abbey by King Canute and his queen, Emma, of which the following is a translation:

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[1] It is perhaps worth noting that, amongst the masses specially distinguished in the *Sanctorale*, those for St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew have each a full-page illumination and each its first page written in gold. See *ante*, p. 223, note 4.

[2] *Anglia Sacra*, ii, pp. 241–70. The *Vita Wulfstani* has since been reprinted by the Royal Historical Society (Autumn, 1928) under the editorship of Mr. R. R. Darlington. The work is for the first time printed in its entirety.

> At that time he [Wulfstan] had a master named Ervenius, skilled in writing and depicting anything in colours. This man arranged that some manuscripts, a sacramentary, and a psalter, the capital letters of which he had figured in gold, should be entrusted to the boy Wulfstan. He, captivated by the marvel of the precious initials, while scrutinizing their beauty with intent gaze, drinks in also to his innermost marrow a knowledge of the words. But the teacher, looking to worldly profit, in the hope of a more valuable reward, presented the sacramentary to the then king, Canute, and the psalter to the queen, Emma. The cost of this transaction wounded the boy's soul, and he heaved deep sighs from the bottom of his heart. Grief induced sleep, and lo, as he slept, there stood by him a man of angelic countenance who banished his sadness, promising the restoration of the books. Nor did anything less than was promised ensue, but long afterwards, as the continuation of the narrative goes on to show.[1]

This incident may be dated about 1020–5. If the story had stopped short of the dream and its prophecy, it would have been tempting to have identified the sacramentary with the Missal of Robert of Jumièges itself, and the psalter with the illuminated psalter given by Queen Emma to her brother Archbishop Robert, which eventually found its way to St. Evroul's monastery.[2] But, as will be seen later, the Ervenius sacramentary must have been written about twenty years after the Missal of R.

In a later page of the life William of Malmesbury returns to the story, showing that many years later both manuscripts came once again into Wulfstan's hands, and in the most unexpected way. This came about, as we shall see, through Aldred, bishop of Worcester, who in the year 1054 was sent to Cologne by King Edward the Confessor, on an embassy to the Emperor Henry the Third.[3] Aldred is said to have remained about the space of a year in Germany and to have been the guest of Heriman, archbishop of Cologne, returning to Worcester in 1055.[4] He had held the see from 1046, and during these nine years must have been brought into intimate relationship with Wulfstan, who had held various offices in the monastery before he became prior of Worcester somewhere about the year 1050. What follows is a translation of the further extract from the *Vita S. Wlstani.*

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[1] Habebat tunc Magistrum Ervenium nomine, in scribendo & quidlibet coloribus effingendo peritum. Is libros scriptos, Sacramentarium & Psalterium, quorum principales literas auro effigiaverit [effigiauerat in *Vita Wulfstani*, R. H. S. 1928], puero Wlstano delegandos curavit. Ille preciosorum apicum captus miraculo, dum pulchritudinem intentis oculis rimatur, & scientiam literarum internis haurit medullis. Verum doctor ad saeculi spectans commodum, spe majoris praemii Sacramentarium Regi tunc temporis Cnutoni, Psalterium Emmae Reginae contribuit. Perculit puerilem animum facti dispendium; & ex imo pectore alta traxit suspiria. Moeror invitavit somnum; & ecce consopito assistens vir vultus Angelici tristitiam propulsat, librorum reformationem promittit. Nec minus pollicito sed multo post evenit; sicut progrediens sermo dicere perget. *Vita S. Wlstani. Anglia Sacra*, ii, p. 244.

[2] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii, 236 (3rd ed.). The book is described as 'Codex literis aureis scriptus, in quo nomina sanctorum distincta cum imaginibus continebantur'.

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Thorpe), ii, 155.

[4] *Flor. Wigorn.* (Thorpe), i, 212.

Meanwhile King Edward sent Bishop Aldred to the elder emperor at Cologne, to settle certain affairs, the knowledge of which our present business does not require. The bishop found favour in the eyes of his Imperial Majesty, and after pursuing his toils for some days took a rest. Either from respect to his personal character, or on the ground that he was the envoy of so great a king, various people offered him various gifts, but one gave him for a present the sacramentary and psalter which I mentioned above. For both these manuscripts had formerly been sent by Canute to Cologne, that he might establish a pleasant impression of himself among the German peoples. So Aldred, without knowing the prophecy which had once been uttered to Wulfstan, when he had sailed back to England, thinking that the manuscripts were a suitable gift for Wulfstan alone, having regard to the nobility of his character, restored them to him. Wulfstan accepted the heaven-sent trust, expressing profound gratitude, and thanking God because he was not being deprived of the sacred object of his affection.[1]

This story, then, which comes to us from Colman, a close friend of St. Wulfstan, appears to furnish a complete explanation of the Homiliary kalendar. We have seen that in 1055 Wulfstan received from Bishop Aldred the sacramentary and psalter which had been written at Peterborough, probably about 1020–5, by Ervenius or, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the name, in English, Arnwi. Here, then, is the link between R and WH. Neither sacramentary nor psalter has survived, but shortly after the manuscripts came into his hands Wulfstan had a copy made of the kalendar contained in one or other of them. To this copy, which was probably made *c.* 1064–70,[2] he caused to be added other entries[3] and obits from an older Worcester kalendar. Thus expanded, the kalendar was prefixed to a collection of sermons used by him, the whole forming MS. Hatton 112 and 113, now known as the Homiliary of St. Wulfstan.

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[1] Interea Rex Edwardus Aldredum Episcopum Coloniam ad Seniorem Imperatorem Henricum direxit, quædam negotia, quorum cognitionem causa non flagitat, compositurum. Qui cum in Imperatoriæ augustæ dignationis oculis invenisset gratiam; aliquot ibi dierum continuatione laborum suorum accepit pausam. Ei seu pro sui reverentiâ, seu quia tanti Regis legatus esset, multi multa, quidam Sacramentarium et Psalterium, de quibus supra dixi, dedit in exenium. Ambos enim Codices, ut suæ memoriæ apud illas gentes locaret gratiam, Cnuto quondam miserat Coloniam. Aldredus ergo prophetiæ quondam Wlstano dictæ ignarus, patriam cum renavigâsset, libros pro merito vitæ illi soli arbitratus competere restituit. Suscepit ille cœleste depositum, magnificè gratulatus, & gratias agens Deö, quod religioso non fraudaretur desiderio. *Vita S. Wlstani. Anglia Sacra*, ii, p. 249.

[2] See Turner, *Early Worc. MSS.*, Appendix iv, p. lxii, where, after examining its obits, the late Rev. H. M. Bannister discussed the question of the probable date of the kalendar, and attempted a reconstruction of its history.

[3] Amongst such added entries is an interesting group of Glastonbury feasts which probably owed their place in a Worcester kalendar either to St. Dunstan or to bishop Living (1039-46), who held the see of Worcester together with that of Crediton, and had been a monk of Glastonbury (Will. of Malmesbury, quoted in *Leofric Missal*, p. liv, note 7). One of these, the Translation of Aidan and Ceolfrith, 8 Oct., now survives only in this kalendar and in MS. Bodl. Jun. A. 99.

The result of these investigations, then, is to show that the Homiliary kalendar is a copy of one of Peterborough written at that monastery by the monk Ervenius, or Arnwi, *circa* 1020–5, with additions made at Worcester, probably *c.* 1064–70, from a kalendar current there at the time. In fixing upon 1020–5 as the probable date for the writing of the Ervenius sacramentary we are guided by two known facts, namely, Wulfstan's presence as a youth at Peterborough and the visit of King Canute and Queen Emma.[1] This conjectural date is supported by the fact that the kalendar of that sacramentary, as it survives in the Homiliary copy, contains later feasts, peculiar to other later East Anglian kalendars, which are not found in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges.

Date of the Kalendar of R

It is clear from the many discrepancies between the kalendar and *Sanctorale* of the Missal that they are not both of the same date. The *Sanctorale* provides masses for many feasts not noted in the kalendar,[2] and while the omission there of one or two of the feasts may be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe, the absence from the kalendar of the Translation of Ethelwold (10 Sept.)—a translation which took place in 996—and of the Deposition of Dunstan (988) goes far to prove that the kalendar is, at least in substance, of earlier date than the rest of the book. The governing factor in determining the latest date at which it may have been written is the Translation of Kyneburga, Kyneswitha, and Tibba (6 Mar.). This important Peterborough feast finds a place in the kalendars of Bury and Crowland[3] (and the later Peterborough kalendars) but does not appear in R, where only the earlier feast of Tibba (29 Dec.) is commemorated. This latter feast, which is distinguished in the kalendar of R by the use of gold minuscule (indicating a festival of the third class), disappears from all later Peterborough books. If we are right in accepting 1006 as the year in which the relics of the three saints were translated it follows that the kalendar must have been written before that year. It seems probable, then, that it was written between the years 1000 and 1006.[4] The absence of the Translation of Ethelwold (996) would suggest the earlier rather than the later date. It has been pointed out in an earlier page[1] that the translation of St. Cuthbert, 4 Sept., occurs in the ninth-century MS. Digby 63, and so is not to be connected, as Mr. Wilson thought,[2] with the year 995. The presence in the kalendar of the feast of Edward the Martyr (18 Mar.) need present no difficulty, for it is known that that king was officially styled martyr as early as 1001.[3] Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb after the translation of his remains to Shaftesbury in 982, so that it is probable that the day of his martyrdom was commemorated in church kalendars by or before the end of the eleventh century.

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[1] The marriage of Canute with the Lady Emma took place in 1017.

[2] Jan. (undated) Basil; 22 Jan., Vincent; 10 Feb., Zoticus cum sociis; 3 May, Juvenal; 19 May, Dunstan; 26 June, John and Paul; 11 July, Benedict; 25 Aug., Audoen; 9 Sept., Audomar; ? 9 (the date assigned in the Sanctorale is uncertain) Sept., Transl. of Ethelwold; 1 Oct., Vedast and Bavo (with Remigius and German); 18 Oct., Justus; 20 Nov., Edmund; 23 Nov., Felicitas; 7 Dec., Octave of St. Andrew. All of these except Zoticus occur in Bury or Crowland kalendars, or in both, and most of them are found in the Homiliary kalendar.

[3] Bury. ii Non. Mar. Transl. Kynesþyðe atque Kyneburge. Crowland (same date). Sc̄arum Kyneburge et Kynesþyðe atque Tibbae. The Bury order of the names agrees with that in the Litany of R. The later Peterborough kalendars agree with Crowland.

[4] The Easter tables given on fo. 15 v° of the Missal begin with the year 1000.

Where the Missal was written

Any attempt to solve this question must necessarily involve an inquiry as to the origin of the Benedictional of Ethelwold, for it was the considered judgement of Professor Westwood that both manuscripts proceeded from the same place and were executed about the same time.[4]

It is usually asserted that the Benedictional was written at Winchester, the latest research assigning it to the old monastery.[5] Godeman, who is generally accepted as the writer of the manuscript, was a monk of the Old Minster, and afterwards chaplain to Ethelwold. He is said to have been appointed abbot of Thorney by Ethelwold after the rebuilding of the monastery by that bishop about 970. For the purpose of our inquiry it is necessary to test the truth of this statement.

It appears to have escaped notice that the earliest reference to Godeman's appointment as abbot is to be found in Ælfric's *Life of St. Ethelwold*, in a passage which describes the restoration of the three monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, the establishment of monks there, and the appointments of the various abbots set over them. Some of Ælfric's statements, as we shall see later, conflict with others in the Ely and Thorney charters, and in the later Thorney register. It will be worth while, therefore, quoting the passage in its entirety. It should be noted that Ælfric's *Life of St. Ethelwold* was written, as we learn from the manuscript itself, twenty years after Ethelwold's death, therefore probably in 1004.

After describing Ethelwold's introduction of monks into the New Minster the writer proceeds to deal with Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney. Of Ely he says: 'It was ennobled by the relics and miracles of St. Etheldreda the virgin and her sisters, but was at that time derelict and given over to the royal purse. Ethelwold bought it from the king, and established there many monks, setting over them as father his disciple Brihtnoth: he enriched it abundantly with buildings and lands.'[1] Of Peterborough: 'A second place, lying on the bank of the river Nen, called in former times Medeshamstede, now generally known as Burh, he acquired by purchase from the king and the nobles of the land; and having planted monks there, placed over them as abbot, Adulph, who afterwards held the archbishopric of York.' Of Thorney he writes: 'A third place, called Thorney, lying close to the same river [Nen], he bought, and assigned to monks in the same way; and having built a monastery established Godeman as its abbot, abundantly endowing it with possessions.'[2]

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[1] p. 223, note 2.

[2] *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Introduction, p. xxiv.

[3] Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* 706.

[4] *Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.*, J. O. Westwood, London, 1868, pp. 136 sqq.

[5] *The Benedictional of Saint Ethelwold*, Roxburghe Club, 1920, introduction by Sir George Warner, p. xiv.

It will be noticed from the last sentence that Ælfric, writing at a time when Godeman was apparently still alive,[3] states that Ethelwold after he had built Thorney established Godeman there as abbot. Later writers, possibly following Ælfric, tell the same story. Thus John of Tynemouth, writing of Ethelwold's rebuilding of Ely and Peterborough monasteries, continues:

> Tertium nihilominus locum pretio adquisivit, qui propter spineta circumquaque subcrescentia, Thorneya nuncupatum, monachos ibidem statuit, et Godmannum eis abbatem praefecit.[4]

Henry of Pytchley in his note on the foundation of Thorney has the following:

> The said convent of Medeshamstede [Peterborough] . . . was afterwards gloriously restored to its ancient state by Ethelwold, and this same bishop repaired the church in Ancarige, now called Thorney. . . . Now the bishop did set Godeman to be over this monastery and richly endowed it with goods.[5]

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[1] Translation from *The Times of St. Dunstan*, p. 118.

[2] *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, in *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (R. S.), ii, 261–2. Est igitur locus in regione quae vocatur Elig, nobilitatus nimium reliquiis et miraculis Sanctae Aeldrithae virgini ac sororum ejus; sed erat tunc destitutus et regali fisco deditus, quem emebat Atheluuoldus a rege, constituens in eo monachos perplures, quibus praefecit patrem, Brinthothum nomine, discipulum suum; locumque affluentissime ditavit aedificiis et terris. Alterum vero locum adquisivit a rege et a nobilibus terrae, situm in ripa fluminis Nen, qui lingua Anglorum antiquitus Medeshamstede, modo consuete Burh nominatur, quo simili modo monachos congregavit, Aldulfum eis abbatem praeficiens, qui postmodum archiepiscopatum Eboracae civitatis obtinuit. Tertium quoque locum praetio adquisivit, juxta praedictum flumen, Thorniae Anglice nuncupatum, quem eadem conditione monachis delegavit; constructoque monasterio, abbatem ejusdem, Godomannum vocabulo, constituit, et possessionibus abundanter ditavit.

[3] 'Abbot Godeman' appears as a witness down to 1012. *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (R. S.), i, 425. See also *The Benedictional of Ethelwold* (Roxburghe Club), p. xiv.

[4] *Historia Aurea*, quoted in *Liber de Hyda*, p. 182 (R. S.).

[5] *Northants Record Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 2 (translated by W. T. Mellows).

Rudborne, in the second half of the fifteenth century, wrote as follows of Thorney:

> Monachos ibidem statuit, et Godemannum eis abbatem praefecit, circa annum Gratiae DCCCCLXX, ut refert Johannes in Historea Aurea.[1]

but here, as we have seen, there is an error, for the year of the appointment is not named by John of Tynemouth.

Leland has:

> Quem locum de Thornig Ethelwoldus pretio acquisivit, et pari conditione monachis aptissimum delegavit, rectorem illis et abbatem Godemannum praeponens.[2]

So far all these authorities agree in the statement that Godeman was appointed abbot of Thorney by St. Ethelwold, after that bishop's restoration of the monastery.[3]

We must now turn to the Thorney records themselves. Here, as we shall presently see, the evidence is not perhaps so trustworthy as that in the practically contemporaneous *Life of St. Ethelwold.* Taking first the foundation charter of Thorney, a document dated 973 and regarded by Dr. J. Armitage Robinson as 'of questionable authenticity',[4] we find the following statement:

> vitae igitur regularis monachos inibi constituens, ipse [Æthelwoldus] abbatis vice fungens, abbatem sanctae monachorum congregationi praeferre post obitum suum instituit; ita ut, etc.[5]
>
> (Then follow the conditions governing the election of abbots.)

From this we note that Ethelwold is not styled abbot but is described as 'abbatis vice fungens'.

We now turn to the Red Book of Thorney, a register written probably in the fourteenth century.[6] I take the following extract from it from Sir George Warner's introduction to *The Benedictional of Ethelwold* where it is quoted:[7]

> Memorandum quod a prima fundatione Ecclesie Thornei usque ad tempus Gunterii abbatis [1085–1112] fluxerunt anni CXII, infra quod tempus mortuo beato Adelwoldo, qui dicto monasterio usque in diem mortis sue tanquam abbas presederat, fuerunt vi abbates, quorum primum, Godemannum nomine monachum Wintoniensem et capellanum ipsius S. Adelwoldi, idem sanctus abbatem instituit et apud Thorneiam benedixit.

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[1] Quoted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1819, ii, 594, n. k.

[2] Leland, *Collect.*, tom. i, p. 8. Quoted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1819, ii, *loc. cit.*

[3] The forged Chronicle of Ingulph names Godeman as abbot of Thorney in 975. In that year, it tells us, Turketul, abbot of Crowland, 'was buried in his church . . . being interred by his neighbours, the fathers, Adulph, abbot of Burgh, and Godman, abbot of Thorney' (*Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Crowland*, translated by H. T. Riley, Bohn, London, 1854, p. 105). This statement though, of course, valueless as evidence is of interest in this case as there could be no reason for inventing facts concerning Peterborough and Thorney.

[4] *The Times of St. Dunstan*, p. 116.

[5] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 599.

[6] Now in Cambridge University Library.

[7] p. xiii, footnote.

It is clear that at the earliest this passage must have been written after 1112, and therefore more than 120 years after the death of Ethelwold. It is possible, then, that the statements so far as they affect the question we are now considering may be 'an inference from the language used in the charter'.[1] The use of the phrase 'tanquam abbas presederat' is to be noticed. Such a phrase is certainly consistent with this last suggestion. However, for the moment we must be content to notice that the Thorney records appear to contradict the statements of Ælfric and subsequent writers.

We must digress at this point to draw attention to a similar discrepancy in the Ely evidence relating to the appointment of the first abbot. Ælfric, as we have seen, tells us of Ely that

> Ethelwold bought it from the king, and established there many monks, setting over them as father his disciple Brihtnoth.[2]

Ælfric's use of the word 'patrem' here can only imply that Brihtnoth was made abbot, and in this statement he is supported by William of Malmesbury and the Ely records.[3] In the foundation charter of Ely, however, dated 970, King Edgar, referring to Ethelwold's share in the restoration of the monastery, is made to say:

> Et ipse illico monachos meo consilio et auxilio Deo fideliter regulari norma servientes perplures inibi collocavit, quibus Brihtnodum quendam sapientem ac bene morigeratum virum, praepositi jure prefecit.[4]

Here we are told that Ethelwold set Brihtnoth over the monks giving him only the authority of provost.[5] But it has never been questioned that Brihtnoth was abbot of Ely from 970 to 981 and, indeed, we know that he died in office while Ethelwold was still alive. How then are we to reconcile these conflicting statements concerning the first abbots of Ely and Thorney?

It seems possible that they are not so contradictory as would appear at first sight. It is probable that Ethelwold wished to retain a controlling hand over the monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, for whose restoration and re-establishment he was so largely responsible and for whose well-being he was so greatly concerned. It is not unlikely, too, that it was part of the king's policy to ensure that the foundation charters should be drawn up in such a way as to leave Ethelwold unquestioned powers of supervision. We know, indeed, that Ethelwold acted as visitor-general for the king, going from monastery to monastery exacting obedience to the Benedictine rule.[1] It may well be, then, that Brihtnoth, Godeman, and Adulf, of whom the first two were disciples of Ethelwold whilst the third owed his whole monastic career to that bishop, though abbots in name were content to exercise only the 'jus praepositi'. This was the case at Ramsey, where Ednoth though numbered amongst the abbots was in fact only provost or prior, Duke Ethelwin, who outlived Ednoth, standing to the abbey 'loco abbatis'.[2]

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[1] *The Benedictional of Ethelwold*, p. xiv.

[2] *The Times of St. Dunstan*, p. 118.

[3] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 324. See also John of Tynemouth, *Historia Aurea*, quoted in *Liber de Hyda* (R. S.), p. 182.

[4] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 474.

[5] For praepositus see Dom Cuthbert Butler's *Sancti Benedicti Regula Monasteriorum*, Freiburg, 1927, p. 214. Nowhere in St. Benedict's Rule is the word praepositus used in the sense of prior (*idem*, p. 204). What the word implied in the latter part of the tenth century seems uncertain, but we know from the *Vita Wulfstani* (Bk. I, Chap. 6) that about 1050 it was used for prior.

If we examine the case of Peterborough we find that the charter does not contain any mention of an abbot, nor is there anything elsewhere, that I know of, to guide us as to what part Ethelwold took in the government of the abbey. But what we know of the history of Adulf, the first abbot, would certainly lead us to infer that Ethelwold must have stood in the same relation to Peterborough as he did to Ely and Thorney. A former chancellor of the king, Adulf, is said to have accidentally caused the death of a dearly loved son. Seeking to regain his peace of mind he abandoned court life, on the advice of Ethelwold, devoting all his wealth to Peterborough Abbey where he took monastic vows and became abbot. Here, if anywhere, one would think, Ethelwold must have been 'abbatis vice fungens'.

The point of this discussion has been to test the truth of Ælfric's statement that after restoring Thorney Ethelwold established Godeman there as abbot. In the light of the evidence only one conclusion seems possible, namely, that just as in 970 Ethelwold sent Brihtnoth, the prior of Winchester, to take charge of Ely Monastery, so a year or so later the bishop sent his chaplain Godeman to Thorney and set him over the monks there. What measure of authority these abbots exercised need concern us no more.

Such a conclusion has an important bearing upon the provenance of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, for in the introduction to the facsimile reproduction of that manuscript printed for the Roxburghe Club in 1920 (pp. xiv and xv), Sir George Warner, after pointing out that Mr. H. A. Wilson drew attention to liturgical evidence which points to a date after, rather than before, the Translation of St. Swithun in 971, sums up in the following words:

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[1] *The English Church, from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, Hunt, London, 1899, p. 354.

Circuitque Atheluuoldus singula monasteria, mores instituens, obedientes admonendo et stultos verberibus corrigendo. *Vita Æthelwoldi, op. cit.*, p. 262.

[2] *Ramsey Chronicle* (R. S.), p. 347:

Nomina Abbatum Ramesiae.

Ednothus senior fuit praepositus, scilicet prior, tempore Alwyni comitis quia ipsemet fuit loco abbatis, nec fuit aliquis abbas Ramesiae tempore quo vixit.

> On the whole, therefore, the date of the manuscript may reasonably be considered to lie within the second, rather than the first, decade of his [Ethelwold's] occupancy of the see of Winchester, and there is some slight evidence in the miniature, noticed later on, from which it is possible to infer that it was not actually completed until 980.

From this it is clear that the manuscript was written some time between the years 973 and 980, that is to say, within the period when Godeman was at Thorney.

Whether the manuscript was written at Thorney, or at the Old Minster, does not, of course, affect the question of the school to which it belongs, but it does help a little in clearing up the history of English illuminating in the tenth and eleventh centuries if we recognize an East Anglian school, deriving from Winchester, with Thorney as the possible centre, whence the art spread to Peterborough, Ramsey, Bury, and possibly to Crowland and elsewhere. At Peterborough, as we have seen, illuminating was practised with distinction by Ervenius (or Arnwi) about the second decade of the eleventh century. Moreover, the recognition of such an East Anglian school would go far to explain the existence of so many books of East Anglian provenance, e.g. the Bury Psalter, the Crowland Psalter, the Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and others.

Short of such explanation it would certainly seem strange that so many surviving examples of the art of illumination should be manuscripts written at Winchester for East Anglian churches.

If the Benedictional was written by Godeman at Thorney, then it follows that the Missal of Robert of Jumièges was written there also if Westwood is accurate in his contention that in spite of the inferiority of its illuminations both manuscripts must have proceeded from the same place, and have been written about the same time. And indeed nothing could be more natural than that this missal, which has been shown to have been intended for use at Peterborough, should have been written at Thorney, a monastery only five miles distant, whose relations with Peterborough had always been of the closest kind.

It remains to add one or two additional facts about Ervenius or Arnwi. Freeman thought that the name implied a foreign origin.[1] But this is not so. Eight Latin forms of the name are found[2] and about the same number of its Anglo-Saxon equivalent.[3] In one of these forms the name can be traced back in England to the early part of the eighth century. It occurs, too, as an obit in Wulfstan's Homiliary.[4]

It is possible that Arnwi received his early training under Godeman at

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[1] *Norman Conquest*, ii, 470 (3rd ed.).

[2] Gunton, *History of the Church of Peterburgh.* Dugdale, *Monasticon*: Ervinus, Earwinus, Erwinus, Ernwinus, Arwinus, Arewinus, Arnewinus, Arnwius.

[3] Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*, Cambridge, 1897.

[4] iii Non. Apr. Hic obiit fr' nr' Earnþius cler'.

Thorney. From the time of the visit of King Canute and the Lady Emma to Peterborough Monastery we hear nothing more of him until his election as abbot of Peterborough. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 1041 records:

> And at this time died Ælfsine, abbot of Peterborough; and then Arnwi, a monk, was chosen abbot; because he was a very good man and very meek.

The date given does not agree with the received Peterborough chronology and is certainly inaccurate, for Ælfsine or Elsinus, his predecessor, did not die until 1055. We must therefore date Arnwi's election in the year 1055.[1] He remained abbot for only two years. At the end of that time he resigned his office and is said to have lived happily for eight years afterwards.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records his resignation under the year 1052:

> And as at this time Arnwi, abbot of Peterborough, left the abbey in sound health, and gave it to Leofric, a monk, by leave of the king and the monks; and Abbot Arnwi lived afterwards eight winters.

The Peterborough Customary gives his obit.[2] He appears to have died on 30 May 1065.

Arnwi is described by Hugo Candidus as 'vir mirae sanctitatis et simplicitatis'.[3] It would seem that he had more sanctity than worldly wisdom. An example of his simplicity is quoted by Dean Patrick[4] who tells us that he changed the royal village of Holneie (which belonged to the monastery) for that of Stokes, 'for no other reason but because it was a nearer way to his own farm to go by Stokes.'

In conclusion it remains for me to express my great indebtedness to the late Mr. Edmund Bishop's treatise, *The Bosworth Psalter*, a work of extraordinary learning and fascination. Nor does my debt to that great scholar end there, for, by the courtesy of the abbot of Downside and of Dom Hugh Connolly, O.S.B., I was allowed access to one of Mr. Bishop's note-books now preserved at Downside Abbey. I owe much, too, to a valuable collection of transcripts of kalendars made by Dr. Frere, bishop of Truro, who most kindly placed them at my disposal. To our Fellows Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, dean of Wells, Dr. M. R. James, Dr. T. A. Lacey, and Mr. Dyson Perrins I am much indebted. Nor must I forget the ready help accorded to me by Archdeacon S. R. James, Mr. W. T. Mellows, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, F.S.A., of the Bodleian Library, and Canon J. E. H. Blake, F.S.A., Librarian of Worcester Cathedral.

To Dame Laurentia McLachlan, O.S.B., my thanks are due for her kindness in reading the proofs of these pages.

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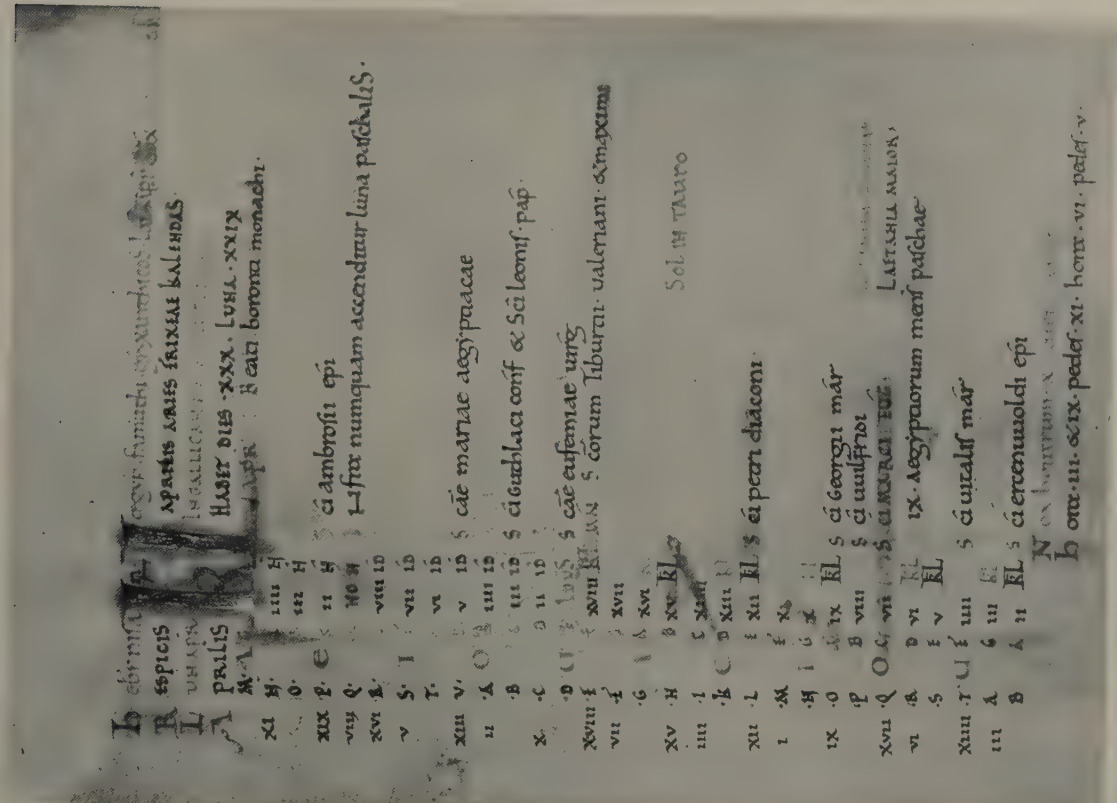
[1] Patrick's Supplement to Gunton's *History of the Church of Peterburgh*, pp. 254–5. Dean Patrick quotes Hugo Candidus and the *Chronicle of Abbot John*.

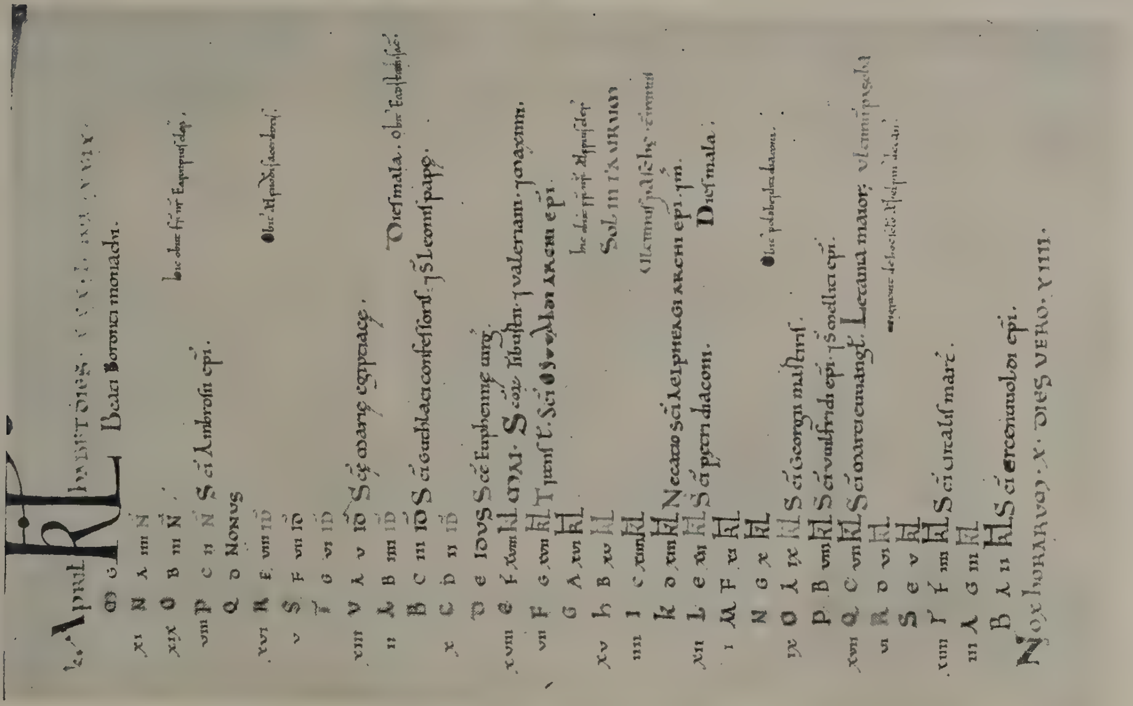
[2] Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[3] Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[4] Gunton, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

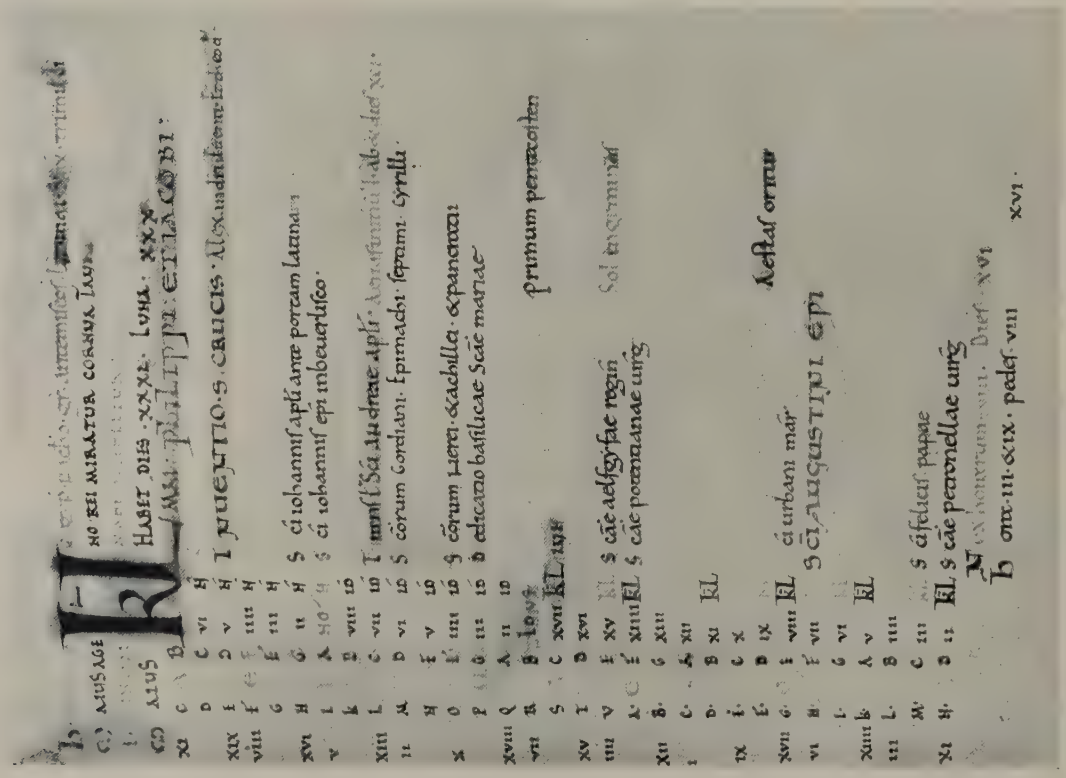


Missal of Robert of Jumièges : Kalendar for April

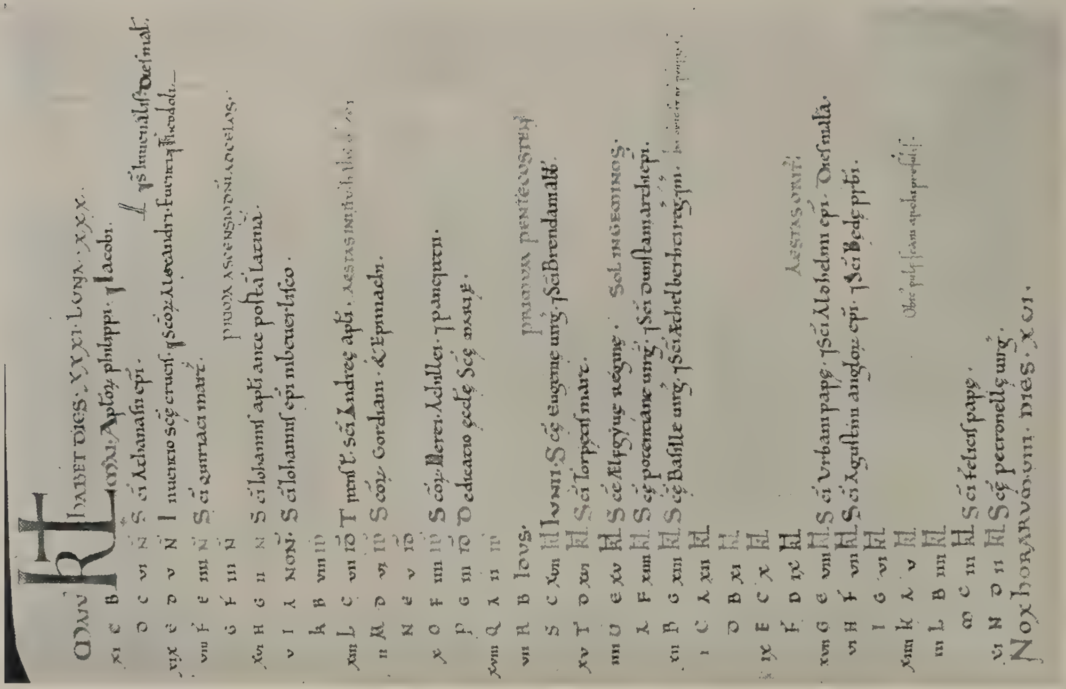


St. Wulfstan's Homiliary : Kalendar for April

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928



Missal of Robert of Jumièges: Kalendar for May



St Wulfstan's Homiliary: Kalendar for May.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

Hebraice uocatur tebeth. aegypti. tubi. grec. cynidios. lat. ian. Sax. giul[1]
Lun̄. ian̄ in media nocte accenditur.
Principium iani sancit tropicus capricornus.
Ianuā. habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.

iii	A	A	A	KL	Ian̄.	CIRCUMCISIO DN̄I NR̄I IH̄U X̄.[2]
	B		B	iiii N̄		Sc̄i isodori epī.
x	C		C	iii N̄		Sc̄ae genouefae uir̄.
	D	E	D	ii N̄		
xix	E		E	Nōn		Sc̄i symeonis monachi.
viii	F		F	viii I̅d̅		EPIPHANIA DN̄I NR̄I IH̄U XR̄I.
	G	I	G	vii I̅d̅		
xvi	H		A	vi I̅d̅		
v	I		B	v I̅d̅		
	K	O	C	iiii I̅d̅		Sc̄i pauli primi heremitae.
xiii	L		D	iii I̅d̅		*Eductio dn̄i de aegypto.*
ii	M		E	ii I̅d̅		
	N	U	F	Idus		OCTABAS EPIPHANIAE. Sc̄i hilarii epī.
x	O		G	xix K̅l̅.	Febr.	Sc̄i felicis in pincis.
	P		A	xviii		Sc̄i mauri abb̄.
xviii	Q	A	B	xvii K̅l̅		Sc̄i marcelli papae.
vii	R		C	xvi K̅l̅		Sc̄i antonii monachi.
	S		D	xv		Sc̄ae priscae uirḡ. *Sol in aquario.*
xv	T	E	E	xiiii K̅l̅		Sc̄ae mariae et marthae.
iiii	U		F	xiii		SC̄ŌRUM FABIANI ET SEBASTIANI MAR̄.
	A		G	xii K̅l̅		NATALE AḠNETIS UIRḠ.[3]
xii	B	I	A	xi		[4]
i	C		B	x K̅l̅		Sc̄ōrum emerentianę uirḡ et macharii.
	D		C	ix		Sc̄i babilli epī et trium puerorum.
ix	E	O	D	viii K̅l̅		CONUERSIO SC̄I PAULI APOSTOLI ET PROIECTI MAR̄.
	F		E	vii		Sc̄i policarpi presbiteri.
xvii	G		F	vi K̅l̅		
vi	H	U	G	v		Octauae Sc̄ae agnetis uirḡ.
	I		A	iiii		
xiiii	K		B	iii K̅l̅		
iii	L	A	C	ii K̅l̅		

Nox horarum xvi. dies viii

Hora iii et ix pedes xvii. hora vi pedes xi.

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[1] There seems to be a faint trace of a final *a* after the *l* of *giul*, but it cannot be clearly read.
[2] Sanctorale has mass for S. Basil, undated.
[3] Sacramentary reads Agnae, as also at v Kal.
[4] Sanctorale has mass for S. Vincent.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

IANUAR̄				HABET DIES. XXXI. LUNA. XXX.
iii	A	A	KL Ian̄.	Circūcisio dn̄i nr̄i ih̄u xp̄i. *Dies mala.*
	B	B	iiii N̄	Sc̄i Macharii abb̄.
xi	C	C	iii N̄	Sc̄ę Genouefę uirḡ.
	D	D	ii N̄	
xix	E	E	Nonus.	Sc̄i Simeonis monachi. UIGILIA.
viii	F	F	viii I̅d̅	EPIPHANIA DN̄I.
	G	G	vii I̅d̅	
xvi	H	A	vi I̅d̅	
v	I	B	v I̅d̅	
	K	C	iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Pauli primi heremitę.
xiii	L	D	iii I̅d̅	
ii	M	E	ii I̅d̅	
	N	F	Idus	Octabas epiphania · et Sc̄i hilarii.
x	O	G	xix K̅l̅	FEBRUARII · Sc̄i Felicis. M̄.
	P	A	xviii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Mauri abb̄. et Sc̄i Remigii epī.
xviii	Q	B	xvii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Marcelli papę · et M̄. Marcelli. conf̄.
vii	R	C	xvi K̅l̅	Sc̄i Antonii monachi.
	S	D	xv K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Prische uirginis. SOL IN AQUARIUM.
xv	T	E	xiiii K̅l̅	Sc̄ōr martyrū Marii et Marthę cū filiis eor̄. Audifax. et Abbacuc.[1]
iiii	U	F	xiii K̅l̅	Sc̄ōr martyrū Fabiani · et Sebastiani.
	A	G	xii K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Agnetis uirginis et mart̄.
xii	B	A	xi K̅l̅	Sc̄i Uincentii mart̄.
i	C	B	x K̅l̅	Sc̄e Emerentiane uirḡ. et Macharii mr̄.
	D	C	ix K̅l̅	Sc̄i Babilli epī. et triū pueror̄.
ix	E	D	viii Kl	Conuersio sc̄i Pauli aplī. *Dies mala.*
	F	E	vii K̅l̅	Sc̄i policarpi epī.
xvii	G	F	vi K̅l̅	
vi	H	G	v K̅l̅	Octab̄ Sc̄ę Agnetis uirḡ.
	I	A	iiii K̅l̅	
xiiii	K	B	iii K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Balthildis reginę.
iii	L	C	ii K̅l̅	

NOX HORARUM · XVI · DIES · VIII HABET.

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[1] SANCTARUM UIRG . . . interlined in green capitals and erased.

NOTE.—For the month of January both kalendars are printed in their entirety. In the remaining months the columns at the side giving the golden numbers, etc., as also other kalendarial details elsewhere, are omitted for the sake of clearness.

The kalendar of the Missal of Robert of Jumièges is taken from the transcript of that manuscript published in 1896 by the Henry Bradshaw Society, by whose kind permission it is here reproduced.

	MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.		ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.
K̅L̅	Febr̄. Sc̄ae brigidae uirḡ.	k̅L̅	FEB̄. Sc̄ę Brigidę uirḡ. UIGILIA.
iiii N̄	PURIFICATIO SC̄AE MARIAE.	iiii N̄	PURIFICATIO SC̄Ę MARIĘ.
iii N̄		iii N̄	Sc̄i Triphonis mart̄. et Sc̄ę UUÆRBURGĘ VIRḠ.
ii N̄		ii N̄	*Dies mala.*
Non̄.	SC̄AE AGATHAE UIRḠ.	NON̄	Sc̄ę Agathę uirḡ. et mart̄.
viii I̅d̅	Sc̄orum Uedasti et amandi.	viii I̅d̅	Sc̄or Uedasti · et Amandi.
vii I̅d̅	*Uerni initium habet dies xci.*	vii I̅d̅	UERIS INITIŪ habet dies xci.
vi I̅d̅	Sc̄i cuthmanni conf̄. *Ante istum locum non potest esse xl.*	vi I̅d̅	Sc̄i Cuthmanni confessoris.
v I̅d̅		v I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Eufraxię uirḡ.
iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄ae scolastica. Sc̄ae sotheris uirḡ.[1]	iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Scolasticę uirḡ. et sc̄ę Sotheris uirḡ.
iii I̅d̅	Sc̄ae radegundis uirḡ.	iii I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Radegundis uirḡ.
ii I̅d̅		ii I̅d̅	
Idus	[Translatio sci eadmundi regis[2]] Sc̄ae eormenhildę uir̄.	IDŪ	Transl̄. sc̄i eaduuardi reḡ. et S̄. Eormenhildę uirḡ.
xvi K̅l̅	Mar. Sc̄i Ualentini mart̄.	xvi K̅l̅	MART̄. Sc̄i Ualentini mart̄.
xv	*Diabolus a domino recessit. Sol in pisce.*	xv K̅l̅	DIABOLUS A DN̄O RECESSIT. SOL IN PISCE.
xiiii K̅l̅	Sc̄ae iulianae uirḡ.	xiiii K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Iulianę uirḡ.
xiii Kl		xiii K̅l̅	
xii		xii K̅l̅	
xi		xi Kl	
x K̅l̅		x K̅l̅	
ix K̅l̅		ix K̅l̅	
viii K̅l̅	CATHEDRA SC̄I PETRI APOSTOLI. *Uer oritur.*	viii K̅l̅	Cathedra sc̄i Pętri aplī. UER ORITUR.
vii		vii K̅l̅	UIGLIA.
vi K̅l̅	SC̄I MATHEI[3] APŌ. BISSEXTI LOCUS.	vi K̅l̅	SC̄I MAT'HIĘ APLĪ. BISSEXTI LOCUS.
v K̅l̅		v Kl	
iiii		iiii K̅l̅	*Dies mala.*
iii K̅l̅	Inuentio capitis Sc̄i iohannes bapt̄ post annos cclx.	iii K̅l̅	Inuentio capitis sc̄i Iohannis bapt̄.
ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i osuualdi archiepī.	ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i OSUUALDI ARCHIEPĪ.

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[1] Sacramentary adds 'Zotici cum Sociis'.

[2] Partly erased. The Bury Kalendar shows 'Eadmundi' to be an error for Eaduuardi.

[3] Error in MS.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

K̅L̅		Mart
vi	Ñ	Sc̄i ceadde epī.
v	Ñ	Sc̄orum dccc mar̄ et sc̄i adriani.
iiii	Ñ	
iii	Ñ	
ii	Ñ	Sc̄arum perpetuae et felicitatis.
Non̄.		
viii	I̅d̅	*Ultima incensio lunae ii*^{e} *initii.*
vii	I̅d̅	Passio xl militum romae.
vi	I̅d̅	
v	I̅d̅	
iiii	I̅d̅	SC̄I GREGORII PAPAE.
iii	I̅d̅	
ii	I̅d̅	
Idus		
xvii	K̅l̅.	Apr.
xvi	K̅l̅	Sc̄ae uuitburgae uirḡ. Sc̄i patricii epī.
xv		SC̄I EADUUEARDI RĒ: *primus dies sc̄li. Sol in ariete.*
xiiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i ioseph sponsi Sc̄ae mariae.
xiii		SC̄I CUTHBERHTI EPĪ.[1]
xii		SC̄I BENEDICTI ABB̄. *Aequinoct̄.*
xi	K̅l̅	*Sedes aepact̄.*
x	K̅l̅	*Adam creatus est. Hic.*
ix		*Concurrentium locus.*
viii		ANNUNTIATIO SC̄AE MARIAE.
vii	K̅l̅	
vi	K̅l̅	RESURRECTIO DN̄I.
v		
iiii		
iii	K̅l̅	Ordinatio sc̄i gregorii papae.
ii	K̅l̅	

[1] Sanctorale adds Vigil of S. Benedict.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

k̅L̅		Martii. *Dies mala.*
vi	Ñ	Sc̄i Ceaddę epī.
v	Ñ	Sc̄i Focę epī.
iiii	Ñ	Sc̄or. d·ccc· mar̄t.
iii	Ñ	
ii	Ñ	
Nonū		Sc̄arū Perpętuę et Felicitatis.
viii	I̅d̅	*Ultima incensio l̄. ii. īitii et i īcensio l̄. paschal̄.*
vii	I̅d̅	Passio · xl · militum.
vi	I̅d̅	
v	I̅d̅	
iiii	I̅d̅	Sc̄i Gregorii papae.
iii	I̅d̅	
ii	I̅d̅	
Idus		
xvii	K̅l̅	April̄.
xvi	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Uuihtburgę uirḡ. et S̄ Patricii epī. et S̄ Genetrudis[1] uirḡ.
xv	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Eaduuardi regis et mar̄t. *p̄m̄ dies sc̄li.* Sol in arietę.
xiiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Ioseph sponsi marię.
xiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Cuthberhti epī.
xii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Benedicti abb̄. Aeq̄noctium.
xi	K̅l̅	Primū pascha et sedes epactarū.
x	K̅l̅	Adam creatus est.
ix	K̅l̅	Concurrentiū locus.
viii	K̅l̅	ADNUNTIATIO SC̄Ę MARIAE.
vii	K̅l̅	
vi	K̅l̅	RESURRECTIO DN̄I.
v	Kl	*Dies mala.*
iiii	Kl	
iii	K̅l̅	Ordinatio beati Gregorii papae.
ii	K̅l̅	

[1] In Canon of the Mass of R.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

K̅L̅	Apr.	Beati boronti monachi.
iiii N̄		
iii N̄		
ii N̄		Sc̄i ambrosii epī.
Non̄.		*Infra nunquam*[1] *accenditur luna paschalis.*
viii I̅d̅		
vii I̅d̅		
vi I̅d̅		
v I̅d̅		Sc̄ae mariae aegyptiacae.
iiii I̅d̅		
iii I̅d̅		Sc̄i Guthlaci conf̄. et sc̄i leonis pap̄.
ii I̅d̅		
Idus		Sc̄ae eufemiae uirḡ.
xviii K̅l̅	Mai.	Sc̄ōrum Tiburtii. ualeriani et maximi.
xvii		
xvi K̅l̅		
xv K̅l̅		*Sol in tauro.*
xiiii		
xiii K̅l̅		
xii K̅l̅		Sc̄i petri diaconi.
xi		
x K̅l̅		
ix Kl		Sc̄i Georgii mar̄.
viii		Sc̄i uuilfridi. *Ultimum pascha.*
vii		SC̄I MARCI EUḠ. *Laetania maior.*
vi K̅l̅		*ix aegyptiorum mens paschae.*
v Kl		
iiii		Sc̄i uitalis mar̄.
iii K̅l̅		
ii K̅l̅		Sc̄i ercenuuoldi epī.

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[1] MS. has *numquam.*

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

k̅L̅	Beati Boronti monachi.
iiii N̄	
iii N̄	
ii N̄	Sc̄i Ambrosii epī.
NONUS	
viii I̅d̅	
vii I̅d̅	
vi I̅d̅	
v I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Marię egiptiacę.
iiii I̅d̅	*Dies mala.*
iii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Guthlaci confessoris · et S̄ Leonis papę.
ii I̅d̅	
IDUS	Sc̄ę Euphemię uirḡ.
xviii K̅l̅	MAI. Sc̄ōr Tiburtii. et Ualeriani. et Maximi.
xvii K̅l̅	Transl̄. Sc̄i OSUUALDI ARCHIEPĪ.[1]
xvi K̅l̅	
xv K̅l̅	SOL IN TAURUM.
xiiii K̅l̅	*Ultimus paschę · t̄minus*
xiii K̅l̅	NECATIO SC̄I AELPHEAGI ARCHIEPĪ. et M̄.
xii Kl	Sc̄i Pętri diaconi. *Dies mala.*
xi K̅l̅	
x K̅l̅	
ix K̅l̅	Sc̄i Georgii martiris.
viii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Uuilfridi epī · et S̄. Melliti epī.
vii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Marci euuangl̄. *Letania maior. Ultimū pascha.*
vi K̅l̅	
v K̅l̅	
iiii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Uitalis mart̄.
iii K̅l̅	
ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Ercenuuoldi epī.

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[1] A. D. 1002

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

K̅L̅	Mai	PHILIPPI ET IACOBI.
vi	N̄	
v	N̄	INUENTIO S̄. CRUCIS. ALEXANDRI. EUENTII ET THEOD̄.[1]
iiii	N̄	
iii	N̄	
ii	N̄	Sc̄i iohannis aplī ante portam latinam.
Non̄		Sc̄i iohannis epī in beuerlisco.
viii	I̅d̅	
vii	I̅d̅	TRANSL̄ SC̄I ANDREAE APLĪ. *Aestas initium habet dies xci.*
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōrum Gordiani. Epimachi. septimi. cyrilli.
v	I̅d̅	
iiii	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōrum nerei. et achillei. et pancratii.
iii	I̅d̅	Dedicatio basilicae Sc̄ae mariae.
ii	I̅d̅	
Idus		*Primum pentecosten.*
xvii	Kl Iun.	
xvi		
xv	Kl	Sc̄ae aelfgyfae regin̄. *Sol in geminos.*
xiiii	Kl	Sc̄ae potentianae uirḡ.[2]
xiii		
xii	Kl	
xi	Kl	
x		
ix	Kl	*Aestas oritur.*
viii	Kl	Sc̄i urbani mar̄.
vii		SC̄I AUGUSTINI EPĪ.
vi	K̅l̅	
v	K̅l̅	
iiii		
iii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i felicis papae.
ii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ae petronellae uirḡ.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

K̅L̅	MAI	Ap̄lor Philippi · et Iacobi.
vi	N̄	Sc̄i Athanasii epī.
v	N̄	Inuentio sc̄ę crucis · et Sc̄ōr Alexandri · Euentii · et Theodoli et S̄. Iuuenalis. *Dies mal̄.*
iiii	N̄	Sc̄i Quiriaci mart̄.
iii	N̄	PRIMA ASCENSIO DN̄I AD CELOS.
ii	N̄	Sc̄i Iohannis aplī ante portā latinā.
NON̄		Sc̄i Iohannis epī in beuerlisco.
viii	I̅d̅	
vii	I̅d̅	Transl̄. Sc̄i Andreę aplī. AESTAS INITIUM habet dies xci.
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōr. Gordiani et Epimachi.
v	I̅d̅	
iiii	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōr. Nerei. Achillei. et Pancratii.
iii	I̅d̅	Dedicatio ęcclē Sc̄ę MARIĘ.
ii	I̅d̅	
IDUS		PRIMUM PENTECOSTEN.
xvii	K̅l̅	IUNII. Sc̄ę Eugenię uirḡ. et Sc̄i Brendani abb̄.
xvi	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Torpętis mart̄.
xv	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Ælfgyuę reginę. SOL IN GEMINOS.
xiiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Potentiane uirḡ. et Sc̄i Dunstani archiepī.
xiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Basille uirḡ. et Sc̄i Æthelberhti reḡ. et m̄.
xii	K̅l̅	
xi	K̅l̅	
x	K̅l̅	
ix	K̅l̅	AESTAS ORIT̄.
viii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Urbani papę̄ · et Sc̄i Aldhelmi epī. *Dies mala.*
vii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Agustini anglor̄ epī. et Sc̄i Będę prb̄
vi	K̅l̅	
v	Kl	
iiii	K̅l̅	
iii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Felicis papę.
ii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Petronellę uirḡ.

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[1] Sanctorale adds mass for S. Juvenal.
[2] Sanctorale substitutes mass for S. Dunstan.

	MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.		ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.
$\overline{\mathrm{KL}}$ Iun.	Sc̄i Nicomedis mar̄.	$\overline{\mathrm{kL}}$	IUNII. Sc̄i Nicomedis mart̄ · et Sc̄i Uuistani mart̄.[1]
iiii Ñ	Sc̄ōrum marcellini et petri mar̄.	iiii Ñ	Sc̄ōr martyrū Marcellini et Pętri.
iii Ñ	*Ultimus ascensionis.*	iii Ñ	
ii Ñ	Sc̄i petroci conf̄. *Initium men̄s desii secundum grecos.*	ii Ñ	Sc̄i Petroci confessoris.
Non̄	Sc̄i bonefacii epī.	NOÑ	Sc̄i Bonefacii epī.
viii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$		viii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	
vii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄i audomari epī.	vii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄i Audomari epī.
vi $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Deposit̄. Sc̄i medardi epī.	vi $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄ōr Ep̄or Medardi · atq: Gildardi.
v $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄ōrum primi et feliciani mar̄.	v $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄ōr Primi. et Feliciani mr̄.
iiii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$		iiii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	*Dies mala.*
iii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄i barnabae aplī.	iii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄i Barnabę aplī.
ii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄ōrum basilidis. Cyrini. Naboris · et nazarii.	ii $\overline{\mathrm{Id}}$	Sc̄ōr. Basilidis. Cirini. Naboris · et Nazarii.
Idus	*Ultimus pentecosten.*	IDUS	ULTIMUM PENTECOSTEN.
xviii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$ Iul.		xviii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	JULII.
xvii	Sc̄i uiti. modesti. et Sc̄ae eadburgae uirḡ.	xvii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōr Uiti. Modesti. et Sc̄e Eadburge. ū.
xvi $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Cyrini[1] et iulittae cum sociis eorum.	xvi $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Cirici et Iulittę cū sociis eorum. *Dies mala.*
xv	Sc̄i botulfi conf̄. *Sol in cancrum.*	xv $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Botulphi abb̄. SOL IN CANCRO.
xiiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōrum marci et marcelliani mar̄.	xiiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōr martyrū Marci · et Marcelliani.
xiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōrum Geruasii et protasii mar̄.	xiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōr Geruasii. et Protasii mr̄.
xii	*Solstitium.*	xii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	*Solstitiū estiuale. ī aq̄lone.*
xi Kl	[S]c̄i apollonaris. mar̄. et Sc̄i leuthfredi abb̄.	xi $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Apollonaris mr̄. et S̄. Leuthfredi.
x $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	[S]c̄i albani mar̄.	x $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Albani mart̄.
ix	SC̄AE AETHELDRYTHAE VIR̄. *Uigilia.*	ix $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄e Ætheldrȳthę uirḡ. UIGILIA.
viii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	SC̄I IOHANNIS BAPT.	viii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	NATIUITATIS SC̄I IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE.
vii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$		vii Kl	
vi	[2]	vi $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄ōr Iohannis. et Pauli fr̄m. et Sc̄i Saluii.
v $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$		v $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	
iiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i leonis papae. *Uigilia.*	iiii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Sc̄i Leonis papę. UIGILIA.
iii	SC̄I PETRI APLĪ.[3]	iii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	AP̄LORUM PETRI · ET PAULI.
ii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	SC̄I PAULI APLĪ.[3]	ii $\overline{\mathrm{Kl}}$	Commemoratio Sc̄i Pauli aplī.

Missal of Robert of Jumièges:

[1] Error in MS.
[2] Sanctorale has mass. for SS. John and Paul.
[3] So also Bury Kalendar.

St. Wulfstan's Homiliary:

[1] Dr. W. H. Frere marks the entry of St. Wistan as in a later hand, but it would appear to be in the original.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

K̅L̅	Iul.	
vi	N̄	Deposit̄ Sc̄i suuithuni epī et processi et martiniani.
v	N̄	Translatio Sc̄i thomae aplī.
iiii	N̄	Ordinatio et translatio Sc̄i martini epī.
iii	N̄	
ii	N̄	Octab̄. aplor̄. et Sc̄ae sexburgae uirḡ.
Non̄.		Sc̄ae marinae uirḡ.
viii	I̅d̅	Sc̄i Grimboldi Sacer̄. Obitus eadgari regis.
vii	I̅d̅	
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄orum septem fratrum cum matre.
v	I̅d̅	[1]
iiii	I̅d̅	Sc̄ae mildrythae uirḡ.
iii	I̅d̅	
ii	I̅d̅	*Dies caniculares.*
Idus		Translatio Sc̄i Suuithuni epī.
xvii	K̅l̅ Aug.	
xvi	K̅l̅	Sc̄i kenelmi mar̄.
xv	K̅l̅	*Sol in leonem.*
xiiii		Sc̄ae cristinae uirḡ.
xiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i uulfmari conf̄. Sc̄ae margaretae uirḡ.
xii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ae praxedis uirḡ.
xi		Sc̄ae mariae magdal̄.
x	K̅l̅	Sc̄i apollonaris mar̄.
ix	K̅l̅	
viii		SC̄I IACOBI APLĪ.
vii	K̅l̅	
vi	K̅l̅	Sc̄orum Septem dormientium.
v		Sc̄i samsonis epī. Sc̄i pantaleonis mar̄.
iiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄orum simplicii. Faustini. et Beatricis.[2]
iii	Kl	Sc̄orum abdon et Sennen mar̄.
ii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Germani epī.

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[1] Sanctorale has at v. Id. Natale Sc̄i Benedicti abb̄.

[2] Sanctorale prefixes mass for S. Felix. m.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

K̅L̅		Iulii Sc̄i Gagii epī.
vi	N̄	Depositio Sc̄i suuithuni epī. et Sc̄or ꝑcessi. et Martiniani.
v	N̄	
iiii	N̄	Transl̄ Sc̄i Martini epī.
iii	N̄	
ii	N̄	Octab̄. aplor̄. et Sc̄e Sexburge. et Sc̄i Goaris conf̄.
Non̄		Sc̄e Marinę uirḡ.
viii	I̅d̅	Sc̄i Grimbaldi sacerdotis.
vii	I̅d̅	
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄or vii fr̄m.
v	I̅d̅	Transl̄ sc̄i Benedicti abbatis.
iiii	I̅d̅	
iii	I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Mildrẏthe uirḡ. *Dies mala.*
ii	I̅d̅	Dies caniculares īcipiunt.
Idus		Transl Sc̄i Suuithuni epī. et S̄. Cirici mart̄.
xvii	K̅l̅	Agust̄.
xvi	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Kenelmi mart̄.
xv	K̅l̅	Sol in leonem. canicula orit̄.
xiiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Cristinę uirḡ. et S̄. Arsenii mart̄.
xiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Uulmari confes̄. et Sc̄ę Margaretę uirḡ.
xii	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Praxedis uirḡ.
xi	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Marię magdalene. *Dies mala.*
x	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Apollonaris mart̄.
ix	K̅l̅	Uigilia.
viii	K̅l̅	SC̄I IACOBI APLĪ.
vii	Kl	
vi	K̅l̅	Sc̄or vii dormientiū.
v	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Sampsonis epī. et sc̄i pantaleonis mart̄.
iiii	K̅l̅	Sc̄or Simplicii. Faustini. et Beatricis. m̄.
iii	K̅l̅	Sc̄or Abdon. et Sennen mr̄.
ii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Germani epī.

		MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.		ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.
K̅L̅	Aug.	AD VINCL̄ SC̄I PETRI A̅P̅. MACHABEOR̄.[1] SC̄I ATHELUUOLDI.	k̅L̅	A̅G̅ Ad uincl sc̄i Petri. et Machabeor̄. et S̄. Atheluuoldi epī. *Dies m̄.*
iiii N̄		Sc̄i stephani epī et mar̄.	iiii N̄	Sc̄i Stephani epī. et mart̄.
iii N̄		Inuentio corporis [S]c̄i Stephani protomar̄.	iii N̄	Inuent̄ corporis sc̄i Stephani protomart̄.
ii N̄			ii N̄	
Non̄		Sc̄i osuualdi regis et mar̄.	NON̄	Sc̄i OSUUOLDI REGIS ET MART̄.
viii I̅d̅		Sixti epī. Felicissimi. et agapiti.	viii I̅d̅	Sixti epī. Felicissimi. Agapiti.
vii I̅d̅		Sc̄i donati epī. *Autumpnus incipit.*	vii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Donati epī. AUTUMPNUS INITIUM.
vi I̅d̅		Sc̄i cyriaci mar̄. sociorum eius.	vi I̅d̅	Sc̄i Ciriaci mart̄. sociorq̄: eī.
v I̅d̅		*Uigilia.*	v I̅d̅	UIGILIA.
iiii I̅d̅		SC̄I LAURENTII MAR̄.	iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄i LAURENTII DIACONI.
iii I̅d̅		Sc̄i tiburtii mar̄.	iii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Tiburtii mart̄.
ii I̅d̅			ii I̅d̅	
Idus		Sc̄i ypoliti mar̄. Sociorumque eius.	IDUS	Sc̄i Ypoliti mart̄. Sociōrq: ϵī.
xix K̅l̅	Sept.	Sc̄i eusebii sacer̄.[2]	xix K̅l̅	SEPT̄. Sc̄i Eusebii pr̄bi. UIGILIA.
xviii		ASSUMPTIO SC̄AE MARIAE.	xviii K̅l̅	ASSUMPTIO SC̄Ę MARIĘ.
xvii K̅l̅			xvii K̅l̅	
xvi		Octab̄ Sc̄i laurentii mar̄.	xvi K̅l̅	Octab̄ Sc̄i LAURENTII mr̄.
xv K̅l̅		Sc̄i agapiti mar̄. Sc̄ae elenae reḡ. *Sol in uirginem.*	xv K̅l̅	Sc̄i Agapiti mar̄. SOL IN UIRGINEM.
xiiii K̅l̅		Sc̄i magni mar̄.	xiiii K̅l̅	Sc̄i CREDANI ABB̄. et Sc̄i Magni mart̄.
xiii			xiii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Maximi mart̄.
xii K̅l̅			xii K̅l̅	
xi K̅l̅		[S]c̄orum Timothei et Symphoriani mar̄.	xi K̅l̅	Sc̄or. Timothei. et Symphoriani m̄.
x		[S]c̄orum Timothei et apollinaris. *Autumpnus oritur.*	x K̅l̅	Sc̄or Timothei. et Apollonaris.
ix K̅l̅		*Uigilia.*	ix K̅l̅	Sc̄i Audoeni epī. UIGILIA.
viii K̅l̅		SC̄I BARTHOLOMEI APLĪ.[3]	viii K̅l̅	SC̄I BARTHOLOMEI APLĪ.
vii			vii K̅l̅	
vi K̅l̅		Sc̄i rufi mar̄.	vi Kl	Sc̄i Rufi mart.
v K̅l̅		Sc̄i augustini magni. [S]c̄i hermetis mar̄.	v K̅l̅	Sc̄i Agustini magni. et Sc̄i hermetis m̄.
iiii		DECOLLATIO SC̄I IOHANNIS BAPT̄. S. SABINAE.	iiii K̅l̅	Decoll̄. SC̄I IOHANNIS B̄. et Sc̄e SABINĘ. UIRḠ.
iii		Sc̄orum Felicis et audacti.	iii K̅l̅	Sc̄or Felicis et Adaucti. *Dies ęgiptiacus.*
ii		Sci Pau̅lini epī.	ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Paulini epī. et Sc̄i Aẏdani epī.

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[1] Sanctorale reads 'vii Fratrum cum Matre'.

[2] Sanctorale adds Vigil.

[3] Sanctorale prefixes mass for S. Audoenus at viii Kal.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.		ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.	
K̅L̅ Sept.	Sc̄i pisci mar̄.	k̅L̅	SEPT̄. Sc̄i Prischi mart̄.
iiii N̄		iiii N̄	
iii N̄		iii N̄	*Dies ęgiptiacus.*
ii N̄	Translatio Sc̄i byrini epī. et Sc̄i cuthberhti epī.	ii N̄	Transl̄ sc̄i Bẏrini epī. et ṣc̄i CUTHBERHTI. epī.
Non̄	Sc̄i berhtini abb̄. *Dies caniculares finiunt.*	NON̄	Sc̄i Berhtini abb̄.
viii I̅d̅		viii I̅d̅	
vii I̅d̅	*Uigilia.*	vii I̅d̅	UIGILIA.
vi I̅d̅	NATIUITAS SC̄AE MARIAE. ADRIANI MR̄.	vi I̅d̅	NATIUITAS SC̄Ę MARIĘ · et S. ADRIANI MR̄.
v I̅d̅	Sc̄i Gorgoni mar̄.[1]	v I̅d̅	Sc̄i Gorgonii mart̄.
iii I̅d̅		iiii I̅d̅	TRANSLATIO SC̄I ECGUUINI EPI.
iii I̅d̅	Sc̄o̅rum proti et iacincti.	iii I̅d̅	Sc̄o̅r Proti · et Iacincti.
ii I̅d̅		ii I̅d̅	
Idus		IDUS	
xviii K̅l̅ Oct	EXALTATIO SC̄AE CRUCIS. Corneli et cipriani.	xviii K̅l̅	OCTOB̄. Exaltatio sc̄ę crucis. Cornelii et cẏp̄ani.
xvii	Sc̄i Nicomedis mar̄.	xvii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Nicomedis mart̄.
xvi K̅l̅	Sc̄arum euphemiae. luciae. et Geminiani.	xvi K̅l̅	Sc̄arū. Eufemię. Lucię. et Geminiani.
xv	Sc̄i landberhti epī. *Sol in libram.*	xv K̅l̅	Sc̄i Landberhti epī. SOL IN LIBRAM.
xiiii K̅l̅		xiiii K̅l̅	
xiii K̅l̅		xiii K̅l̅	
xii	*Uigilia.*	xii K̅l̅	AEQUINOCTIUM. UIGILIA.
xi K̅l̅	SC̄I MATHEI APLĪ ET EUḠ.	xi K̅l̅	SC̄I MATHEI APLĪ. *Dies ęgiptiacus.*
x K̅l̅	Sc̄i mauricii cum sociis suis.	x K̅l̅	Sc̄i Mauricii cū sociis suis.
ix	Sc̄ae teclae uirḡ.	ix K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Teclę uirḡ.
viii K̅l̅	Conceptio Sc̄i iohannis bapt̄. *Aequinoctium.*	viii K̅l̅	Conceptio Sc̄i Iohannis b̄.
vii K̅l̅	Sc̄i firmini mar̄.	vii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Firmini mart̄. et sc̄i Ceolfrẏthi abb̄.
vi		vi K̅l̅	
v K̅l̅	Sc̄o̅rum cosmae et damiani mar̄.	v K̅l̅	Sc̄o̅r Cosme et Damiani m̄.
iiii K̅l̅		iiii K̅l̅	
iii K̅l̅	SC̄I MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI.	iii K̅l̅	SC̄I MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI.
ii K̅l̅	SC̄I HIERONIMI P̅R̅S̅B.	ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i HIERONIMI P̅R̅B̅I.

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[1] Sanctorale adds, after mass for S. Gorgonius, mass for the Transl. of S. Ethelwold and one for S. Audomar.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

KL		Oct	Sc̄ōrum Germani et remigii epor̄.[1]
vi	N̄		Sc̄i leodegarii epī et mar̄.
v	N̄		
iiii	N̄		
iii	N̄		Sc̄ae cristinae uirḡ.
ii	N̄		
Non̄			Sc̄i marci pap̄. marcelli. et apulei.
viii			
vii	Īd		SC̄ŌRUM DIONISII RUSTICI ET ELEUTHERII.
vi	Īd		
v	Īd		
iiii	Īd		
iii	Īd		
ii	Īd		Sc̄i calesti papae.
Idus			
xvii	K̄l	Noū	
xvi			Sc̄ae aetheldrythae uirḡ.
xv	K̄l		SC̄I LUCAE EUḠ.[2] *Sol in scorpionem.*
xiiii			
xiii	K̄l		
xii	K̄l		
xi			
x	K̄l		
ix	K̄l		
viii			Sc̄ōrum crispini et crispiniani mar̄.
vii	K̄l		Sc̄i amandi epī.
vi	K̄l		*Uigilia.*
v			APOSTOLORUM SYMEONIS ET IUDAE.
iiii	K̄l		
iii	K̄l		Ordinatio Sc̄i Suuithuni epī.
ii			Sc̄i quintini mar̄. *Uigilia.*

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[1] Sanctorale has Remegii Germani Vedasti Bauonis.
[2] Sanctorale adds mass for S. Iustus. m.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

kL		Oct̄. Germani. Remigii. Uedasti. Bauonis. et Piatonis mr̄.[1]
vi	N̄	Sc̄i Leodegarii epī.
v	N̄	*Dies mala.*
iiii	N̄	
iii	N̄	Sc̄ę Cristinę uirḡ.
ii	N̄	
Non̄		Sc̄i Marci papę. et Marcelli. et Apulei. et S̄. Osgẏde. uirḡ.
viii	Īd	Transl̄ sc̄ōr confessor̄ OSSUUALDI Aydani epor̄ et Ceolphrithi [abb̄.[2]
vii	Īd	Sc̄or Dionisii sociorumq: eius.
vi	Īd	Sc̄i paulini epī. et Transl̄ Sc̄or epor̄ Ecguuini · et S̄ Othulphi.
v	Īd	
iiii	Īd	
iii	Īd	Sc̄i Wilfridi epī et confessoris.[3]
ii	Īd	Sc̄i Kalisti papę.
Idus		
xvii	K̄l	
xvi	K̄l	Sc̄ę Ætheldrẏthe uirḡ.
xv	K̄l	Sc̄i Lucę euangl̄. et Sc̄i Iusti mart̄. Sol in scorpion̄.
xiiii	K̄l	
xiii	K̄l	
xii	K̄l	Sc̄i hilarionis.
xi	K̄l	Sc̄i Seuerini epī.
x	K̄l	*Dies egipt̄.*
ix	K̄l	
viii	K̄l	Sc̄i Crispini et Crispiniani.
vii	K̄l	Sc̄i Amandi epī.
vi	K̄l	Uigilia.
v	K̄l	Ap̄lor Simonis et Iudae.
iiii	K̄l	
iii	K̄l	Ordinatio sc̄i Suuẏthuni epī.
ii	K̄l	Sc̄i Quintini martyris. Uigilia.

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[1] Bauonis et Piatonis mr̄. in original hand, but added later?
[2] Osuualdi inserted in red and epī altered to epor̄. The entry originally ran: Transl̄ sc̄ōr confessor̄ Aydani epī et Ceolphrythi abb̄. [Transl. St. Oswald. 1089.]
[3] In a later hand. The usual date for the Translation of St. Wilfrid is iiii Id. Oct.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.

K̅L̅	Noũ	OMNIUM SC̄ŌRUM.	SC̄I CAESARI.
iiii	N̄	SC̄I EUSTACHII MAR̄.	
iii	N̄		
ii	N̄		
Non̄.			
viii	I̅d̅		
vii	I̅d̅		*Hiemis initium habet dies xcii.*
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōrum $\text{iiii}^{o.r}$ coronatorum.	
v	I̅d̅	Sc̄i theodori mar̄.	
iiii	I̅d̅		
iii	I̅d̅	SC̄I MARTINI EPĪ.	ET SC̄I MENNE MAR̄.
ii	I̅d̅		
Idus		SC̄I BRICII. EPĪ.	
xviii	Kl Dec.		
xvii	Kl		
xvi	Kl		
xv		Sc̄i aniani epī.	*Sol in sagittario.*
xiiii	K̅l̅		
xiii	K̅l̅		
xii		[1]	
xi	K̅l̅		
x	K̅l̅	SC̄AE CECILAE UIRḠ.	
ix		SC̄I CLEMENTIS. MAR̄.[2]	
viii	Kl	[S]c̄i chrisogoni. mar̄.	
vii	K̅l̅		*Hiemus oritur.*
vi			
v	Kl		
iiii	K̅l̅		
iii		Sc̄i Saturnini mar̄.	*Uigilia.*
ii	K̅l̅	SC̄I ANDREAE APOSTOLI.	

[1] Sanctorale has mass for S. Edmund. k.
[2] Sanctorale adds mass for S. Felicitas.

ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.

k̅L̅		Noū. FESTIUITAS OM̄IŪ SC̄ŌR. et S̄. Cesarii. mr̄.	
iiii	N̄	Sc̄i Eustachii sociorq: eius.	
iii	N̄	Sc̄i rumuuoldi. conf̄.[1]	
ii	N̄		
NON̄			*Dies ęgiptiacus.*
viii	I̅d̅	Sc̄i Uuinnoci confessoris.	
vii	I̅d̅		*Hiemps initiū · habet dies · xcv.*
vi	I̅d̅	Sc̄ōr · $\overset{or}{\text{iiii}}$ · coronator̄.	
v	I̅d̅	Sc̄i Theodori mart̄.	
iiii	I̅d̅		
iii	I̅d̅	Sc̄i MARTINI epī. et sc̄i Menne mart̄.	
ii	I̅d̅		
IDUS		Sc̄i Bricii epī.	
xviii	Kl	DECE̅B̅.	
xvii	K̅l̅		
xvi	K̅l̅		
xv	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Aniani epī · et S̄. Teclę uirḡ.	SOL Ī. SAGITTARIO.
xiiii	K̅l̅		
xiii	K̅l̅		
xii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Eadmundi regis · et mart̄.	
xi	K̅l̅		
x	K̅l̅	Sc̄ę Cęcilię uirḡ.	
ix	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Clementis papae et mart̄.	
viii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Othulphi archiepī · et Crisogoni mart̄.	
vii	K̅l̅		
vi	K̅l̅		
v	K̅l̅		
iiii	K̅l̅		*Dies mala.*
iii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i Saturnini mart̄.	UIGILIA.
ii	K̅l̅	Sc̄i ANDREĘ APLĪ.	DE ADUENTU DN̄I

[1] In later hand.

MISSAL OF ROBERT OF JUMIÈGES.			ST. WULFSTAN'S HOMILIARY.		
K̅L̅	Dec.		k̅L̅	Decemb̄. Sc̄i Elegi epī · et confessoris.	
iiii Ñ			iiii Ñ		
iii Ñ	Deposit̄. sc̄i byrini epī.		iii Ñ	Depositio sc̄i Bẏrini epī.	
ii Ñ	Sc̄i benedicti abb̄.		ii Ñ	Sc̄i Benedicti abb̄.	
Non̄.			Non̄		
viii I̅d̅			viii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Nẏcolaẏ archiepī.	
vii I̅d̅	[1]		vii I̅d̅	Octab̄ sc̄i Andreę aplī.	
vi I̅d̅			vi I̅d̅		
v I̅d̅			v I̅d̅		
iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄ae eulaliae uirḡ.		iiii I̅d̅	Sc̄ę Eulalię uirḡ.	
iii I̅d̅	Sc̄i damasi papae.		iii I̅d̅	Sc̄i Damasi papę.	
ii I̅d̅			ii I̅d̅		*Dies mala.*
Idus	Sc̄i iudoci conf̄. et sc̄ae luciae uirḡ.		Idus	Sc̄i Iudoci confessoris. et S̄. Lucię uirḡ.	
xix Kl	Ian		xix K̅l̅		
xviii K̅l̅			xviii K̅l̅		*Dies egiptiacus.*
xvii Kl			xvii K̅l̅		
xvi			xvi K̅l̅		
xv K̅l̅		*Sol in capricornum.*	xv K̅l̅		Sol in capricorn̄.
xiiii K̅l̅			xiiii K̅l̅		
xiii			xiii K̅l̅		Uigilia.
xii K̅l̅	SC̄I THOMAE APLĪ.		xii K̅l̅	Sc̄i Thomę aplī.	Solsticium · hiemale.
xi K̅l̅			xi K̅l̅		
x			x K̅l̅		
ix K̅l̅		[2]	ix K̅l̅		uigilia.
viii K̅l̅	NATIUITAS DN̄I NR̄I IH̄U XR̄I.		viii K̅l̅	NATIUITAS DN̄I · et S̄. Anastasię.	
vii	SC̄I STEPHANI PROTOMAR̄.		vii K̅l̅	SC̄I STEPHANI P̅T̅OMART̄.	
vi K̅l̅	SC̄I IOHANNIS EUANḠ.		vi K̅l̅	SC̄I IOHANNIS EUANGL̄.	
v K̅l̅	NECATIO INFANTIUM CXLIIII MILIA.		v Kl	SC̄O̅R̅ INNOCENTUM.	
iiii	Sc̄ae tibbae uir̄.		iiii K̅l̅		
iii K̅l̅			iii K̅l̅	DEPOSITIO SC̄I ECGUUINI EPĪ.	
ii K̅l̅	Sc̄i siluestri papae.		ii Kl	Sc̄i Sẏluestri papae.	

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[1] Sanctorale has mass for Oct. S. Andrew. Apost.
[2] Sanctorale has Vigil.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL ENTRIES OF THE HOMILIARY KALENDAR

THE additional feasts and martyrological entries of the Homiliary kalendar, i.e. those in WH and not in R, may be divided into two groups.

GROUP I

General Feasts.

Jan. 2. Macharii
„ 15. Remigii
„ 16. Marcelli conf.
„ 22. Uuincentii
„ 30. Balthildis.
Feb. 3. Uuærburgę
„ 3. Triphonis
„ 9. Eufraxię
Mar. 3. Focę
„ 17. Genetrudis
Apr. 19. Aelpheagi
„ 24. Melliti
May 2. Athanasii
„ 3. Iuuenalis
„ 4. Quiriaci
„ 16. Brendani
„ 16. Eugenię
„ 17. Torpetis
„ 19. Dunstani
„ 20. Æthelberhti
„ 20. Basille
„ 25. Aldhelmi
„ 26. Będę
June 8. Gildardi
„ 26. Iohannis et Pauli
June 26. Saluii
July 1. Gagii
„ 6. Goaris
„ 11. Transl̄ Sc̄i Benedicti
„ 15. Cirici
„ 19. Arsenii
Aug. 20. Maximi
„ 24. Audoeni
„ 31. Aydani
Sept. 25. Ceolfrythi
Oct. 1. Bavonis
„ 7. Osgýde
„ 8. Transl̄ Aydani et Ceolphrithi
„ 10. Paulini
„ 18. Iusti
„ 21. Hilarionis
„ 23. Seuerini
Nov. 6. Uuinnoci
„ 20. Eadmundi
Dec. 6. Nýcolaý[1]
„ 7. Oct. Sci Andreę

In later hand

Oct. 13. Uuilfridi
Nov. 3. Rumuuoldi

GROUP II

Local Feasts.

WORCESTER

Apr. 15. Transl̄. Osuualdi [1002]
Oct. 8. „ „ [1089] *added later*

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[1] In dating the kalendar it does not appear to be necessary to connect this entry with the translation to Bari (1087). This feast appears first in Cotton MS. Nero A. II which Mr. E. Bishop dates *c.* 1020–30. [A chapel was dedicated to St. Nicholas at Evesham by Abbot Aethelwig (1066–77).]

THE EVESHAM CULTS

June 1. Uuistani mar̄
Aug. 19. Credani abb̄
Sept. 10. Transl̄ Sc̄i Ecguuini epī [1039]
Oct. 10. Transl̄ scōr epōr̄ Ecguuini et Othulphi [1054?]
Nov. 24. Othulphi archiep̄i
Dec. 30. Depositio Sc̄i Ecguuini epī

An analysis of Group 1 reveals the influence of Canterbury in the feasts of Mellitus, Paulinus, Dunstan, and Aelpheage, and, perhaps, Salvius. The East Anglian element, so noticeable in R, is further strengthened by the addition of Werburga and Osyth; while further evidence to that in R of the connexion between the churches of East Anglia and those of the Low Countries is offered by the feasts of Gertrude (of Nivelles), Mar. 17, Bavo (of Ghent) Oct. 1, Severinus (of Cologne) Oct. 23, and Winnoc, Nov. 6.

A group of Glastonbury feasts (Aydani, Aug. 31, Ceolfrithi, Sept. 25, and Transl̄ Aydani at Ceolphrithi, Oct. 8) points to a connexion, direct or indirect, between that monastery and the Church of Worcester.[1]

Some unusual entries given in a footnote confirm the East Anglian provenance of WH. They do not, so far as I know, occur in early kalendars other than those indicated.[2]

Group II provides some earlier Evesham feasts of which we should otherwise have no knowledge. Neither the entry at Oct. 10 nor that at Nov. 24 survived in the only two known kalendars of Evesham, viz. Bodl. Barlow 41 (late xiii cent.) and B.M. Lansdowne 427, which Dr. H. M. Bannister describes as 'a fourteenth century transcription of a twelfth century one'.[3] The only feast of Odulf in these kalendars is one at June 12, which commemorates the translation of the saint's remains to Evesham, *c.* 1034. It is possible that the entry at Nov. 24 marks his deposition.

The Homiliary kalendar must be regarded rather as the private kalendar of Saint Wulfstan than as one of the diocese. Some of its feasts would recall to the saint his boyhood at Evesham monastery, while others, forming the greater part, must have brought back memories of his life, in youth and growing manhood, at Peterborough. The later Evesham entries may be taken as evidence of his friendship with its abbots, to one of whom, Aethelwig, he is said to have been confessor,[4] and as evidence of an affection for that monastery which probably lasted throughout his life.

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[1] The eleventh-century Worcester kalendar in C.C.C.C. MS. 9 adds yet another, St. Patrick the Elder, Aug. 24.

[2] Feb. 9. Eufraxię (Crowland at Feb. 11).
Mar. 3. Focę (Bury at Mar. 5).
May 4. Quiriaci (only in this kalendar).
„ 20. Basille (Galba A. xviii).
July 19. Arsenii (Bury, Crowland, Bodl. Digby MS. 63).
Aug. 20. Maximi (Bury, Cotton MS. Nero A. 11).
Nov. 17. Teclę (St. Willibrord's Kal., Digby MS. 63, Salisbury MS. 150, and Glastonbury).
and May 16, Brendani; May 17, Torpetis; both found (as is Basille, May 20) in the twelfth-century *Drummond Missal* (Burntisland, 1882).

[3] Turner, *Early Worcester MSS.*, App. iv. lx.

[4] *St. Egwin and his Abbey of Evesham*, Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester, 1904.

VII.—*The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and their Work.* *By* E. A. B. Barnard, *Esq., F.S.A., and* A. J. B. Wace, *Esq., M.A.*

Read 22nd March 1928

PART I. THE WEAVERS

By E. A. B. Barnard

In the course of the paper on 'Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries' (*Archaeologia*, vol. lxxiv), which Mr. John Humphreys read before the Society on 3 April 1924, he dealt principally with the historical and topographical interests of many of the then known examples of Sheldon tapestry-work. In the persons of Mr. Humphreys, Colonel Howard, and Mr. A. F. Kendrick we indeed salute pioneers in research concerning this subject. The object of this present paper is to deal as far as possible with the results of my recent documentary researches concerning William Sheldon's scheme and those who were associated with it. I should at once add that these researches have only been made possible by the financial support of our Fellow, Mr. Rees Price, of Broadway, Worcestershire, who himself has done so much similar work concerning the history of the Sheldon family.

I had for some time been working back from the year 1630—the year of the death of Francis Hyckes—when it happened that on the first occasion that I discussed this subject in full with Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Keeper of the Textile Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, we decided that it might be advisable to go afresh to the beginning of things, and again to explore the will of William Sheldon, which contains such important references to his scheme for the continuance of his tapestry-making. I therefore proceeded to collate the will at Somerset House with the various extracts from it that have hitherto appeared in print, and the result is that I have found that it contains important information hitherto omitted, which makes it necessary considerably to revise our outlook upon this subject.

William Sheldon, of Beoley, co. Worcester, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of William Willington, a wealthy wool merchant, who lived at Barcheston, co. Warwick, and whose tomb is in the church there. Sheldon had bought the manor of Weston, etc., a few miles from Barcheston, on 21 November 1534,[1] for 533*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* He made his will (P. C. C. 8 Holney) on 3 January 1569–70, probate of which was not granted until 26 November 1603. It is a very long will, for Sheldon had much to leave. After various preliminaries he proceeds to a subject that was evidently very present to his mind, viz. his tapestry and his weavers, and this in modern terms is what he says, the former omissions here being italicized:

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[1] Indenture in Weston Park MSS.

'. . . And also whereas I have bought of one Thomas Bourne a lease of all the toll or custom as well of fairs as of market days every week to be holden within the lordship of Bushoppes Castell, co. Salop, with all the members, so often as it shall there to be holden and exercised yearly, with all customs, fees, profits, tolls, commodities and other things whatsoever to the said fairs and markets appertaining or belonging to begin at the ninth day of April next and immediately following the end of the term, surrender or forfeiture of the state and grant of the farm of the said toll or custom and other the premises with their appurtenances to one Peter Cornewall, son of Sir Thomas Cornewall made, and to have continuance from thenceforth for term of fifty-one years, yielding and paying for the same yearly 10*l.*, the which reversion granted by the said Thomas Bourne is conveyed to my said well-beloved cousin Harry Asfild to my use upon trust, and which reversion is to begin as it is thought in April, 1575.

'My will and mind is . . . that all the profits of the said lease, until that Edmond Plowden, son of the said Edmond Plowden, esquire, my son-in-law, shall accomplish . . . the full age of 24 years, shall be received and taken by my executors, and shall be employed for evermore in manner and form following, that is to say for all the said years to be lent freely from time to time upon good securities to such person and persons as shall occupy and use the art of making of tapestry and arras or either of them within the counties of Worcester and Warwick and in the cities of Worcester and Coventry in such manner and form as is hereafter in this my will expressed and declared.

'That is to say first that William Dowler now servant to Richard Heeks[1] the only author and beginner of this Art within this Realm shall have freely by way of loan of the first issues, revenues and profits that shall arise and grow of the said tolls and the profits thereunto belonging for term of years upon good securities to use the said Art and to repay the same at the end of ten years the sum of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

'And my will and mind is that every other person or persons that is now servant or hereafter shall be servant or servants to the said Richard Heekes *or to one Thomas Chaunce* or to the said William Dowler in the said Art at the time of my death and being born within this Realm shall have and orderly as they be in years likewise freely by way of loan of the next issues and profits that shall arise and grow of the said toll and other the premises thereunto belonging in Busshopps Castell aforesaid And also of such other sums of money as is already lent by me or shall be lent by me in my life for the maintenance of the said Art and of such other sums of money as shall be lent of the said issues and profits of the said toll and other the premises to the same belonging and repaid again for 10 years upon good securities to use the said Art, and to repay the same at the end of 10 years the sum of 20*l.*'

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[1] This surname has a number of variants in the relative documents in which it appears. As far as possible the form Hyckes has been used throughout this paper, being the form used by Richard Hyckes himself. In cases where it appears otherwise, the surname is spelt as in the original document.

The next section of the will seems to make it clear that Sheldon also allowed for the introduction of foreigners into his scheme. He says:

> 'And that *every stranger born* that shall work with the said Richard Heeks, Thomas Chaunce and William Dowler in the said Art at the time of my death shall have orderly *as they have been or shall be in service with the said Richard Heekes, Thomas Chaunce, William Dowler or any of them* by way of loan of the next issues and profits that shall arise and grow of the said toll and other the premises thereunto belonging in Busshopp Castell aforesaid and of the said stock of money lent and repaid again for 10 years upon good securities to use the said Art within this Realm and to repay the same again and the end of 10 years the sum of 20 marks. . . . Also I do devise . . . that after all such as now work *in the said Art with the said Richard Heeks, Thomas Chaunce or with any Englishman now being in work* or which shall be in work at Barcheston *or Bordesley*[1] at the time of my death shall have had their said sums of money to them appointed by this my last will and testament, that then the residue of all the issues, revenues and profits of the said toll . . . and of the said sums of money lent and repaid again shall be for ever applied and lent for 10 years by 20*l.* apiece to every such as shall use the said Art, chiefly to such as shall be hereafter apprentice *to any of my said servants* beforenamed using the same Art, finding sufficient securities to use the same and repay the money again at the end of ten years, if the party that shall have the money shall so long live.
>
> 'And if it shall chance the same party to die within the said 10 years that then he shall repay the said money within one year next after the time of his death in manner and form following . . . to every person that shall so use the said Art within the said Counties of Worcester and Warwick and in the said Cities of Worcester and Coventry, *and for lack of such persons there or elsewhere within the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, Stafford, Oxford and Berkshire,*[2] so that every of them do find securities as is aforesaid, which securities and bonds . . . shall be made unto my executors and the overlivers of them and such person and persons as shall be Justices of Assizes at the time being of the County of Worcester and to the Clerk of the Peace of the said County of Worcester . . .'

The will now leaves matters of tapestry and of arras, and proceeds on its ample way. Even when the end has been reached, however, Sheldon returns to his scheme—on 28 September 1570—less than two months before his death. Thus, under that date, comes this codicil:

> 'And whereas I have placed in the mansion house of Barcheston aforesaid one Richard Heekes and granted him the mill there *and all the houses*, orchards, gardens, *the going, pasturing and feeding of 17 oxen, 6 horses and certain other cattle without paying any rent in money for the same, but only to make certain malt for me and to carry certain of my corn and hay,* and chiefly in respect of the maintenance of making of "tapestrye, arras, moccadoes, carolles, plometts, grograynes, sayes and sarges".

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[1] Not 'Bardisley (Baddesley Clinton) co. Warwick', as in former published transcripts.

[2] These eight aforementioned counties, with the addition of Middlesex, are the only counties represented in the tapestry maps.

'And whereas also the said Richard Heeks and I are condistended and agreed that certain money shall be yearly disbursed and laid out by me and my heirs towards the making of the said tapestry and other things before recited. And how and in what manner the same shall be answered to me, my heirs and executors, and a recompense also for the said house and other things to the said Richard Heeks granted *as by a bill*[1] *indented made between him and me more plainly at large appeareth.*

'And for as much as the same Richard Heeks hath bestowed and must bestow *on the houses there* a good piece of money to make all things necessary *for workmen to work in the premises.*

'And for that his trade will be greatly beneficial to this commonwealth to trade youth in, and a means [meane] to *store great sums of money within this Realm that will issue and go out of this Realm for the same commodities to the maintenance of the foreign p'ties and to the hindrance of this commonwealth.*'

This last paragraph was read as follows in former printed references to it:

'And a means to secure great sums of money within this Realm for the same commodities to the maintenance of the foreign p'ties and to the hindrance of this Commonwealth',

which is, of course, a directly contrary sense. The codicil proceeds:

'And considering that I do think my said wellbeloved son Rauf will have the same consideration to the commonwealth as I now have or more, I do . . . devise that . . . if he do permit . . . the said Richard Heeks to have and enjoy the said house and all other things in the said writings made between me and the said Richard Heeks according to the time limited in the said writing and according to the tenor thereof.

'That then my said son Rauf and his heirs male shall not only have all the things and profits reserved in the said writings indented, but also the stock that shall remain in the hands of the said Richard Heeks at the time of my death.

'And if the same be not then the value of 300*l.* that then my executors shall within one year make the same 300*l.* which shall be yearly employed according to the said writing indented as much as is therein mentioned on my part, and my heirs to be performed, that then I so devise and will that the said Richard Heeks shall have of the said stock the occupation of 100*l.* during his natural life, so that he do seal and deliver to my executors or to one of them one bill obligatory for the repayment of the said sum of 100*l.* to my executors within two years next after the decease of the said Richard Heeks, and so that the said Richard Heeks (as my special hope and trust he will) do continue the exercising of the said trade to so good a purpose as he hath begun.'

Thus the codicil comes to an end.

William Sheldon died on 23 December 1570. He was buried on 15 January following, in Beoley church where in addition to his tomb there is, on the east wall of the Sheldon chapel, a tablet placed there to his memory by his son Ralph. The epitaph inscribed on this tablet has the following reference: '. . . *eo*

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[1] Unfortunately, in spite of much research, this document does not now appear to be in existence.

animo in patriam ut tapetum texendi artem in Angliam suo sumptu advexerit, certasque pecuniarum summas ad fovendos in eo genere artifices testamento legaverit. . . .' It is given in full by Nash (*History of Worcestershire*, i, 69).

On a memorial to Ralph Sheldon himself, in the same chapel, it is stated:

'. . . *postquam primam adolescentiam in bonis litteris Oxoniae exegisset, Galliam caeterasque regiones perlustrasset, in aula regia versatus esset, dein Roberti Throckmortonii equitis aurati filiam singularis exempli conjugem duxisset* . . .' (Nash, *op. cit.*, i, 71.)

It would appear possible that Ralph Sheldon, who was born in 1537, travelled abroad with Richard Hyckes as his companion.[1] It may have been through them, therefore, that William Sheldon first introduced tapestry-weaving into England for the purposes of his scheme, after Hyckes had received certain instructions in the art in Holland through the interest of Ralph Sheldon. Ralph Sheldon was married in 1557, when he was twenty, and therefore if he and Richard Hyckes had travelled abroad together it was probably shortly before that time. When William Sheldon made his will, Richard Hyckes would have been about forty-five years old. There is as yet no evidence as to the place of his birth, but it is possible that he originated from the little Warwickshire village of Whatcote, on the southern border of the Sheldon country. The registers there date from 1572, which would be some years after the birth of Hyckes; and the Lay Subsidy Rolls for Warwickshire and Gloucestershire yield no information.

I have found no earlier documentary reference concerning Richard Hyckes than that made by William Sheldon, but there is, of course, the much later reference[2] of Anthony Wood, the Oxford antiquary, who says in a note at the foot of the Hyckes pedigree:

> 'The first Rich. Hycks here mentioned was bound prentice to a Dutch arras weaver in Holland by Ralph Sheldon (who built the great house at Weston in Com. Warw. in 1588) and being out of his time setled at Barcheston a mannor y^t belongs to the Sheldons, and made and weaved those fair hangings y^t are in ye dining roome at Weston.'

Ralph Sheldon made his will[3] at his house at Skilts, co. Warwick, a few miles from Beoley, on 20 November 1612. He died on 30 March 1613, aged seventy-six. In his will he expressed his 'hope to die in the verities of the Catholicke Churche', and that his body may be buried 'in the north aisle of the Church of Beoley . . . lately erected and builded by me, and in the tomb . . . wherein my wife lieth'. Testator refers to the wilful and hard dealing that he had received from one Thomas Hoord [*sic*], of London, who in 1605 had lent him 24,000*l*., possibly in connexion with the building and furnishing of the great mansion at Weston. The original agreement between Ralph Sheldon and Thomas Hoerd is in the Birmingham Reference Library, and it contains a passing reference[1] to tapestry.

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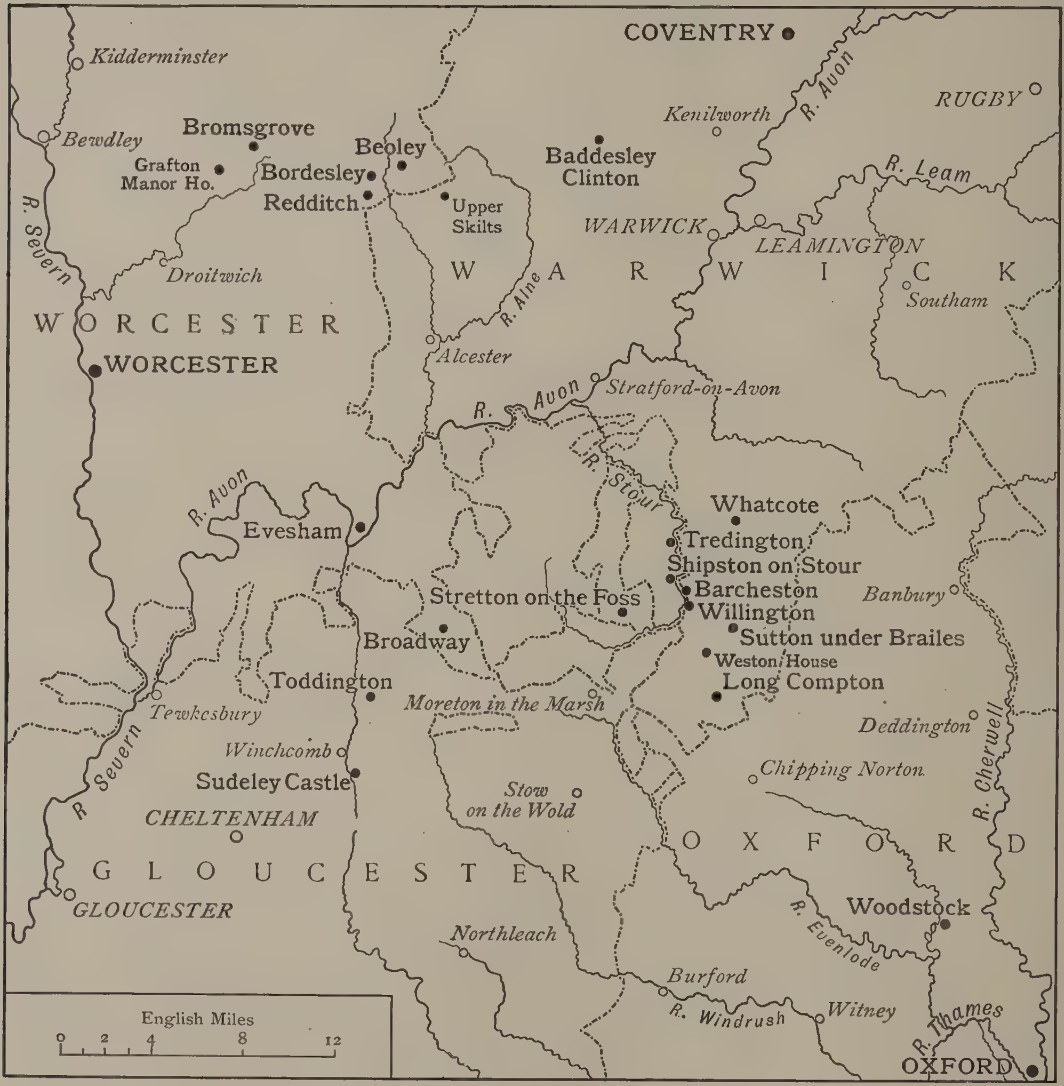
[1] At one time Hyckes boarded 'young gentlemen' at Barcheston (*v.* p. 270).

[2] MS. Rawl. D. 807, Bodleian Library; also *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, described by himself.* Collected from his Diaries and other Papers by Andrew Clark, M.A. (Oxford Historical Society). Vol. i, p. 477 n.

[3] P.C.C. 28 Capell.


COVENTRY
Kidderminster
RUGBY
Kenilworth
R. Avon
Bewdley
Bromsgrove
Beoley
Grafton Manor Ho.
Bordesley
Redditch
Upper Skilts
Baddesley Clinton
R. Leam
WARWICK
LEAMINGTON
R. Severn
Droitwich
W A R W I C K
Southam
R. Alne
W O R C E S T E R
WORCESTER
Alcester
Stratford-on-Avon
R. Avon
R. Stour
R. Avon
Whatcote
Evesham
Tredington
Shipston on Stour
Stretton on the Foss
Barcheston
Willington
Banbury
Sutton under Brailes
Broadway
Weston House
Long Compton
Toddington
Tewkesbury
Moreton in the Marsh
Deddington
Winchcomb
R. Cherwell
Chipping Norton
R. Severn
Sudeley Castle
Stow on the Wold
CHELTENHAM
O X F O R D
G L O U C E S T E R
Woodstock
GLOUCESTER
R. Evenlode
Northleach
Burford
English Miles
0 2 4 8 12
R. Windrush
Witney
R. Thames
OXFORD

Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

Fig. 1. Map of the Sheldon country: places referred to in this paper in heavy type.

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[1] *v.* p. 280.

In his will Ralph Sheldon makes no mention of either Richard or Francis Hyckes. Amongst many bequests there is one to 'my dear friend Mr. Dr. Blinco', evidently Anthony Blincowe, LL.D., Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from which college Francis Hyckes is said to have taken his bachelor's degree in 1583.[1]

Barcheston—close to the little Worcestershire town of Shipston-upon-Stour, where generations of weavers lived, both before and after the Barcheston period—is only just over the Warwickshire border, and of course is familiar, but the association of Bordesley with tapestry-making is of quite new and important interest. In 1546–7, when William Sheldon came into the family estates, he left Barcheston and went to the ancestral manor at Beoley—a few miles from the modern town of Redditch—and now, in 1570, it is evident from his will that tapestry was being woven, at least, at Barcheston and also at Bordesley, scarcely a mile from Beoley.

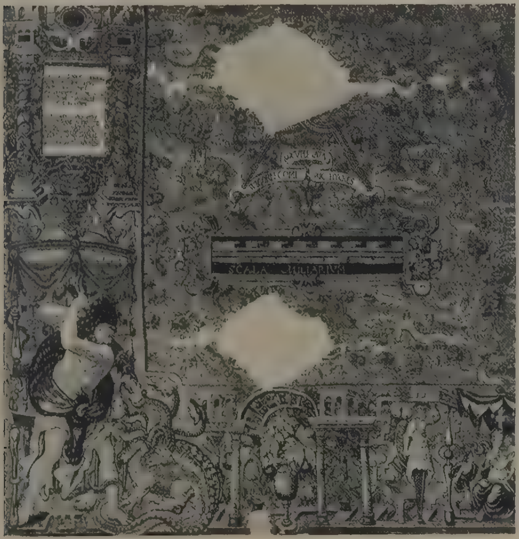

Fig. 2. Signature of Richard Hyckes.

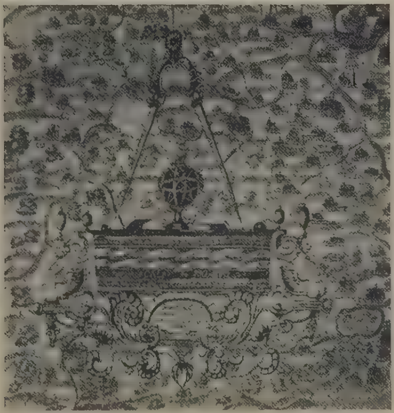

Fig. 3. Signature of Francis Hickes.

It seems likely that work had only just begun at Bordesley then, for Mr. Humphreys has shown—in his *Estate Book of Grafton Manor*—that, late in 1568, tapestry was supplied to that Manor, quite close to Bromsgrove, by Richard Hyckes 'at Barston'. Barcheston was often thus spelt at that period, and is not to be confused with the Warwickshire village of Barston, near Solihull.

The looms at Bordesley may have been originally set up mainly for the weaving of those 'hangings of tapestry and arras which I do will shall remain at Beoley from heir to heir'; so runs Sheldon's will. Later on when in 1588 Ralph Sheldon succeeded to the extensive family estates and began to build his mansion at Weston (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 2), the great tapestry-maps with which it was supplied were woven at Barcheston, only some three miles distant. At Bordesley there had been a Cistercian Abbey—and practically nothing more—and it seems quite possible that Thomas Chance set up his looms in 'the fayre raysed and decaying chapel' noted by Habington as still standing there in his time—about 100 years later—and that there the Bodleian tapestry-map of Worcester and the surrounding district was woven. It bears the signature[1] of Richard Hyckes and was woven from his cartoon (fig. 2). Apart from other reasons there is, in this map, reference to a contemporary event of much local interest in that district far removed from Barcheston, for above Kynaston Chapel co. Hereford is to be read: 'Whichwas dryven downe by the removyng of the ground', an inscription that is also found in Saxton's map (fig. 4). I have lately found that this undoubtedly refers to an earthquake that happened in 1575—Camden says 1571—at which time Marcley Hill, six miles east of Hereford, 'shook and roared in a terrible manner'. Finally 'it was put in motion. . . . In the place from whence it set out was left a gap 400 ft. long and 320 ft. broad; and in its progress it overthrew a chapel belonging to a village called Kynaston, together with all the trees, houses, &c., that stood in its way.' I have to thank Mr. A. E. Steel and the Librarian of the Royal Society for their assistance in obtaining the first clue to this event; and Mr. F. C. Morgan, Chief Librarian, Hereford Public Library, for added information.[2]

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[1] *v.* p. 275; also Humphreys, 'Elizabethan Sheldon Tapestries', *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, p. 189.

So we have Bordesley and Thomas Chance making their first appearance in this story. I failed to find Chance in the Worcester Probate Registry, but his will[3] ultimately came to light at Somerset House. It was made on 26 August 1603, at which time he was living 'at Bondes grove alias Laugherne grove' in the parish of St. John-the-Baptist-in-Bedwardine (marked in the Bodleian map), the other side of Worcester bridge, and is described as 'gentleman'. The will, probate of which was granted on 26 November 1603 simultaneously with William Sheldon's, is a long one, and he was obviously a man of considerable property—*bona notabilia*—hence his appearance in the Calendars of the Prerogative Court. He was a member of the well-represented Worcestershire family of Chance.

Thomas Chance makes several bequests of particular interest to us. The first of them is 'To my worshipfull good frendes maister Raph Sheldon, and the Lady Russell,[1] in token of my dutifull good will towardes them, two ringes of the value of twentie shillings a peece'. This is followed by a bequest of 5*l.* in gold, left 'to my welbeloued frend maister Richard heekes of Barston. . . .' Then there is a bequest of twenty shillings each to 'Francis Heeks and Alice, his sister, sonne and daughter of the said Richard Heeks', and there is also a bequest of ten shillings to one Henry Dowler, doubtless a relative of the aforementioned William Dowler. Chance also makes various bequests to relatives and friends living in and near Bromsgrove, a town thirteen miles from Worcester and some eight miles from Beoley and Bordesley.

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[1] Richard *Hyckes* thus 'signed' his name in the tapestry-map of Worcestershire (fig. 2), and when signing the Broadway lease (*v.* p. 267). Francis *Hickes* thus signed his name in the tapestry-map of Oxfordshire and Berkshire (fig. 3), and in the Shipston-upon-Stour registers.

[2] Camden's *Britannia* (1607), p. 620; Fuller's *Worthies* (*c.* 1662), p. 34, etc.

[3] P.C.C. 93 Bolein.

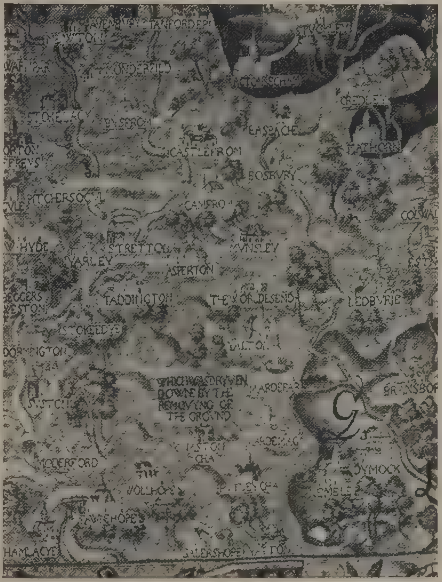
Fig. 4. Section of tapestry map showing Kynaston Chapel.

Considerable research at the Public Record Office has failed to produce any further evidence concerning this Thomas Chance; but at Worcester Probate Registry I have found his marriage-bond[2] in which he is described as being of Bordesley, his bride being Rose Hare, of St. Michael-in-Bedwardine. This was in 1571, a year or so after the reference to Bordesley in William Sheldon's will. Rose Hare was the widow of Thomas Hare, described as being 'Doctor of physick, St. Michell in Bedwardyne, Worcester', who made his will[3] on 7 February 1569 and from whom she inherited money and a 'tenement called Noptons . . . in the county of Worcester'. By the year 1584, however, Thomas Chance, gentleman, was well set up in his parish of St. John-the-Baptist-in-Bedwardine, for in that year a certain Walter Bourne—a Thomas Bourne comes into William Sheldon's will—entered into a bond,[4] also found in Worcester Probate Registry, with him for the repayment of 3*l.* This does not necessarily imply that the Bordesley looms had then ceased to operate, although we shall see that that year corresponds with the year in which Hyckes left Barcheston and went up to the Great Wardrobe.

Whilst we are in the Worcester area it should be noted that an analysis of the English names of the royal arras-workers during the period 1557–1614—the

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[1] She was the eldest of Ralph Sheldon's eight daughters, and married Sir John Russell, of Strensham, co. Worcester.

[2] 1571, 43 *a*.

[3] P.C.C. 25 Lyon.

[4] 1583, 115 *a*.

English and Flemish names are practically equal in number—certainly gives a decided preponderance of names more associated with the Worcester area—and thus with Bordesley—than with the Barcheston area.

It is of interest also to note that, eventually, in 1639–40 only the names of nine men engaged upon the royal tapestry repairs appear in the Accounts, and that they are all English names. Moreover, they are the names of men who had appeared in the Accounts before 1619, in which year Mortlake first produced tapestry. From this fact, and from the known names of early Mortlake weavers, it seems unlikely that any arras-workers of the Sheldon School went from the Great Wardrobe to Mortlake, at least in its earlier years.

That Richard Hyckes himself also had associations with Bromsgrove—some thirty miles from Barcheston—appears from the will of Robert Avys, vicar of Bromsgrove, dated 21 June 1579. The vicar leaves 'one royal gold of fifteen shillings to Richard Hickes, of Barcheston, in remembrance of his old friendship', and further desires that the lease that he has of Berrow—some seven miles from Tewkesbury -by assignment from Richard Hyckes be sold by consent of his [testator's] wife.

After William Sheldon's death and for many years it appears that Richard Hyckes dabbled in advowsons, went to law, farmed on a fairly large scale, and wove and sold tapestries at Barcheston. I have found him first of all, during that period, in a suit[1] in the Court of Requests in November 1574–5, in which he describes himself—and this is certainly rather bewildering—as 'your highenes Arresmak^{r}', although he does not come into the official list of royal arras-workers until 1584. Perhaps he had been engaged in repairing the tapestries at 'the Manor of Woodstock'[2]—not many miles from Barcheston—or is it possible that he may have been thus appointed when preparations were being made for the visit of the Earl of Leicester to Warwick in 1571? When the Earl on that occasion sat in state in St. Nicholas church there, it is recorded[3] that 'So farre of the quuer as have seates was hanged on bothe sides wth rich clothe or leather of gold veary faire. All the rest of the chauncell was hanged with arras and tapistry . . . on the stall before my Lord lay a rich clothe wth a faire and costly cushion. . . . On the communyon table was laid an other faire clothe of arras.'

It might be that this arras and tapestry had been woven at Bordesley or at Barcheston, that the Earl had made inquiries relative to its provenance, and that when Mr. Fisher, the Town Clerk of Warwick, was afterwards received by him at Greenwich, his lordship was thus inspired to say, as noted[1]: '. . . I m^r^vaile, you do not devyse someways amonge you to have some speciall trade to kepe your poore on woork as such as Sheldon of Beolye devised w^ch^ my thinkith should be not only very profittable but also a meanes to kepe your poore from Idelnes.'

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[1] P.R.O. Court of Requests, 118/16. From the endorsement it would seem that Hyckes had already lodged another complaint in this matter.

[2] It is thus styled in the Accounts.

[3] *Black Book of Warwick*, ed. Thos. Kemp, p. 29.

In the course of his complaint in the aforementioned suit Hyckes says that about three years ago (i.e. in 1571) one Sir George Calveley[2]—he does not say where Sir George lived or to what place he dispatched the messenger—sent a man of his named Hugh Fysher, 'an Embrotherer'—a Fisher comes into the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts later on—to buy certain pieces of tapestry from Hyckes. Fysher, for and in the name and for the use of Sir George, his master, compounded with Hyckes and bought of him one piece of arras containing 'eight and thirtye ells flemish' (28½ yards), and agreed to pay for the same the sum of 10*l.* Hyckes delivered the arras to Fysher, upon his faithful promise that in a few days he would send the money, together with 50*s.* for 'certain cruell', which Hyckes also handed him.

In addition to this, Hyckes says that he entrusted Fysher with 'certain patterns vpon likinge and not valued'. Time went on, but no money was forthcoming from Sir George, and Hyckes says that he has at sundry times, 'to his great costs and chargs', sent messengers to Sir George requiring the payment of the owing 12*l.* 10*s.* and also the value or return of the patterns. This Sir George refuses to do—no reason why is given—and Hyckes prays that the king will grant a writ of Privy Seal to be directed to him for his appearance before the Court of Requests, there to answer to these premises.

I have not found Richard Hyckes again until 10 May 1579, when he again complains to the Court of Requests,[3] but upon a very different matter from that of the arras and the crewel. He now describes himself definitely as of Barcheston, and his occupation as a yeoman.

The complaint opens with a statement that William Sheldon of Beoley, 'late Master of your said Subiecte', about the year 1570 had bestowed upon him (Richard Hyckes) 'one advowson of the personage of Stretton-upon-Fosse',[4] a Warwickshire village about three miles from Barcheston, to take effect after the death of the said William Sheldon and of the then incumbent, whose name was Folley.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

[2] A George Calveley is in the list, dated 1 June 1533, of 'Knights made with the Sword at the Coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn' (Shaw, *Knights of England*). In 1571 there was a George Calveley, of Calveley, co. Chester, knight bachelor; and in 1617 a George Calveley, of Leigh or Lea Hall, Alford (? co. Lincoln), knight.

[3] P.R.O. Court of Requests, 66/15.

[4] Members of the Hyckes family were associated with this parish for many years, and Henry Hyckes, great-grandson of Richard Hyckes, held the living in 1682 (*Vis. Worcs.*, 1682–3, p. 56).

Richard Hyckes was to present one meet and able man to serve the cure of the said parsonage and so, 'att the Instaunte Requeste' of William Sheldon, he presented one Sir Humphrey More,[1] then vicar of Beoley, a man greatly in years. More rarely left his vicarage of Beoley, and consequently Stretton saw little of him. Ultimately Hyckes appointed one Sir Roger Smythe, clerk, to the vacancy at 40*l.* a year, but after Smythe had been at Stretton for about six months the parishioners, having great mislike to him, because 'his pronunciacion was suche as they [were] nothynge at all Edified by the same', made earnest request to Hyckes that he would appoint a really suitable man. So Hyckes conferred with Smythe, telling him as well of his 'Imbecillitie of Learninge as ympedyment of Speache', and finally suggested that he should resign. It is not necessary to follow Hyckes in his subsequent troubles in this matter, during some time of which he says that he was lying very sick at his house at Barcheston.

I have found that Richard Hyckes about that period had also been interested in another advowson. The evidence for this statement is forthcoming in the will[2] of Robert Avys, vicar of Bromsgrove, dated 21 June 1579.[3] Therein is a bequest of 'one olde royall of goulde of fiftene shillinges' made to Richard Hyckes, of Barcheston, in remembrance of his old friendship, and the hope is expressed that he will continue to show the same friendship to the testator's wife; and Avys further desires that the lease that he has of Netherborowe (Berrow)[4] by assignment from Richard Hyckes be sold by consent of his (testator's) wife. I have not succeeded in finding any additional evidence concerning these associations of Richard Hyckes with Berrow and with his friend the Vicar of Bromsgrove, with which town Thomas Chance, as already shown, was at that time associated.

At this point another association of Bromsgrove with the royal arras-workers and, in this case, with Francis Hyckes, should be noted. Whilst working through the wills of all the weavers calendared as such at Worcester during the period 1550–1625 I found the will[5] of one John Higgins, of Bromsgrove.

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[1] In this connexion it is a conflicting fact, apparently, that in Birmingham Reference Library there is: '167815. Admittance of Humphrey Moore, clerk, to the parish church of Stretton-upon-Fosse by the Bishop of Worcester, 1 May, 1591' [*sic*]. There are also several other relative documents in Birmingham Reference Library.

[2] P.C.C. 30 Darcy.

[3] Probate of this will was granted on 17 August 1581.

[4] Netherborowe, modern Berrow, a Worcestershire parish some 8½ miles south-west of Upton-upon-Severn. 'This parish was sometimes called Netherberrowe, to distinguish it from Overberrowe alias Overbury, the former being dependent on the latter, and both [churches] dedicated to St. Faith.' Nash, *History of Worcestershire*, vol. i, p. 75 n.

[5] *Worcester Probate Registry*, vol. vii, 136.

It was made on 23 September 1604, and therein the testator desires that a certain John Etkines shall give to Francis Heeks, Henry Disson,[1] and Anne Patchet, forty shillings apiece, for the first year that he is possessed of his (testator's) house, being 'in Bromsgrove at Ednell yate'. Amongst other bequests are those of 'my whole broad loom and two narrow looms' and of 'a linen loom'. John Higgins was one of the royal arras-workers in 1593–4[2] and for some time afterwards.

Richard Hyckes soon again appears as a complainant before the Court of Requests[3] in a long and involved suit concerning his dealings in sheep. This was on 17 May 1580, when he is described as living at Barcheston, but his occupation is not given. This suit brings to mind the lines in the Oxford and Berkshire tapestry-map, which may have been produced after Richard Hyckes's return to Barcheston in 1588—or more possibly in London[4] a little later than that date. The lines—suggestive, as are others, of a possible Michael Drayton influence—come at the end of that impressive verse which begins:

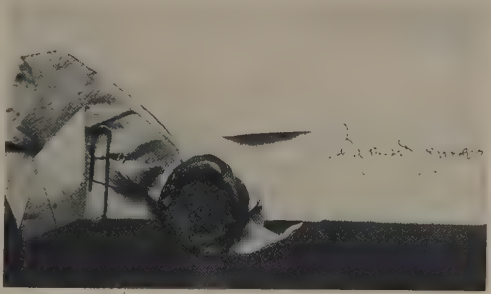
Fig. 5. Signature of Richard Hyckes to Broadway lease.

> This worke thus wrought with curious hand and rare invented art

and concludes:

> . . . on easte dothe Cotteswold stand
> Most fertill hilles for sheep and wo[ol] w[hos] [l]yke not in this land.

That same year of 1580, on 20 October, a lease of lands, etc., in Bradwaye (Broadway), co. Worcester, was granted by Ralph Sheldon and William Child to Robert Gybbs and Richard Hyckes. The original lease[5] is in Birmingham Reference Library, where fortunately there is a large collection of documents concerning the Sheldon family. The foot of this lease is signed by 'Rychard Hyckes', and there is a tag bearing a red wax seal impressed with the initials 'R. H.' This is the only instance of the signature or, in fact, of any writing of Richard Hyckes that I have found (fig. 5).

In 1571 William Lane, then described as parson of Barcheston, made his will. This document is in the Worcester Probate Registry,[6] and therefrom it appears that he was living with the Hyckes family at that time. He makes bequests, amongst them to 'my oste [host] Richard Hyckes' (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) to be an overseer of his will; to 'my ostes [hostess] Hyckes' (40*s.*); to 'Edward Hyckes, sonne to my oste the halfe rent of my parsonage from Holyrood daye hitherto and four of my best Hoggereles'; to Francis Hyckes, Jorne Hyckes, and Alice Hyckes (3*s.* 4*d.* each); to Alles Hyckes, 'my little syllver spone'; to the menservants (3*s.* 4*d.*); 'the maids in my ostes house' (6*s.* 4*d.*); and to Sir John Hopkins,[1] schoolmaster to Mr. Edward Sheldon (6*s.* 8*d.*).

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[1] *Cf.* p. 274, n. 2.

[2] *v.* p. 285.

[3] P.R.O. Court of Requests, 146/15.

[4] Old St. Paul's is a very prominent topographical feature of this map.

[5] Birmingham Reference Library, 167556.

[6] 1571, no. 110.

This Alice Hyckes does not appear in the Barcheston registers, but she is doubtless identical with the Alice Hyckes of Barcheston who married Cuthbert Huckvale (no place of residence given) in 1588. Their marriage bond is at Worcester Probate Registry.[2] Possibly the William Huckvaile who appears as an arras-worker in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts[3] in 1623–4 was their son.

Richard Hyckes was a witness to William Lane's will and he was also an appraiser of the few possessions left by the vicar, which included painted cloths, 'a grene saye dornyke', and eight tods of wool.

William Lane may have been directly succeeded as parson of Barcheston by Robert Hill,[4] who also lived with the Hyckes family. All went well for some twelve or thirteen years –and then I have found Richard Hyckes once more a ready complainant in the Court of Requests,[5] and his suit is actually directed against the aforesaid Robert Hill. The complaint is not forthcoming, but a commission was granted and depositions were taken at Shipston-upon-Stour on 15 January 1588.

The first deponent is William Weelie,[6] of Shipston-upon-Stour, arras-worker, thirty-one years old, who says that he had known Richard Hyckes and the parson for the last fifteen years, and that Hyckes has paid the parson the first fruits of the parsonage of Barcheston, and has made other payments to him, such as tenths and subsidies.

The complainant, deponent continues, provided meat and drink for the parson and his man, and also foddered two geldings for him, for the space of eight or nine years. Of this deponent is certain, for he was a servant in the house during that time. About ten years ago the parson also had of Richard Hyckes 'a suite of hangings of arris worke called fullage[7] worth in value about twelve pounds'. His diet was worth at least 3*s.* 4*d.* a week. Certain gentlemen's sons also boarded with Richard Hyckes, and deponent has heard that they each paid him 3*s.* 4*d.* weekly.

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[1] He was one of the witnesses to the will.

[2] 1588, no. 144 a; *v.* also p. 263.

[3] L.C. 9/98.

[4] It is possible, however, that Robert Hill did not come to Barcheston until the year 1575. Cf. evidence of Joseph Tustian.

[5] P.R.O. Court of Requests, 121/32.

[6] An old family name in Worcestershire and Warwickshire.

[7] Cf. *Septem peciis de Tapistrie de columnis vocat ffullishe pillers* (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts, 1581-2). Verdure is mentioned in the same account, and therefore could not be synonymous.

The next deponent is Thomas Weelie, also of Shipston-upon-Stour, silk-weaver, thirty years old. He says that he also has known the parties for the last fifteen years, and that the parson had of Richard Hyckes 'a suite of hangings for a chamber worth as he thinketh about foure shillings an ell'. This was about thirteen years ago. Richard Hyckes paid to the parson, for at least eight or nine years, 10*l.* a year for the parsonage of Barcheston.

Joseph Tustian, of Barcheston, a shepherd of about sixty-nine years of age, follows. He says that he has known Richard Hyckes for twenty-nine years. This seems to infer that he had known Hyckes ever since he first came to Barcheston, whence he came—as William Sheldon's will has already shown—chiefly in respect of the maintenance of making of 'tapestrye, arras, moccadoes, carolles, plometts, grograynes, sayes and sarges'. If this inference be good, then this deponent supplies us with the approximate date, *c.* 1559, of the setting-up of the Barcheston looms, at which time Hyckes was thirty-five years old. However, Sheldon's will certainly would seem to suggest that the Barcheston looms had not been long set up when he made his will in January 1569–70.

Tustian says that he has also known the parson of Barcheston for thirteen years—so Hill presumably did not come there until 1575—and so long as Richard Hyckes held the parsonage of Barcheston and the tithes of Willington, so long did he provide meat and drink for the parson and his man, 'and for his kinsman two or three years, and meat with room for two geldings'. About five years ago deponent met the parson at the building of a new barn at Barcheston, and said to him: 'Mr. Hill, the tythes of Willington will come home shortlie to this barne'. Mr. Hill replied that he would never take the tithes of Willington from Richard Hyckes, 'calling him his oster while he had a daie to lyve, but said Shipston markett should be his barne and this deponent's son should be his cater'.

John Whitley, of Barcheston, yeoman, fifty years old, says that Hyckes paid various fees for the presentation and induction of Mr. Hill to the living of Barcheston. Deponent dwelt 'in the complainant's house the last year that he [Hyckes] enjoyed the parsonage'.

Simon Tustian, of Barcheston, a shepherd about thirty years old, also deposes. He is followed by Thomas Atkins, of Tydmington, husbandman, who says that the parson told him that Richard Hyckes should again have the parsonage (i. e. the material benefit) of Barcheston towards the bringing up of his children, for he himself hoped 'he should be able to live without Barcheston'.

The trouble between Mr. Hyckes and Mr. Hill eventually reached a point at which the archbishop of Canterbury (John Whitgift, who had been bishop of Worcester from 1576 to 1583) had to intervene. Thus Richard Palmer and Richard Hall—no further information is given concerning them—depose that they are two of those who were appointed by the archbishop to hear the controversies. At this hearing the sums of money said to be due to Hyckes were put down, and it was found that they amounted to 572*l.* 4*s.* Mr. Hill then made his account, which grew to 387*l.* 4*s.* Apparently this was too much for the contending parties, for angry words immediately arose between them which broke off the whole matter.

Matters had come to a deadlock, so these two deponents suggested that the said accounts, which were in the hands of Dr. Lewes—who presumably was presiding at the hearing—should be returned to the respective parties. Dr. Lewes hesitated, but finally handed over the papers, and Mr. Hill most violently and unreverently caught at them as though he would have pulled them all to pieces. In fact these deponents think that he really did tear a part of them.

All the foregoing depositions were taken on behalf of Richard Hyckes, and then follow the depositions on behalf of Mr. Hill. The deponents are some of the older men in the neighbourhood—members of families long resident thereabouts—and their evidence concerns the titheable places and tithes of Barcheston and Willington.

These deponents are followed by Thomas Petifer, parson of Sherrington,[1] co. Gloucester, who says that Mr. Hill used to teach certain children and youths which tabled in Richard Hyckes's house, whereof four of them as he remembers were his (Hyckes's) own children. Mr. Hill taught them for four or five years, whilst deponent was acting as curate to him. He does not know if Mr. Hill received any payment for teaching these children.

Robert Hill, of Barcheston, twenty-two years old, yeoman, the parson's nephew, says that some seven or eight years ago his uncle gave him 4*l.* or 5*l.* to take to Richard Hyckes in payment for his (deponent's) board at Mr. Hyckes's house. He handed the money to Mr. Hyckes, who said, 'I marveile why yo^{r} uncle will send me anie monie for yo^{r} table considering that I am so much indebted unto him'. Mr. Hill also gave Richard Hyckes 'a faire gilt silver salte'. The document under consideration concludes with a statement made by Thomas Ferriman, Bachelor of Divinity and Rector of Harvington, near Evesham, who says that he was one of those who were nominated by the archbishop to hear these controversies. He did not see Mr. Hill tear up any documents, he adds.

I have found no further evidence concerning this litigation between two men so well known in the district and who had formerly been such close friends.

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[1] ? Cherington in co. Warwick, four miles from Shipston-upon-Stour.

It is generally considered that the manor-house at Barcheston, of which a part is still standing as a farmhouse, was the house where the tapestries were woven.

In Miller's *Parishes of the Diocese of Worcester* (vol. i, p. 40), a book published in 1889–90 and upon which little reliance can be placed, it is said that the manor-house and parsonage of Barcheston were pulled down at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, this information may at least be correct as concerning the parsonage, for the present Rector (Rev. F. D. Lane, M.A.) has favoured me with details of various copies of Licences for Non-Residence granted by the Diocesan during the period 17 December 1810 to 30 December 1830, 'on account of the unfitness of the Rectorial House at Barcheston'.

In 1584–5—four years before this suit—Richard Hyckes temporarily left Barcheston, for, accompanied by his eldest son Francis, he makes his first appearance in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts.[1] He was engaged apparently in repairing tapestry, arras, etc., at Windsor Castle, the Tower of London, the Palace of Westminster, Hampton Court, Richmond, Oatlands, Woodstock, and elsewhere. In that first year he worked for 244 days—as also did Francis—at one shilling a day, and supplied much material for the repairs. His name appears first in the list, followed by Francis Hyckes, regularly until 1587–8, when he disappears as a worker and, as already shown, he returned to Barcheston. He continued to supply materials as before until as late as 1606–7. Did he supply these materials from Barcheston? Presumably he must have done so, and therefore Barcheston would seem to have remained operative during his absence. Richard Hyckes's return to Barcheston happened about the same time—certainly in the same year (1588)—that Ralph Sheldon began to build his mansion at Weston, and it seems safe to assume that Richard Hyckes returned to Barcheston to superintend the making of tapestry for the new house.

For some years shortly before Richard Hyckes appeared at the head of the Accounts, a man named Henry Welles had appeared in that position. It has therefore been very interesting to find that, for many years at that period, there was a family of Welles[1] resident at Bordesley amongst its very few inhabitants.

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[1] I have lately seen at Weston House, through the kindness of Mrs. Warriner, a pardon dated 8 Jan. 1435–6 to Thomas Ryngwode, 'keeper of our [Henry VI] Great Wardrobe and of our jewels, of every manner of debt', etc. The presence of this document amongst the Weston muniments is at present unaccountable and possibly significant. It is also a curious fact that one Robert Rolleston actually appears to have been Keeper of the Great Wardrobe from 1419 to 1445, and that there is no mention of Thomas Ryngwode in the official documentary evidences of that period.

Ralph Canninge, whose name first appears in the Accounts in 1593–4, must also have come from the Beoley-Bordesley district. In 1613–14 he comes first in the Accounts, when he is also supplying materials to the royal arras-workers in the same way as Richard Hyckes had done in his time; and I have lately found, in the Beoley registers, that a Raffe Canninge was baptized there in October 1567, and thus would have been twenty-six years old when that name first appears in the lists. Ralph Canninge remains first in the Accounts until 1630–1, when his name disappears and he is succeeded by William Canninge, who during his period did not work in 1637–8, William Goode being first in the list for that year.

Then also there were the close associations of the Dowlers over a period of many years, not only with Barcheston and Bordesley, but with London; and the William Dowler mentioned in William Sheldon's will probably played a very considerable part in the early tapestries. I have found no further reference to this William Dowler. Probably he was a member of the old Beoley and Shipston-upon-Stour family of that name (*v.* pp. 263 and 277). As late as 1639–40 there was a Joas (Joash or Jonas) Dowler in the lists of royal arras-workers.

It is evident, therefore, that Barcheston and Bordesley were producing good and reliable workers, and when also one recalls sporadic references to arras-workers scattered over the wide area in which the Sheldon scheme could operate, it would seem that it really met with considerable success locally, and that it had an important and far-reaching influence upon English tapestry-production generally. Certainly we must no longer concentrate on the Barcheston looms alone; they have far too long held unchallenged sway. We see that there were other looms operating too, and I submit that thus we really have a Sheldon School of tapestry, a fact which will readily account for the two groups which go to make up the Sheldon tapestry examples that are already known to us.

Richard Hyckes may have been accompanied back to Barcheston by 'Peter, a Duchman, servant to Richard Hicks', who was buried at Barcheston, two years afterwards, on 17 July 1590, according to the registers there. This Peter possibly may have assisted him in the weaving, and may be identical with Peter van Dort, whose name appears for many years in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts, until about the time that Richard Hyckes returned to Barcheston. This is the only entry concerning any foreigner—or any one with the suggestion of Flemish origin—in the Barcheston registers.[1] I have also searched both the Shipston-upon-Stour register[2] and the Beoley register,[3] in neither of which is there any name at all likely to be of Flemish origin.[4]

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[1] e.g. Thomas Welles, Bordesley, 1558 (*Calendar of Worcester Wills, etc.*, p. 30).

At Barcheston, at least, one might expect any name of Flemish origin to have been noted, for Robert Hill, who was evidently a man of considerable learning, was parson there during practically the whole of the period when the loom-production of Barcheston was at its most important stage. It will be noted also that when 'Peter a Duchman' was buried at Barcheston no attempt was made to spell his surname, which seems to imply that nobody in the parish was at all familiar with Flemish surnames.

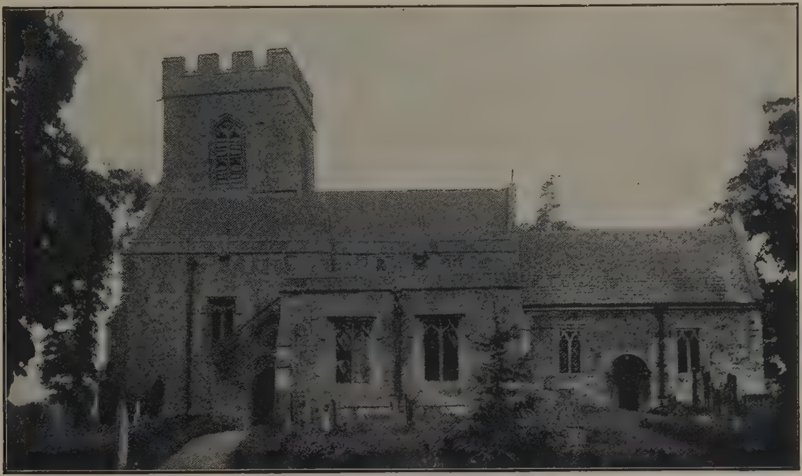

Fig. 6. Barcheston Church, from south.
By courtesy of the Rector and Churchwardens.

Richard Hyckes was now well over sixty, and I have found no other reference to him—with the exception of the death of his wife in 1611—until he makes his brief will on 10 October 1621. He died on the following 31 October, and was buried two days later in the church or in the churchyard at Barcheston (fig. 6), as recorded in the registers there, thus:

'Richard Hyckes died the last of October and was buried the second of Nouember año domini 1621: aged 97 or thereaboute.'

He had made his will[5] at his old home at Barcheston, three weeks before his death, but it was not proved until 19 November 1622. He is described as being 'sick in body, but of sound and perfect memory, God be thanked'. In conventional terms he bequeaths his soul to the Blessed Trinity, his body is to be buried in Barcheston churchyard, and he leaves all his goods to his son, Francis Hyckes, because, he adds, 'the rest of my children have had portions already from me as much as my estate was able to afford'.

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[1] Beginning in 1559.
[2] Beginning in 1571.
[3] Beginning in 1558.
[4] This statement also applies to other existing local documentary evidences.
[5] Worcester Probate Registry, 1622, no. 95.

The aforesaid Francis Hyckes is appointed full, whole, and only executor, and the original will[1] is signed and sealed by the testator, the witnesses being William Bulwer, William Diston,[2] Thomas Dowler, and Erasmus Banburie.

This will is evidence that Richard Hyckes had formerly been a man of no inconsiderable estate, for his large family had already had portions from him.

The inventory of Richard Hyckes's possessions is as brief as his will. His apparel was valued at 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The bedstead, feather-bed, wool-bed, and the furniture thereto belonging, at 8*l.*; his 'books and other implements in his study' at 6*l.*; the remainder of a lease of some land in Shipston-upon-Stour for certain years to come, being by computation six years, 160*l.*; and the remainder of a lease of a cottage in Shipston-upon-Stour, of 16*d.* rent by the year, 20*s.* The sum total came to 181*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

There are several entries in the Barcheston register concerning the family of Richard Hyckes. From them it appears that a son, William, was baptized there on 20 March 1568, and was buried at Barcheston on 14 May 1571. That same year of 1571, on 7 August, a son, Edward, was baptized there, and was buried on 20 February 1592. On 13 April 1611 Margaret, wife[3] of Richard Hickes, was buried at Barcheston.

At Worcester Probate Registry there is, under the year 1592, the marriage-bond[4] of Edmund Hicks, gentleman, of Barchester [*sic*], and Jane Tooley, of Burmington, a neighbouring village.

Francis Hyckes succeeded his father at the head of the list of the royal arras-workers and remained there until at least 1602–3. He may indeed have been there even later, but the Accounts for 1603–4 and 1604–5 are missing. Certainly he had left the royal arras-workers before 1604–5, and it may well be that he did actually leave in 1603–4, in which year Thomas Chance died. Chance's death, and also the fact that Richard Hyckes was now becoming an old man, may have made imperative the controlling hand of Francis Hyckes both at Barcheston and at Bordesley. He is invariably described as being 'the son . . . of an arras-weaver', but we have seen that arras-weaving by no means embraced all his father's activities. Francis Hyckes is said to have been born at Tredington,[1] at that time in the parish of Shipston-upon-Stour, and in 1579 to have gone to St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, now united to Oriel College, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1583, and then went straight up to London with his father, and there he stayed with the royal arras-workers for some twenty years. It must have been, therefore, after that time—his pompous Christ Church son, Thomas, does not condescend to make any reference to tapestry-work in his introduction to the *Select Dialogues of Lucian*—that he was 'taken off by a countrie retirement', and settled down at Barcheston, there, it may be assumed, to produce the Hatfield 'Seasons', of which 'Winter' bears the date 1611, possibly the last tapestries from the Barcheston looms—and to translate several Greek works, of one or two of which the original manuscripts, presented by his son Thomas, are still preserved in Christ Church Library, Oxford (fig. 7).

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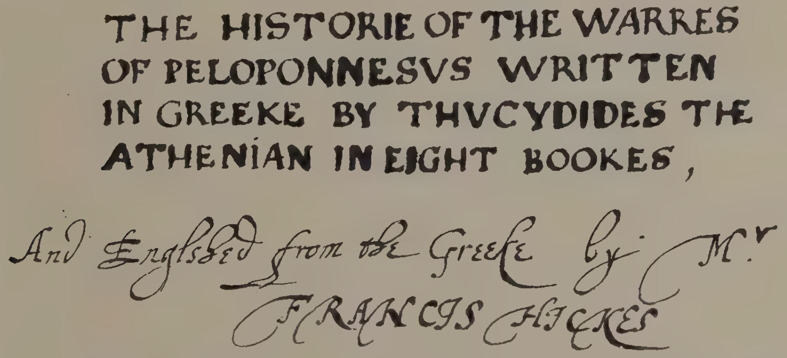
[1] There is ample internal evidence that this will at Worcester Probate Registry is not the original document, although it is thus calendared. Both it and the inventory are in the same handwriting.

[2] *v.* also p. 267. A certain Anthony Diston appears in the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts—under the arras-workers—in 1586–7.

[3] Presumably his second wife. Sir Thomas Phillipps, in his additions to the *Visitation of the County of Worcester*, gives his wife as Anne Ingram, of [Little] Wolford, co. Warwick.

[4] 1592, 130 b. There is no entry concerning this Edmund Hicks in the Barcheston registers.


THE HISTORIE OF THE WARRES
OF PELOPONNESVS WRITTEN
IN GREEKE BY THVCYDIDES THE
ATHENIAN IN EIGHT BOOKES,

And Englished from the Greeke by Mr
FRANCIS HICKES

Fig. 7. Title-page of MS. translation of Thucydides: Christ Church Library, Oxford.

Francis Hyckes married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mundy, of Bagshot, and presumably had three sons and a daughter. According to the Barcheston register, the eldest son, Richard, was baptized there on 15 July 1594, and was buried three days afterwards. The daughter, Margaret, was baptized on 20 August 1595; and William, the youngest son, was baptized on 29 September 1596. The second son, Thomas, does not appear in the Barcheston registers, and was probably born and baptized in London. On 25 March 1616, 'Elizabeth, wife of Mr ffrancis Hickes', was buried at Barcheston. Francis Hyckes himself is said to have died whilst on a visit to a relation at the little Warwickshire village of Sutton-under-Brailes, about four and a half miles from Shipston-upon-Stour, on 9 January 1630. There is no known evidence as to his will or any inventory of his possessions; and there is no memorial or sepulchral inscription to any member of the Hyckes family either in the church or the churchyard of Barcheston.

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[1] The Tredington registers begin in 1541.

The above-mentioned William Hyckes was of Wadham College, Oxford, and of Lincoln's Inn, a barrister-at-law, and died[1] at Shipston-upon-Stour in 1652, aged fifty-four. He was buried in the parish church there, where a mural monument,[2] erected by his wife and eight surviving children, still commemorates his virtues.

Thomas Hyckes, his brother, was of Balliol College, Oxford, a Master of Arts (23 Jan. 1622–3), and ultimately one of the Chaplains or Petty Canons of Christ Church about the year 1628, and was buried in that cathedral, 16 December 1634. In addition to his great skill in the Greek tongue, Wood (*op. cit.*) says that he was esteemed among the Academicians a good poet, and moreover, it is interesting to note, an excellent limner,[3] and that if he had not been cut off in the prime of life—he was only thirty-five—'he might have benefited the commonwealth of learning with other matters'.

We owe it chiefly to Thomas Hyckes that anything is known to-day of the literary activities of his father. In 1634 William Turner of Oxford printed *Certaine Select Dialogues of Lucian: together with his true historie.* These dialogues were 'Translated from the Greeke into English, By Mr Francis Hickes, Whereunto is added the life of Lucian gathered out of his owne Writings, with briefe Notes and Illustrations upon each Dialogue and Booke, by T. H. M^r of Arts of Christ Church in Oxford'.

The preface to this little book was dedicated by Thomas Hyckes, 'this poore orphane' to his patron '. . . the Right Worshipfull Dr Duppa, Deane of Christ Church and Vice-chancellor of the famous Universitie of Oxford'. It is quite brief, and therein the writer expresses the hope that the Dialogues will 'at some of your times of recreation, obtaine a favourable admission . . . somewhat for the Translator's sake, one not altogether unknowne unto you, that to my knowledge truly honoured you, and whom you may better know in this, than many that were well acquainted with him in his life-time. . . .' If so, 'I shall account that small paines I have taken in publishing it hapily imployed, [and] the ashes of my deare deceased father highly honourd'.

There then follows a prefatory note addressed 'To the Honest and Judicious Reader' in the course of which Thomas Hyckes makes the following interesting reference to his father:

'. . . In briefe then, that principall motive that caused me to publish this Translation, was, to performe herein the pious duty of a surviving sonne unto the deare memory of a deceased father: who as hee was a true lover of Schollers and Learning, (especially of this kind) will I doubt not finde favourable entertainment amongst those that are conversant in these studies, and beare affection to the Greeke tongue. Hee was indeed no profest scholler nor took any more than one degree in this famous Universitie, having beene sometime of Oriell Colledge: but yet although hee were taken off by a countrie retirement, hee never lost the true tast and relish that distinguishes men of this education, but rather made continuall improvement of that nutriment which hee had received in his yonger daies from the breasts of this his honoured mother. His studie or rather his recreation, was chiefely in the Greeke tongue, and of his knowledge herein hee hath left unto the world sufficient testimonies, of which these present Dialogues are a part, and these with divers other things of his performance, being at this time in my custodie, I supposed I could not do him more right, nor his friends and mine better satisfaction . . . than to give them free libertie, and to suffer him by this meanes to propagate his owne memorie, which may chance to last longer in this small monument of his owne raising (or in some larger hereafter) than in the hardest marble posteritie can erect him.'

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[1] A copy of his will is at Somerset House. P.C.C. 264 Brent [1653].

[2] Nash, *History of Worcestershire*, vol. ii, p. 431.

[3] *v.* Chambers's *Biographical Illustrations of Worcestershire*, p. 129. Thomas Hyckes makes a reference to draughtsmanship in the early lines of his short *Life of Lucian*, which precedes the *Dialogues*.

It has been interesting to find that at the present time there are at least two small editions, lately published, of selections made from Francis Hickes's translation of Lucian's *Dialogues*, one of them being specially prepared for use as a school text-book.

On 26 July 1611 Francis Heeckes,[1] of Shipston-upon-Stour, gentleman, entered into recognizances for the appearance of one Ferdinand Brent, of Armscot, a hamlet of Tredington, some two miles from Shipston-upon-Stour. He appears also to have been named as one of the defendants in a suit[2] that came before the Court of Star Chamber in January 1616. In this suit, the complainant, a certain John Yorke, of Evesham, yeoman, says that he is also a Sergeant-at-Mace at Evesham, and that by order of the Bailiffs of that town he was sent to Shipston-upon-Stour to effect the arrest of one Robert More, who had formerly lived there and who was being pursued for debt. Yorke had arrested his man and was going down the street with him 'in quiet and friendly manner', when Francis Hyckes,[3] gentleman, and others named, attacked and beat and kicked him, and blasphemed, and ultimately rescued and took away his prisoner. At last Yorke says that he managed to escape, and got secretly to the house of one Dowler,[4] where he hoped that he would be able to rest in quiet. However, he was again attacked, but on this occasion there is no reference to Francis Hyckes, and he is not mentioned again, either in the complaint or in the answer, and there that story ends. The Dowler in whose house the sergeant-at-mace took refuge was probably synonymous with Thomas Dowler, who was an innholder at Shipston-upon-Stour in 1620,[1] and also with the Thomas Dowler who was witness when Richard Hyckes made his will on 10 October 1621.

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[1] Willis-Bund, *Worcs. County Records*, vol. i, p. 158.

[2] Star Chamber Proceedings, Jas. I, Bun. Y, 311/6. Also: Barnard, 'The Adventures of an Evesham Sergeant-at-Mace at Shipston-upon-Stour in 1616,' *Evesham Journal*, 3 June, 1922.

[3] His place of abode is not given.

[4] See p. 263.

In the Shipston-upon-Stour register there is a transcript of a lease, dated 26 May 1618, of Church property. One of the witnesses to the transcript is 'ffrancis Hickes'.

Ralph Sheldon was succeeded by Edward Sheldon who died in 1643, and who was succeeded by another William Sheldon. This William Sheldon died in 1659 and was succeeded by the 'Great' Ralph Sheldon, 'of rare worth and great qualities', a patron of learning and an antiquary.

This 'Great' Sheldon was certainly somewhat far-removed from the times of the local tapestry-productions, but he must have been very interested in them, and particularly in those maps that then hung in his mansion at Weston. His particular interest to us lies in the fact that when the announcement of this paper was first made I received a letter from our Fellow Mr. John Gibson, of Hexham, informing me that Mrs. Veitch, *née* de Sheldon, of the same town, possesses a contemporary portrait reputed to be of this very Ralph Sheldon. Mr. Gibson, with the ready permission of Mrs. Veitch, kindly offered to take a photograph of this portrait (pl. XXXVIII, fig. 1), the only painted portrait of a Sheldon that I have ever seen, and, moreover, the portrait of a great antiquary of the seventeenth century. He was the friend and patron of the aforementioned Anthony Wood, who often came over from Oxford to spend a week with him at Weston. This Ralph Sheldon died in 1683, and was buried at Beoley, his heart and intestines being interred in Long Compton church, a short distance from Weston. A century later the old mansion was demolished, and the great tapestry-maps passed into other hands.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL DATA

1524. Richard Hyckes born.
1537. Ralph Sheldon born.
1546–7. William Sheldon succeeds to the family estates.
1557. *c.* May 31. Ralph Sheldon marries Anne Throckmorton (Coughton Court Deeds, Ser. I, 813).
c. 1566. Francis Hyckes born.
1568, March 20. William, son of Richard Hyckes, baptized.
Dec. 17–19. Earliest reference to Richard Hyckes, then supplying tapestry 'at Barston'

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[1] Willis-Bund, *op. cit.*, i, 325.

(Humphreys, 'Estate Book of Grafton Manor, Bromsgrove,' *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xlv, pp. 49 and 83).

1569–70, Jan. 3. William Sheldon, in his will, refers to Richard Hyckes as being 'the only author and beginner of this Art within this Realm', and mentions Thomas Chance and William Dowler.

1570–1. Dec. 23. Death of William Sheldon. Age unknown.

1571. William Lane, parson of Barcheston, makes his will, and refers to Richard and Margaret Hyckes as his host and hostess at Barcheston.

Thomas Chance, of Bordesley, marries Rose Hare, of Worcester.

c. 1571. Earl of Leicester's reference to 'woork . . . such as Sheldon of Beolye devised' (*Black Book of Warwick*, ed. Kemp, p. 48).

May 14. William, son of Richard Hyckes, buried at Barcheston.

Aug. 7. Edward, son of Richard Hyckes, baptized at Barcheston.

1574–5. Richard Hyckes *v.* Sir George Calveley (tapestry, etc.). Richard Hyckes describes himself as 'your highenes Arresmak^{r}'.

1579, Jan. Francis Hyckes goes up to Oxford, aged 13.

June 21. Will of Robert Avys, vicar of Bromsgrove. Reference to Richard Hyckes, 'of Barcheston'.

Richard Hyckes *v.* Smythe (advowson of Stretton-upon-Fosse).

1580, Oct. 22. Richard Hyckes signs lease of property at Broadway.

Richard Hyckes *v.* Dyston and another (sheep-dealing).

1583. Francis Hyckes takes his degree at Oxford, aged 17.

1584–5. Richard Hyckes, now aged 60, appears at the head of the royal arras-workers (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts).

May 10. In the complaint in a Chancery Proceeding, Tomkyns *v.* Raphe Sheldon, Richard Hyckes and Nicholas Hobday, reference is made to Raphe Sheldon's great wealth and worship, and to his allies and friends in Worcestershire; and Richard Hyckes and Nicholas Hobday are described as being 'two of his servants' (Chan. Pro. Eliz. T.t. 10/3).

1584–8. Richard Hyckes remains at the head of the royal arras-workers.

Francis Hyckes employed as one of the royal arras-workers, and comes second to Richard Hyckes (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts).

1584–1606. Richard Hyckes receives payment annually for materials supplied for use of royal arras-workers.

c. 1586–8. Richard Hyckes *v.* Robert Hill (board and teaching plaintiff's children at Barcheston).

1587. 'Nicholas Goodman . . . a wever and arras-maker' (*Book of John Fisher, Town Clerk, Warwick*, ed. Kemp, p. 197).

1588. Richard Hyckes returns to Barcheston.

Ralph Sheldon begins to build Weston.

Date on map of Warwickshire.

1589–1603. Francis Hyckes appears at the head of the royal arras-workers.

1590, July 17. 'Peter, a Duchman, servant to Richard Hicks', buried at Barcheston.

1592, Feb. 20. Edward, son of Richard Hyckes, buried at Barcheston, aged (?) 21.

Reference in Countess of Shrewsbury's Accounts: 'Paid Mr Sheldon's man for seventeen armses to set upon hangings . . . and also ten shillings to hang tapestries.' Thomson (*History of Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 57) connects this with the thirteen panels of the History of Gideon which she bought from Sir William Hatton, as she received an abatement of £5 on the price to provide for new coats of arms to cover up the Hatton shields. These tapestries still hang in the Long Gallery at Hardwick, and each panel has four coats of arms, at top, bottom, and each side.

This makes fifty-two repetitions of the Hatton arms to be covered by the Shrewsbury arms. In thirty-three cases the Hatton arms are covered by *painted*, not *woven* 'armses' sewn over them. In three cases the Shrewsbury arms are painted directly on the Hatton arms, in one case it is doubtful how far the over-painting was carried out, and in the remaining fifteen cases the Hatton arms are still uncovered, but it is possible that the Shrewsbury arms sewn over them have been removed. In any case, if Thomson is right in connecting this Gideon set with the passage in Lady Shrewsbury's accounts, the 'armses' were *painted* and not *tapestry woven*, and so 'Mr. Sheldon' is hardly likely to be the same as Ralph Sheldon of Beoley and Weston; but further research in the Hardwick accounts is desirable. Mr. Francis Thompson, Librarian to the Duke of Devonshire, has most kindly supplied information on the above points.

1594, July 15. Richard, son of Francis Hyckes, baptized at Barcheston.
 ,, (?) 18. Richard, son of Francis Hyckes, buried at Barcheston.
1595. Date on 'Story of Judah' tapestry from Chastleton House.
 Aug. 20. Margaret, daughter of Francis Hyckes, baptized at Barcheston.
1596, Sept. 29. William, son of Francis Hyckes, baptized at Barcheston.
1602–3. (?) Francis Hyckes returns to Barcheston (*v.* p. 274).
 Aug. 26. Thomas Chance makes his will. Refers to Richard Hyckes 'of Barston'.
1605, March 26. Agreement between Ralph Sheldon, of Beoley, and Thomas Hoerd, of London. Mentions 'certain hangings of Tapistrie for the furniture of two chambers, and one bed throughlie furnished . . .'
1611. Date on 'Winter' panel at Hatfield House.
 April 13. Margaret, wife of Richard Hyckes, buried at Barcheston.
1613, March 30. Ralph Sheldon dies, aged 76.
 Francis Hyckes, benefactor to Worcester cathedral organ.
1616, Jan. Francis Hyckes, of Shipston-upon-Stour, named as a defendant in a Court of Star Chamber suit.
 March 25, Elizabeth, wife of 'Mr ffrancis Hickes', buried at Barcheston.
1618, April 23. George Badger, arras-worker, of Abbots Morton, co. Worcester (Willis-Bund, *Calendar of the Worcs. Quarter Sessions Papers*, i, 255).
 May 26. 'ffrancis Hickes' signs in the Shipston-upon-Stour register.
1621, Oct. 10. Richard Hyckes makes his will.
 ,, 31. Death of Richard Hyckes, aged about 97.
 Nov. 2. Burial of Richard Hyckes at Barcheston.
1630, Jan. 9. Francis Hyckes dies at Sutton-under-Brailes, and is buried there, aged 64.
1633, May 14. The appraisers of the goods and chattels of Walter Jones, of Chastleton House, some four miles from Weston, value three pieces of arras hangings in Mr. Sheldon's (probably Edward Sheldon, 1558–1643) room there, at a total sum of £20 (*v.* Mary Whitmore Jones, *Chastleton House*, p. 116).
1634. Thomas Hyckes (son) publishes Francis Hyckes's translation of Lucian's *Dialogues.*

APPENDIX II

NOTES ON THE ROYAL ARRAS-WORKERS MENTIONED IN THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS. 1558–1614

Class L.C. 9 (Public Record Office) consists of the Lord Chamberlain's Accounts (Great Wardrobe Yearly Accounts). They are fully detailed and, with the exception of the year 1623–4, are written in Latin.

The period between 1538 and 1556 is entirely unrepresented in the Accounts, and there are no Accounts in the period between the year 1613–14—when the name of Hyckes last appears therein—and the year 1623–4.

In 1557–8 (L.C. 9/52) the subjects of the various pieces of tapestry that had been repaired during the year are given, as also the places where they hung (*v.* p. 271). Similar information is repeated from year to year.

Every year also a list is given of the 'Arresmakers' or 'Arresmen' who repaired the tapestry—they also repaired 'carpets'—with the varying number of days that they worked during the year. They were each paid, without any distinction, one shilling per day for many years, and it was not until about 1613 that the wage was raised to fourteen pence per day. Later on, in two or three years only, the wage was sixteen pence per day.

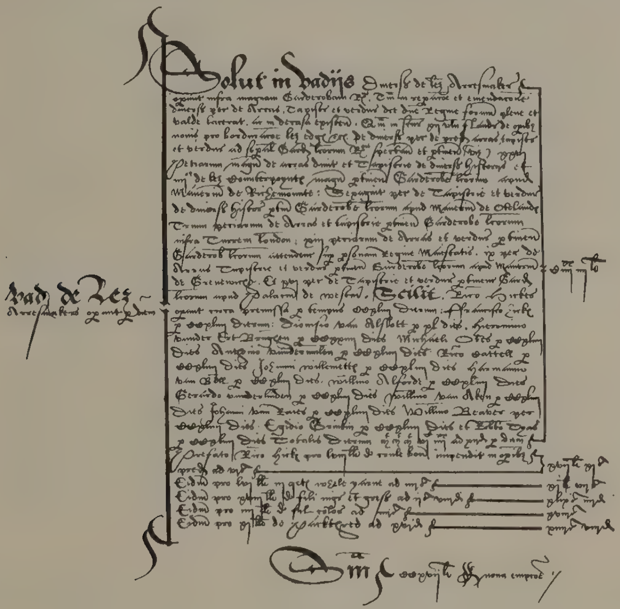

Fig. 8. Page from Lord Chamberlain's Accounts, 1584–5.

The lowest period of working-days noted in the Accounts was in 1589–90, when Francis Hyckes was paid for 234 days' work; the highest in 1623–4, when Ralph Canninge and his fourteen men each worked 286 days at sixteen pence per day.

1557–8. (L.C. 9/52.) The workers[1] this year were:

Thomas White
Francis Beaver
James Rause
Arnold Bearde
Matheo Outsever
Peter Vandorte
Peter Van der lese
Henry de Lenne
Nicholas Vancan
Henry Welles

Total of workers, 10. Total wages, £61 4*s.* 6*d.*

1558–9. Accounts missing.

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[1] In every instance the names of the workers are spelt in the form in which they appear in the Accounts.

1559–60. (L.C. 9/53.) This year the names of White, Beaver, Rause, and de Lenne do not appear. Apparently there was an accession of Flemings, the new names being:

John Soillott	Anthony Vandervynnen
James Van Aken	John Hollant
Robert Tyus	

Total of workers, 11. Total wages, £81 5*s.* 6*d.*

The above-named John Soillott may be the John Soillot 'borne of Bruessell in Brabant, minister of God's word, dwelling in London', who made his will[1] on 31 March 1598. Therein he leaves to Anne, the wife of Denys van Aslott,[2] ten shillings; and further desires that 'all his pattrens of Tapistrie vnto him testator belonginge shalbe equallie deuided betweene Herman Soillot and Struevyn Mostuicke, halfe and halfe'.

Robert Tyus, who also appears amongst these new names—and who usually figures as Tyas in the Accounts—remained with the royal arras-workers for many years. A certain Robert Tyas, of London, Esq., 'late of Buttersey [*sic*], co. Surrey', made his will[3] on 28 November 1612, probate of which was granted on 6 May 1620. He bequeaths 'my lands in England' to his son, William Tias [*sic*]. In Worcester Probate Registry, in the file for the year 1592 (104b), there is a marriage-bond between Robert Tias [no place of residence given] and Elizabeth Peake, of Temple Grafton, near Stratford-upon-Avon.

1560–1. (L.C. 9/54.) The new names:

Henry Morrells
Richard Molyneux
Philip Clause

Total of workers, 11. Total wages, £97 2*s.* 6*d.*

1561–2. (L.C. 9/55.) The only new name:

Henry Panne

Total of workers, 10. Total wages, £95 2*s.* 0*d.*

1562–3. (L.C. 9/56.) The new names:

Nicholas van Hover
James Trace
Henry Derick

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £95 15*s.* 6*d.*

1563–4. (L.C. 9/57.) The new names:

William Pover
John Crutter

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £118 6*s.* 0*d.*

1564–5. (L.C. 9/58.) The new name:

John Davelewe

Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £128 6*s.* 0*d.*

1565–6. Accounts missing.

1566–7. (L.C. 9/59.) The new names:

John van Campenhoute
Anthony van der Mulon

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £126 10*s.* 0*d.*

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[1] P.C.C. 10 and 11 Lewyn.

[2] Cf. Accounts for 1579–80.

[3] P.C.C. 48 Soame.

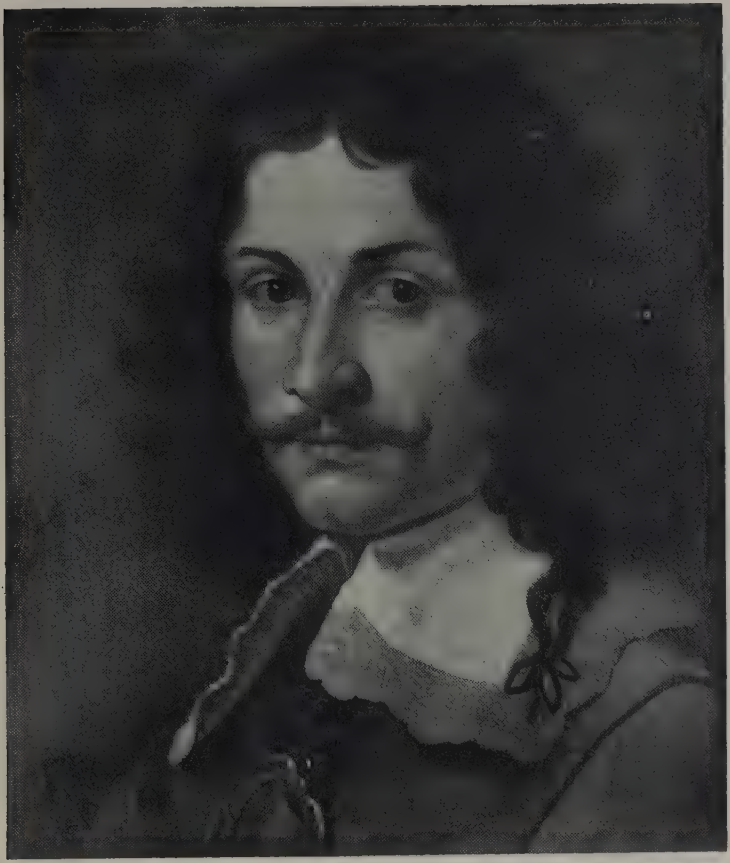

Fig. 1. Portrait of Ralph Sheldon from the picture in the possession of Mrs. Veitch

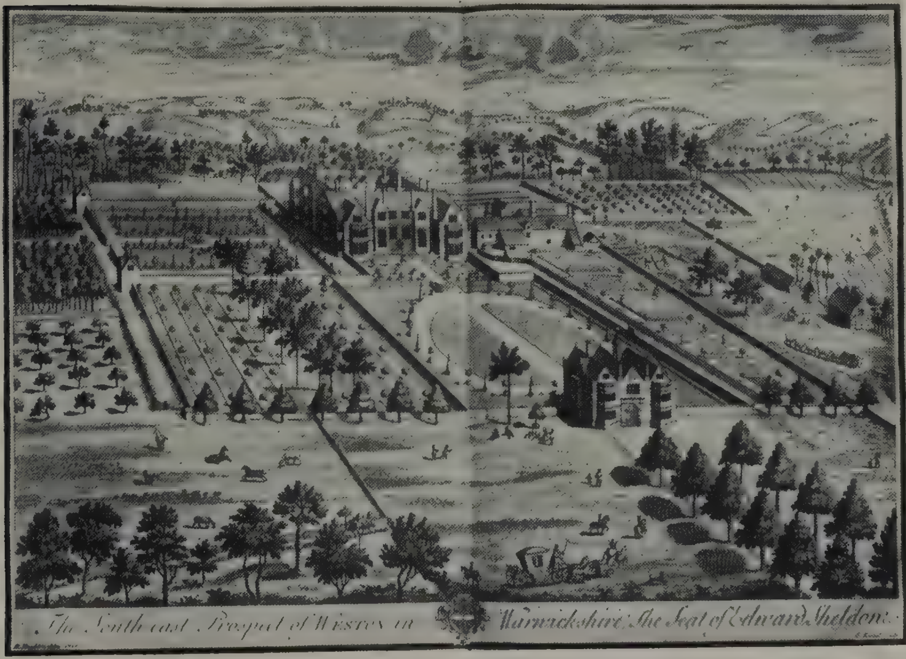
The South east Prospect of Weston in Warwickshire, The Seat of Edward Sheldon.

Fig. 2. Weston House, from the engraving in Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, 1730

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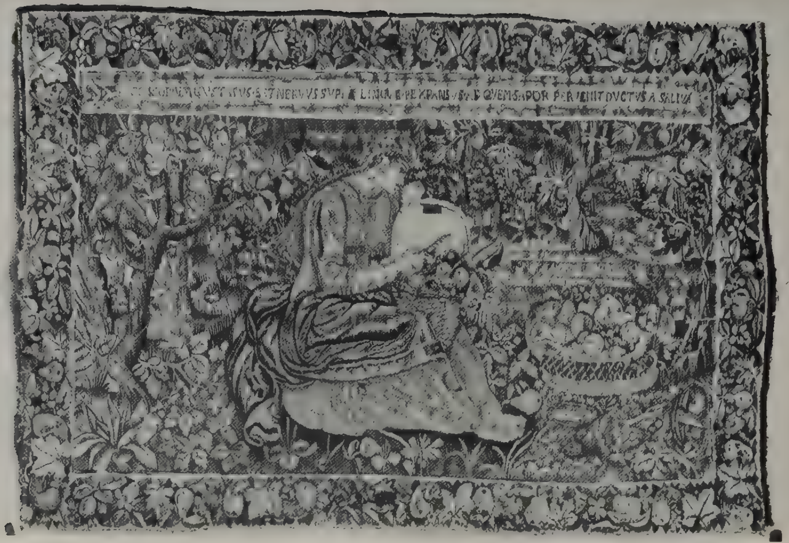
GVSTATVS EST NERVVS SVP LINGVA EXPANSVS AD QVEM SAPOR PERVENIT DVCTVS A SALIVA

Fig. 1. Cushion-cover. Taste

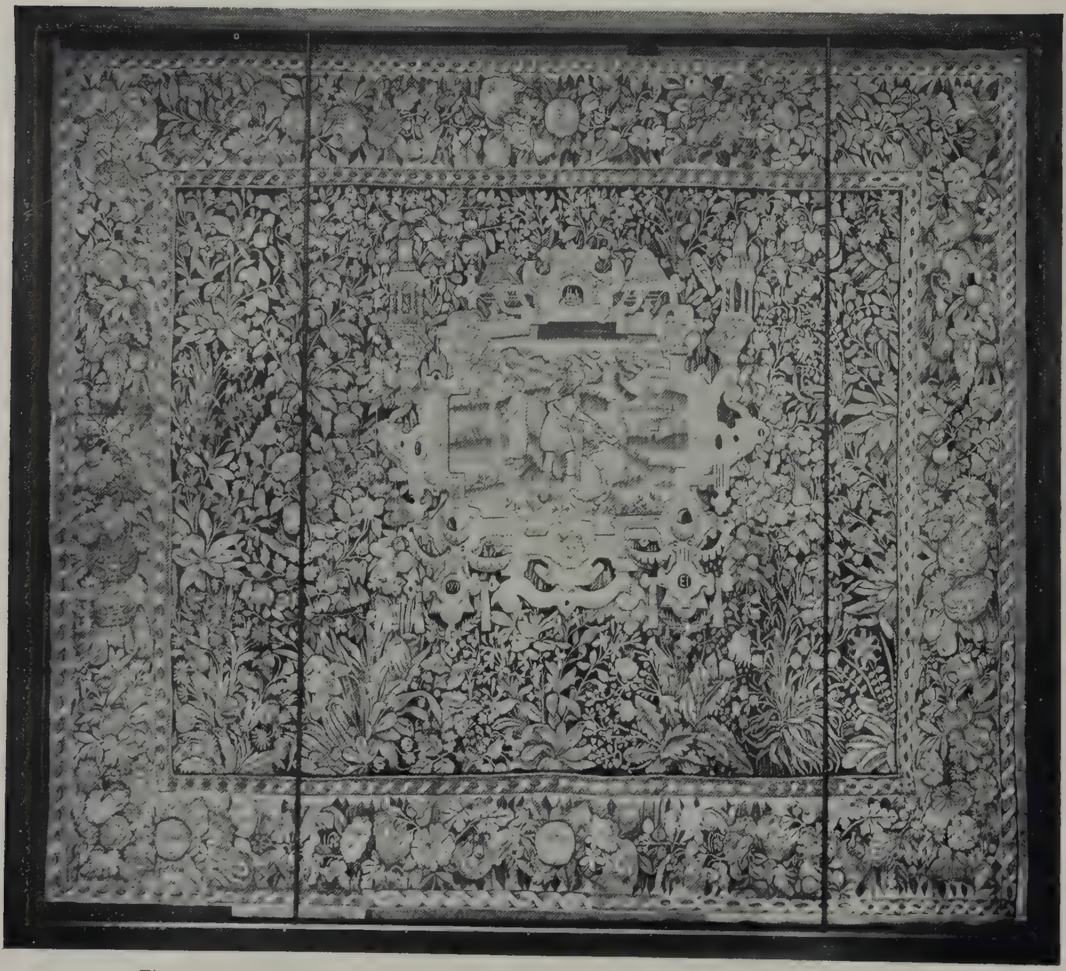

Fig. 2. Panel. Judah gives his staff and bracelets to Tamar. Birmingham Art Gallery

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1567–8. (L.C. 9/60.) The new name:

John Badger.

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £126 0*s.* 0*d.*

1568–9. (L.C. 9/61.) No new names.

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £145 4*s.* 0*d.*

1569–70. Accounts missing.

1570–1. (L.C. 9/62.) Henry Wells [*sic*] succeeds Thomas White at the head of the list. The new name:

Henry Geerts

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £153 11*s.* 6*d.*

1571–2. (L.C. 9/63.) No new names.

Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £139 8*s.* 0*d.*

1572–3. (L.C. 9/64.) No new names, but one former worker returned.

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £138 18*s.* 6*d.*

1573–4. (L.C. 9/65.) No new names, but one former worker returned.

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £130 19*s.* 0*d.*

1574–5. (L.C. 9/66.) John Soillot succeeds Henry Wells at the head of the list. The new names:

Michael Ots
Jerome van der Ertbrugghen
John Soillot, jun.
William Symons.

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £133 8*s.* 0*d.*

1575–6. (L.C. 9/67.) No new names.

Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £128 5*s.* 0*d.*

1576–7. (L.C. 9/68.) No new names.

Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £133 2*s.* 0*d.*

1577–8. (L.C. 9/69.) The new names:

Richard Cattell
Isaack Tandy

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £116 16*s.* 0*d.*

1578–9. (L.C. 9/70.) The new names:

Harman Bell[1]
John Nightingale
John Farrington

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £137 15*s.* 0*d.*

1579–80. (L.C. 9/71.) The new names:

Peter Soillott
Dionisius van Alslott
John Vanderhowte

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £143 3*s.* 6*d.*

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[1] In later accounts he appears as Harman van Bell.

1580–1. (L.C. 9/72.) The new names:

William Alford
John Willmetts
Peter Vanderhowte

Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £148 19*s.* 0*d.*

1581–2. (L.C. 9/73.) The new names:

Gerard vander Lynden
John van Raes
William de Wea

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £151 17*s.* 6*d.*

1582–3. (L.C. 9/74.) The new names:

Giles Grinkin
Henry vander Hoof

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £182 12*s.* 0*d.*

1583–4. (L.C. 9/75.) No new names.

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £171 3*s.* 0*d.*

1584–5. (L.C. 9/76.) Richard Hyckes makes his first appearance in the Accounts, and appears at the head of the list. The name of Francis Hyckes also appears for the first time. During the year they each worked for 244 days at one shilling per day, upon 'the arras, tapestry and verdure either torn, decaying or in holes'. The other new name:

William Beaver

Total of workers, 16. Total wages, £184 0*s.* 0*d.*

It had been customary to pay to the arras-worker at the head of the list an account for material supplied for use in the reparations. This year, therefore, Richard Hyckes is paid for cruell, 'whele yarne' [strong coarse yarn], threads of various colours, and pack-thread. His account amounts to £33.

By comparison, it is of interest to note that some forty years afterwards—in 1623–4 (L.C. 9/98)—Ralph Canninge was paid the following account:

	£	*s.*	*d.*
120 lbs. of crewel at 6*s.* per lb.	36	0	0
120 lbs. of yarn at 4*s.* per lb.	24	0	0
12 lbs. of coloured thread at 4*s.* per lb. . . .	2	8	0
40 lbs. of brown thread at 3*s.* per lb. . . .	6	0	0
18 lbs. of pack thread at 2c*d.* per lb. . . .	1	10	0
5 lbs. of silk at 48*s.* per lb.	12	0	0
2 lbs. of 'silver and gold' at £3 12*s.* per lb. . .	7	4	0
	£89	2	0

To this sum there was also added an item of £4 'for carrying stuff to and fro as occasion required, and for firing and other things'.

1585–6. (L.C. 9/77.) Richard and Francis Hyckes worked for 250 days each. There were no new names in the list. The usual account is paid to Richard Hyckes, and thus on till the end of 1606–7.

Total of workers, 15. Total wages, £179 13*s.* 0*d.*

1586–7. (L.C. 9/78.) Richard and Francis Hyckes each worked for 250 days. The new name:

Anthony Diston

Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £166 5*s.* 0*d.*

1587–8. (L.C. 9/79.) Richard and Francis Hyckes each worked for 256 days. The new names:
Thomas Awstine
Joas van der Driesche
Total of workers, 16. Total wages, £177 5*s.* o*d.*

1588–9. (L.C. 9/80.) Richard Hyckes finally disappears from the list, and Francis Hyckes takes the first place. No new names.
Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £157 16*s.* o*d.*

1589–90. (L.C. 9/81.) The new name:
Edward Graveley
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £163 10*s.* o*d.*

1590–1. (L.C. 9/82.) No new names.
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £167 6*s.* o*d.*

1591–2. (L.C. 9/83.) No new name.
Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £166 12*s.* o*d.*

1592–3. (L.C. 9/84.) No new name.
Total of workers, 12. Total wages, £136 3*s.* o*d.*

1593–4. (L.C. 9/85.) The new names:
Ralph Canninge
John Wagaman
John Higgins
Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £162 14*s.* c*d.*

1594–5. (L.C. 9/86.) No new name.
Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £167 4*s.* o*d.*

1595–6. (L.C. 9/87.) No new name.
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £149 12*s.* o*d.*

1596–7. Accounts missing.

1597–8. (L.C. 9/88.) The new name:
John van Spiro
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £169 5*s.* o*d.*

1598–9. (L.C. 9/89.) No new name.
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £170 8*s.* o*d.*

1599–1600. (L.C. 9/90.) No new name.
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £177 16*s.* o*d.*

1600–1. (L.C. 9/91.) No new name.
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £170 2*s.* o*d.*

1601–2. (L.C. 9/92.) The new names:
John Wheler
William van Aken
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £169 8*s.* o*d.*

1602–3. (L.C. 9/93.) The new names:
Charles Fysher
John Mende
Total of workers, 16. Total wages, £171 7*s.* o*d.*

1603–4. Accounts missing.

1604–5. Accounts missing.

1605–6. (L.C. 9/94.) Francis Hyckes disappears from the list, which is now headed by Thomas Austen. The new names:

Edward Offeild
Laurence Bucke
Total of workers, 13. Total wages, £180 16*s.* 0*d.*

1606–7. (L.C. 9/95.) The new name:

William Clay
Total of workers, 14. Total wages, £206 19*s.* 4*d.*

1606–13. Accounts missing.

1613–14. (L.C. 9/96.) Ralph Canninge heads the list, and is also paid an account for 'supplies for repairs', which until last year had been paid to Francis Hyckes. The new names:

Simon Momford
Joas Dowler.
Christopher Wymond

APPENDIX III

LIST OF THE SEVENTY ROYAL ARRAS-WORKERS MENTIONED IN THE LORD CHAMBERLAIN'S ACCOUNTS. 1557–1614.

Alford, William	1580–1 [1]
Awstine, Thomas	1587–8
Badger, John	1567–8
Bearde, Arnold	1557–8
Beaver, Francis	1557–8
,, William	1584–5
Bucke, Laurence	1605–6
Canninge, Ralph	1593–4
Cattell, Richard	1577–8
Clause, Philip	1560–1
Clay, William	1606–7
Crutter, John	1563–4
Davelewe, John	1564–5
De Lenne, Henry	1557–8
De Wea, William	1581–2
Derick, Henry	1562–3
Diston, Anthony	1586–7
Dowler, Joas	1613–14
Farrington, John	1578–9
Fysher, Charles	1602–3
Geerts, Henry	1570–1
Graveley, Edward	1589–90
Grinkin, Giles	1582–3
Higgins, John	1593–4
Hollant, John	1559–60
Hyckes, Francis	1584–5
,, Richard	1584–5
Mende, John	1602–3
Molyneux, Richard	1560–1
Momford, Simon	1613–14
Morrells, Henry	1560–1
Nightingale, John	1578–9
Offeild, Edward	1605–6
Ots, Michael	1574–5
Outsever, Matheo	1557–8
Panne, Henry	1561–2
Pover, William	1563–4
Rause, James	1557–8
Soillott, John	1559–60
,, John, jun.	1574–5
,, Peter	1579–80
Symons, William	1574–5
Tandy, Isaack	1577–8
Trace, James	1562–3
Tyus, Robert	1559–60
Vancan, Nicholas	1557–8
Vandorte, Peter	1557–8
Vanderhowte, John	1579–80
,, Peter	1580–1
Vandervynnen, Anthony	1559–60
Vander Hoof, Henry	1582–3
Van Aken, James	1559–60
,, ,, William	1601–2
,, Alslott, Dionisius	1579–80
,, Bell, Harman	1578–9
,, Campenhoute, John	1566–7
,, Hover, Nicholas	1562–3
,, Raes, John	1581–2
,, Spiro, John	1597–8
,, der Driesche, Joas	1587–8
,, ,, Ertbrugghen, Jerome	1574–5
,, ,, Lese, Peter	1557–8
,, ,, Lynden, Gerard	1581–2
,, ,, Mulon, Anthony	1566–7
Wagaman, John	1593–4
Welles, Henry	1557–8
Wheler, John	1601–2
White, Thomas	1557–8
Willmetts, John	1580–1
Wymond, Christopher	1613–14

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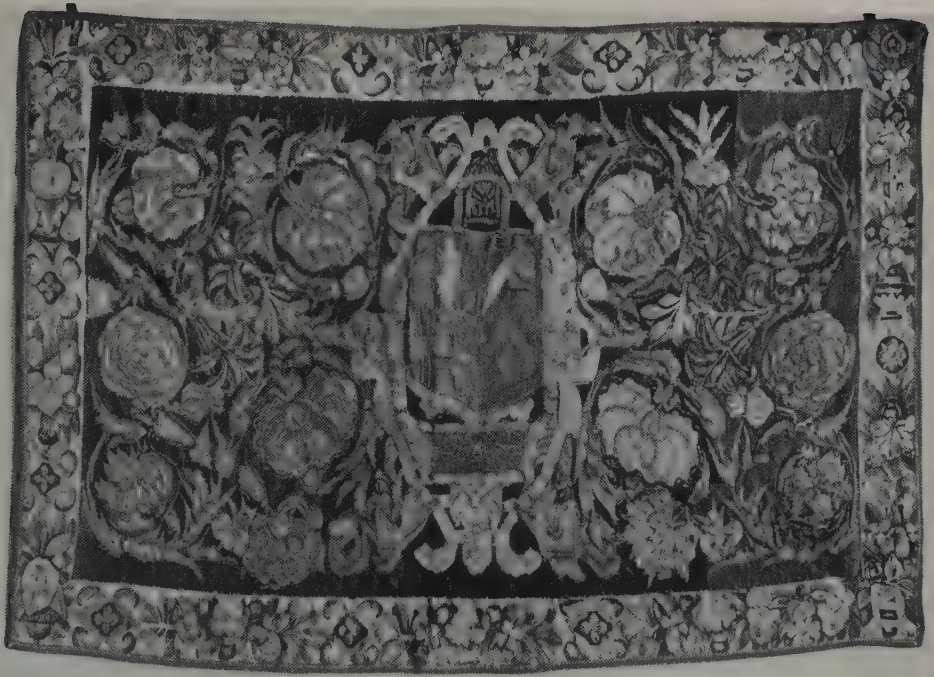
[1] The year in which the name first appears in the Accounts.

Fig. 1. Cushion-cover with arms of Jones and Pope. Col. Howard



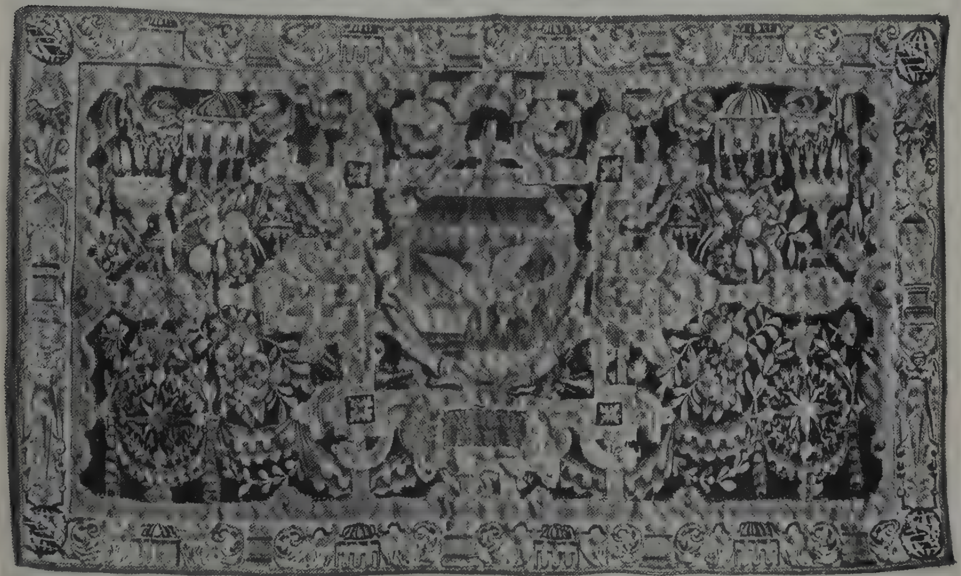


Fig. 2. Cushion-cover. Lady Barber

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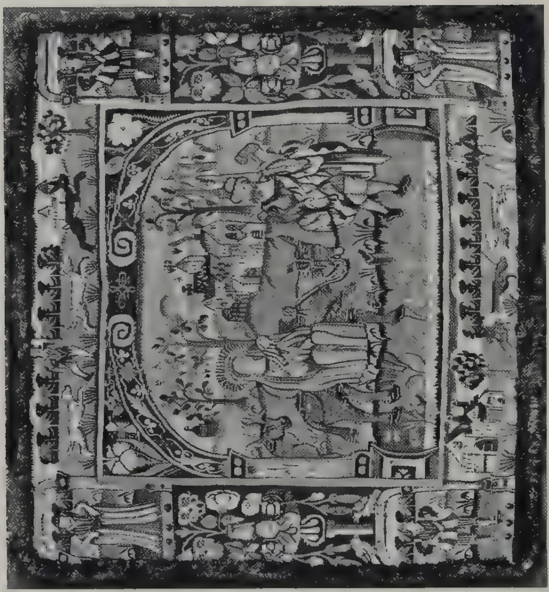

Fig. 1. Cushion. The Flight into Egypt. Victoria and Albert Museum

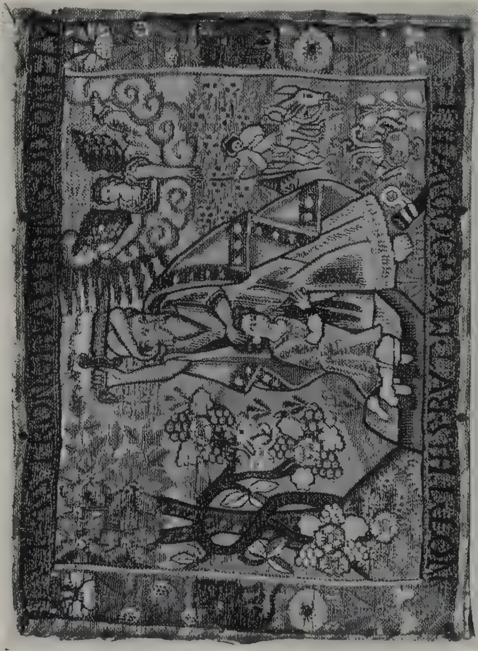

Fig. 2. Panel. The Sacrifice of Isaac. Duke of Rutland

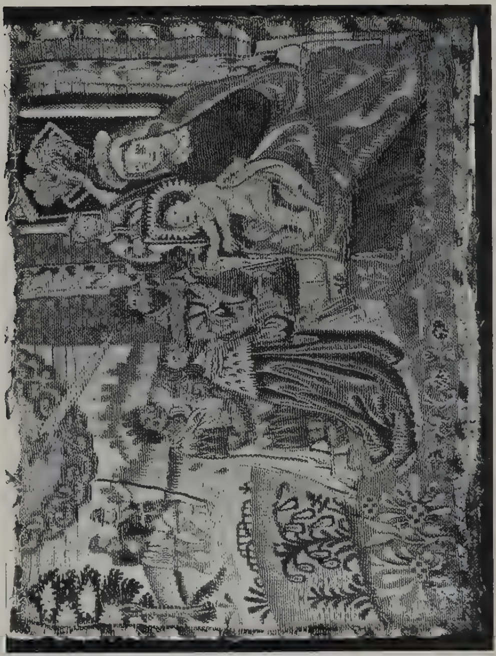

Fig. 3. Panel. The Adoration. Lady Binning

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PART II. THE TAPESTRIES

By A. J. B. Wace

I. Introduction.

The work already done by Mr. Kendrick,[1] Mr. Humphreys,[2] and Mr. Thomson[3] has done much to establish on a sound basis our ideas of the products of the Sheldon looms. It has, however, now become necessary, in view of recent attributions to the Sheldon school and the appearance of other tapestries of similar style, to review the whole of the material available, and to see how far we are justified in assigning a Sheldon origin to any particular piece.[4] Mr. Barnard's researches have revised the documentary evidence, and his own discoveries have added much information about the establishment of the Sheldon industry and the purpose William Sheldon had in mind in introducing the art of tapestry weaving into England. The main points seem quite clear:

(1) Sheldon, by his will, wished that the workers if possible should be Englishmen, and that preference should be given to users of the art within the counties of Worcester and Warwick, and, failing such persons, then to those in the counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, Stafford, Oxford, and Berks., almost exactly the areas covered by the tapestry maps. This means that no foreigners need have been brought over, either Flemish or Dutch. Indeed the only actual foreigner recorded in the Sheldon area is Peter the Dutchman, servant to Richard Hyckes,[5] who was buried at Barcheston on 17 July 1590.

(2) Sheldon founded the industry at Barcheston near his house at Weston, and at Bordesley near his house at Beoley. Richard Hyckes seems to have

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[1] Walpole Society, *Annual*, ii, pp. 89 ff., xiv, pp. 27 ff.; Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii; *Catalogue of Tapestries*², pp. 10 ff.

[2] *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, pp. 181 ff.

[3] *Tapestry Weaving in England*, pp. 47 ff.

[4] In the preparation of this paper, apart from the generous co-operation of Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, I owe much to other friends, especially Colonel Howard, Mr. Humphreys, and Mr. Baron Ash. I have to thank the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Birmingham Art Gallery and Museum, the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight, and the owners of the tapestries described, Lady Binning, Lady Barber, Frau Budge, Mrs. Majendie, Mrs. Antrobus, the Duke of Rutland, the Marquess and Marchioness of Salisbury, Sir William Burrell, Mr. Dent Brocklehurst, Mr. S. R. Vereker, and Mr. Basil Dighton, for permission to reproduce the photographs here. Dr. Sauermann, of the Thaulow Museum, Kiel, Dr. Sauerlandt, of the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, and the Director of the Kestner Museum, Hanover, have also given much unselfish assistance. Lady Binning, Lady Barber, Sir William Burrell, Mr. Louis Clarke, Col. Howard, Mr. Humphreys, and Mr. S. R. Vereker have also generously contributed to the cost of the illustrations.

[5] Richard Hyckes and Francis Hickes are used throughout because they themselves spelled their names thus.

been in charge of the looms at Barcheston, and Thomas Chance in charge of those at Bordesley, while William Dowler was apparently associated with both establishments but in a subsidiary position.

(3) The will makes the manor-house of Barcheston the head-quarters, and mentions the provision of houses for the workers under Richard Hyckes's superintendence. This might well mean that tapestry and other weaving was also to be carried on by the workers in their own homes as well as at head-quarters, a practice which we know subsisted in the linen industry of these islands down to the virtual extinction of hand-loom weaving.

(4) The evidence for Richard Hyckes being sent abroad to learn the art rests on a note by Anthony Wood [1] who wrote about 1680. His statement that Ralph Sheldon apprenticed Hyckes to a Dutch arras weaver might be taken in conjunction with the statement in Ralph Sheldon's epitaph,[2] that on leaving Oxford he travelled in France and other regions, then spent some time at Court and then married. His marriage took place in 1557. Thus, since William Sheldon his father did not establish Hyckes at Barcheston till 1561, the year Sheldon obtained the manor,[3] it is possible that when Ralph Sheldon left Oxford, about 1555, he was sent abroad by his father attended by Hyckes, who was then about thirty-one, and that during this journey Hyckes was apprenticed in Holland to learn tapestry weaving. Hyckes, however, was rather old for an apprentice, and inquiries [4] in the archives of the principal Dutch tapestry weaving centres of the period have so far not revealed any trace of his presence. The difference between the phrases on the monument of William Sheldon (erected by his son Ralph) and on that of Ralph Sheldon (erected by his son Edward) is striking and suggestive. On the first it is expressly stated that William Sheldon introduced the art of tapestry weaving into this country, not tapestry weavers, and no mention is made of William Sheldon having travelled abroad. On the other hand Ralph Sheldon's travels are specially noted apparently as something remarkable. In any case, if Hyckes had learnt the art of tapestry weaving abroad and Wood's note is trustworthy, the inspiration for the tapestries would be Dutch rather than Flemish, as Gough suggested.[5]

These are the most important considerations that arise from a review of the results of Mr. Barnard's researches and discoveries, and in studying the tapestries attributed to the Sheldon looms we must now bear in mind the fact that they

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[1] Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D. 807, fol. 15; Clark, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, i, p. 477, 2.

[2] See above, p. 259.

[3] Humphreys, *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, p. 184.

[4] Made for me by the kindness of Professor G. A. S. Snijder of Amsterdam, to whom my thanks are due for other help as well.

[5] *British Topography* ^{2}, p. 310.

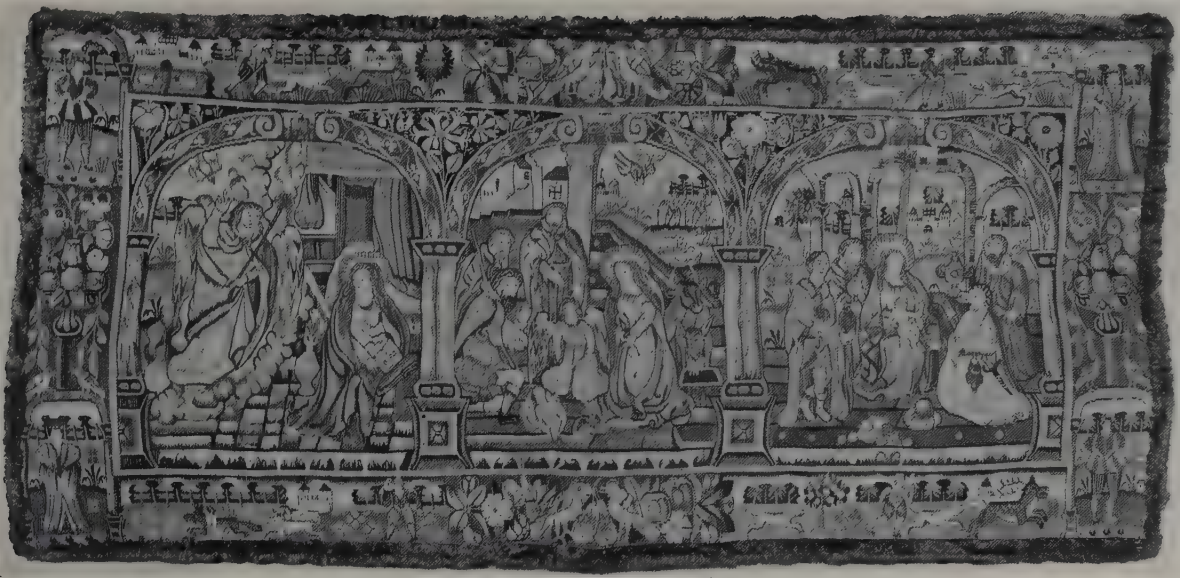

Fig. 1. Cushion. The Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration

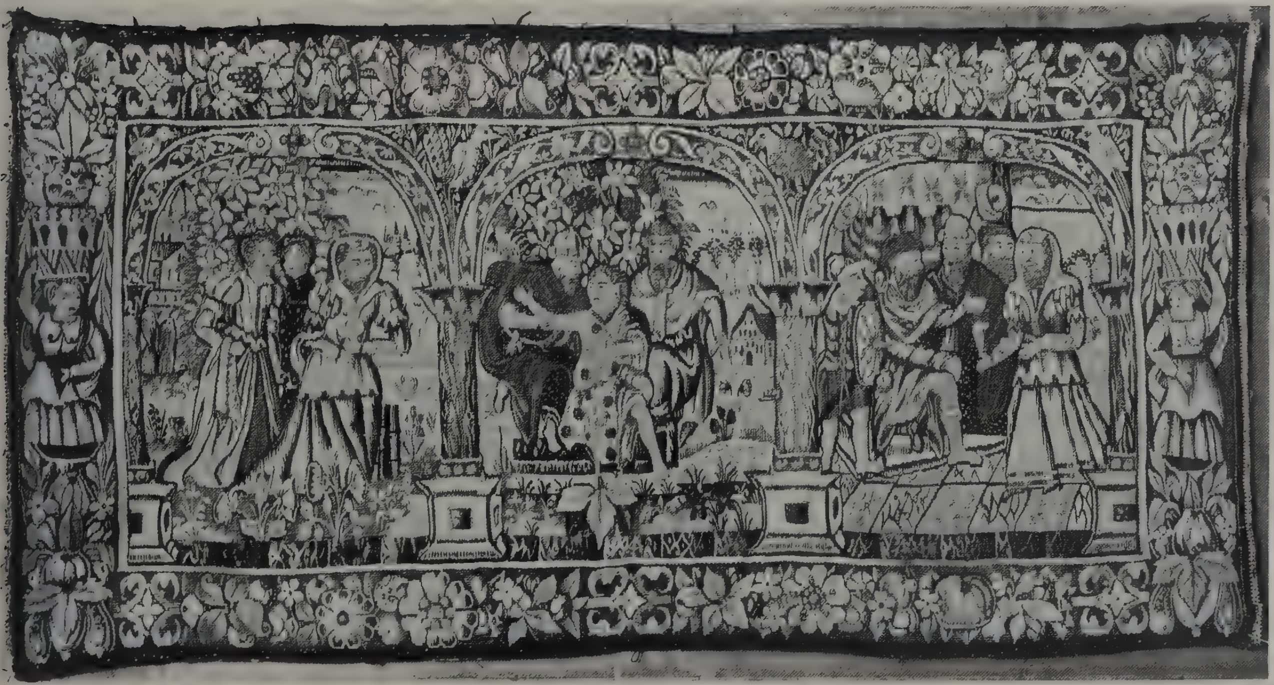

Fig. 2. Cushion. The Story of Susanna. Frau Emma Budge

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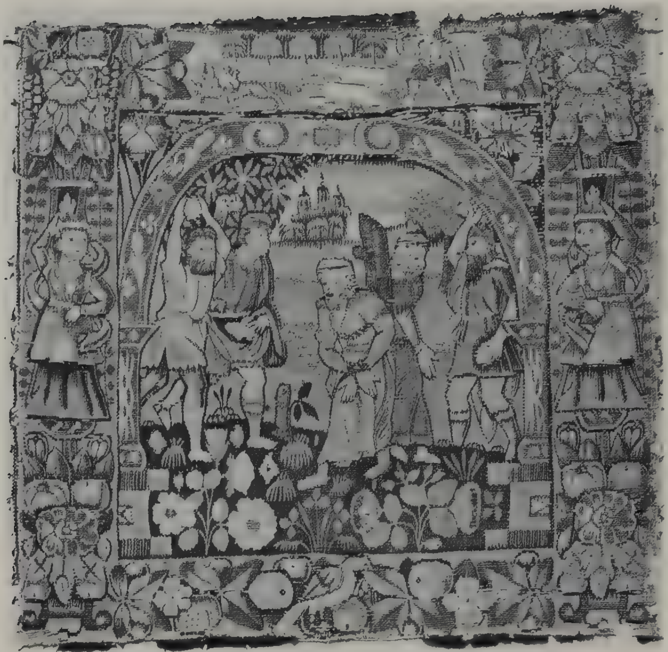

Fig. 1. Cushion. The Stoning of the Elders. Hedingham Castle

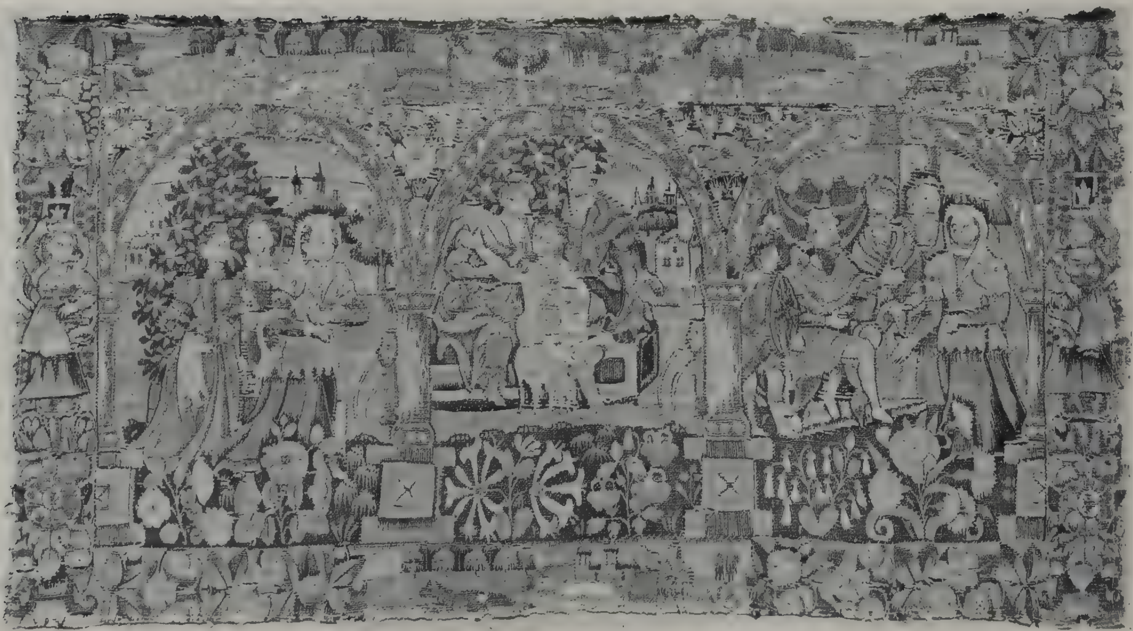

Fig. 2. Cushion. The Story of Susanna. Hedingham Castle

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were made at two centres, Barcheston and Bordesley. Among the tapestries which we can with good reason assign to Sheldon's workers, we might thus reasonably expect to find at least two definite groups. If tapestries were made by individual workers in their houses we should expect them to be small and to show considerable variation in style and quality. Another point which must not be overlooked is the close association from 1584 onwards of the Sheldon weavers, under Hyckes, with the arras-workers under the Lord Chamberlain at the Great Wardrobe.[1] The Mortlake Charter, in granting a monopoly to Mortlake, expressly excluded similar undertakings already established.[2] Mortlake was associated with the Court, and since some Sheldon weavers had been working for the Great Wardrobe it has been conjectured, wrongly it seems, that with the establishment of Mortlake, in 1619, Sheldon weavers might have been absorbed into it.[3] We shall see later on that the latest tapestries that show a Sheldon style and can be dated are the Hatfield Seasons of 1611. The York maps,[4] which cannot be dated earlier than the marriage of Ralph Sheldon the younger with Henrietta Maria, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage, in 1647, show a totally different atmosphere from that of the Bodleian maps, while their borders are clearly of seventeenth-century style.[5] We could, therefore, quite well consider them as Mortlake tapestries woven after the original cartoons. Further, these maps have the same borders as the Holyrood set of 'Playing Boys',[6] which were probably made at Mortlake, and one of these very 'Playing Boys' subjects is repeated in a Mortlake set of 'Playing Boys' at Boughton House.

2. The Tapestries

In considering all the extant tapestries we can assign to the Sheldon looms we must begin with those the attribution of which is practically certain. Only thus can we form definite ideas as to the style, designs, and technique employed by Sheldon's weavers. First in point of view of authenticity and importance are the famous, though fragmentary, tapestry maps. The largest portions were bought by Gough, the antiquary, at the sale at Weston in 1781 and bequeathed by him to the Bodleian Library, at his death in 1809. Two other fragments belong to Viscount Ednam.

A. (1) Map of Worcestershire, in the Bodleian Library.[7]
(2) Map of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, in the Bodleian Library.[7]

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[1] See above, p. 271.
[2] Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 68.
[3] See above, p. 264.
[4] See below, p. 307.
[5] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii.
[6] Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, fig. 14.
[7] The Bodleian maps 1 and 2 and the Bodleian fragments of 3 are on loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum and are illustrated in *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii.

(3) Map of Gloucestershire, four fragments, two in the Bodleian Library,[1] two in Viscount Ednam's possession.[2] Both the latter belonged once to Mr. Henry Birkbeck, and one of them came from Strawberry Hill.

Of these, Worcestershire bears the name of Richard Hyckes, and Gloucestershire (on one of Viscount Ednam's fragments) the arms of Ralph Sheldon, who was born in 1537 and died in 1613. He built the new house at Weston in 1588, and, according to Wood, these maps formerly hung in the dining-room there. The York map of Warwickshire, one of the set of three dated not earlier than 1647 by the arms of Ralph Sheldon the younger and his wife Henrietta Maria Savage on the York map of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, bears the date 1588, which obviously cannot be the year when the set was woven.[3] Thus, if, as is practically certain, the York set was woven in the seventeenth century for Ralph Sheldon the younger from the original cartoons designed by Richard Hyckes and his son Francis, the date 1588 would be that of the original set woven for Weston to the order of Ralph Sheldon the elder. All the clues thus tally, and it is to be observed that Ralph Sheldon the younger seems to have imitated his great-grandfather Ralph Sheldon the elder by ordering a set of tapestry maps. Perhaps by 1647 the first maps had already suffered from wear and tear. It is interesting to note that it was on 24 February 1587 that the Town Council of Leiden ordered from the weaver, Lanckaert of Delft, the famous tapestry map (now in the Museum at Leiden)[4] which illustrates the relief of the city from the Spanish siege in 1574. In view of the connexion of Hyckes with Holland, it is possible that these tapestry maps were influenced by Dutch example.[5]

In these maps, apart from the English inscriptions, it is important to note the designer's fondness for fruit and flowers in the borders. The English verses are set in panels and the architecture sometimes has arcades, sometimes half-figures, male and female, in the shape of herms. Among the subjects illustrated in the borders are Judith, Charity (both in Worcestershire), and Temperance (in Gloucestershire).

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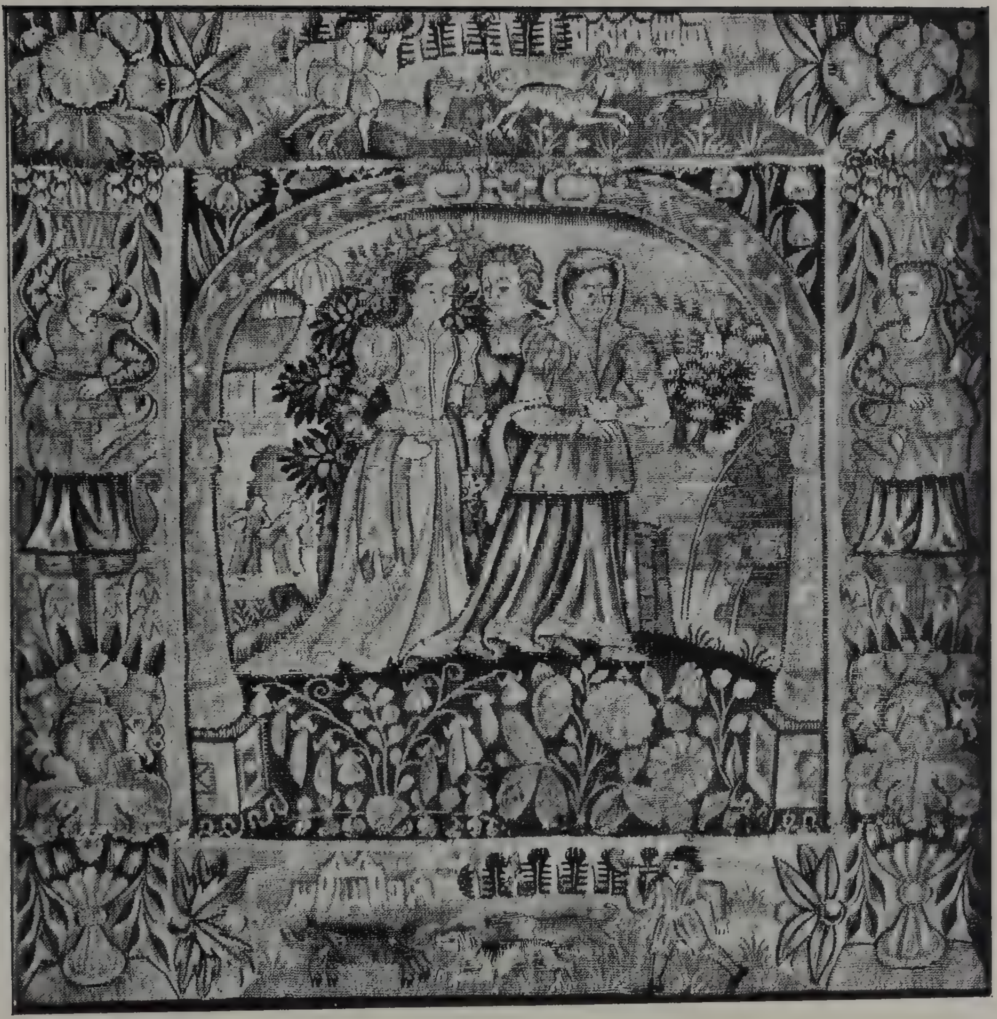
[1] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii. Where known the present ownership of the tapestries is given in each case.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii (in right-hand corner of plate showing the Bodleian map of Oxfordshire and Berkshire).

[3] See Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii, Introduction.

[4] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, p. 539, pl. 490.

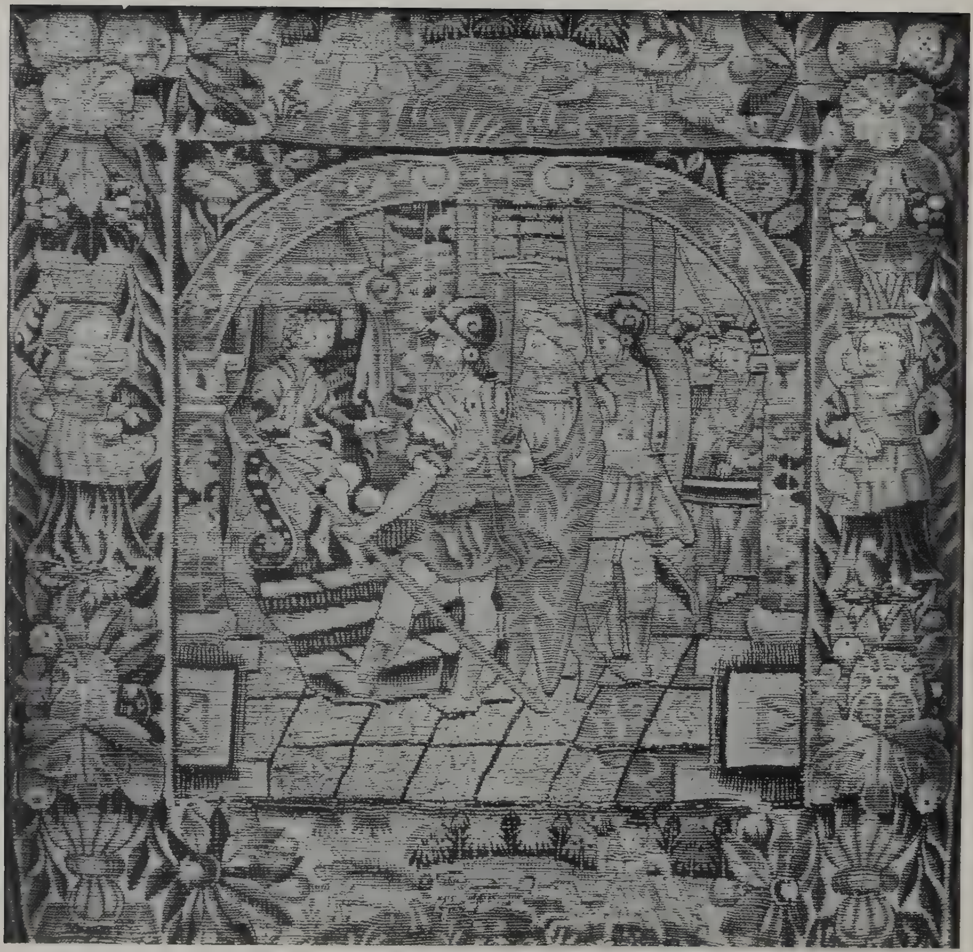
[5] Kendrick (Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 37) compares a lost plan of Paris dated to the sixteenth century. One of the panels representing the legendary kings of France (dated 1530) in Beauvais Cathedral has a map of France as a background (Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, ii, p. 208).



Cushion. Susanna going to the bath. Sir William Burrell

By courtesy of 'Old Furniture'

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928



Cushion. The Elders before Daniel. Sir William Burrell

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

Next in importance come the tapestries from Chastleton House[1] which are:

B. The Story of Judah, in four large panels.

(1) Judah goes to Timnath. Inscribed GENESIS THE XXXVIII. 1595. THEN IVDA WHENT VNTO HIS SHEPESHERERS TO TIMNA, with the initials W.I. and E.I. In the possession of Mrs. Gubbay. (130 by 130 in.)

(2) Judah gives his staff and bracelets to Tamar. Inscribed GENESIS XXXVIII. THE TRESPAS OF ER AND ONAN AND THE VENGEANCE OF GOD THA CAME THEREVPON, with the initials W.I. and E.I. In the Birmingham Art Gallery and Museum. (127 by 144 in.) (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 2.)

(3) Judah recognizes his staff and bracelets. Inscribed GENESIS THE XXXVIII. BY THE MAN VNTO WHOME THESE THINGS PERTAINE AM I WITH CHILDE, with the initials W.I. and E.I. (127 by 90 in.)

(4) The Birth of Pharez and Zarah. Inscribed GENESIS THE XXXVIII. IT FORTVNED WHEN TYME COME THAT SHE WAS DELYVERED, with the initials W.I. and E.I. In the possession of Mrs. Gubbay. (81 by 101 in.)

The English texts seem to be taken with but slight modifications from the Genevan or Breeches Bible of 1560, which was the popular Bible till the issue of the authorized version in 1611.[2] In every case the subjects are on a small scale within a frame in the centre of a large field covered with flowering plants.

C. The Judgement of Paris.

A large panel showing the scene on a small scale within a frame in the centre of a large field covered with flowering plants. Inscribed OVT OF OVID EPESTELS IX CHAPTER above, and below WHEN PARESE GAVE THE GOLDENE APPEL, with the initials H.I. for Henry Jones, the son of Walter and Eleanor Jones. In the Victoria and Albert Museum.[3] (128 by 143 in.)

D. Taste.

A long cushion-cover with the Latin inscription SENSORVM GVSTATVS EST NERVVS SVPRA LINGVAM EXPANSVS AD QVEM SAPOR PERVENIT DVCTVS A SALIVA. Taste is personified as a woman seated with baskets of fruit in an orchard. Fruit and flowers abound in the scene and in the borders. (36 by 25 in.) (Pl. XXXIX, fig. 1.)

E. A long cushion-cover with a central panel against a ground of flowers, fruit, and grotesque devices. The central panel shows a winged griffin standing on the edge of a cliff overlooking the sea. Below is the inscription ΕΧΩИ ΟΥΚ ΕΧΟΜΑΙ woven in gold on a blue ground. It is not, however, the original inscription, for that has obviously been excised and the existing Greek inscription inserted. When this was done is not clear. Perhaps the original inscription was in Latin and was replaced by the Greek by Francis Hickes. Perhaps the weaver did not weave the Greek correctly at first and it had to be re-woven in this manner. In any case the griffin would appear to be an emblem and the inscription to refer to it. Greek is very rarely used for inscriptions on tapestries and its use in a Sheldon panel at once suggests Francis Hickes's reputation as a Greek scholar. The border with the design including herm-like half-figures and astrolabes recalls the tapestry maps (A). In the possession of Lady Barber. (44 by 26 in.) (Pl. XL, fig. 2.)

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[1] Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 12 Nov. 1920, lots 128-32.

[2] Bible illustrations probably formed the basis for the designs of the scenes represented. The Story of Judah in four scenes occurs in N. J. Visscher, *Grooten Figuer Bibel*, Alcmaer, 1646.

[3] Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, p. 11, no. 1 A.

F. A long cushion-cover with the arms of Walter Jones and Eleanor Pope his wife in the centre of a field of fruit and flowers. Below the shield is the motto DVLCE PERICVLVM SEQVI DEVM. The top, bottom, and left borders consist of bunches of fruit and flowers united by diamond-shaped devices each having four excrescent scrolls and a flower in the heart of the diamond. The right-hand border is varied by the insertion of a vase. In the possession of Colonel Howard. (44 by 32 in.) (Pl. XL, fig. 1.)

The period of this whole series is presumably fixed by the date 1595 on one of the Story of Judah set (B, 1), although Chastleton was not acquired by Walter Jones till 1602 and rebuilt by him between 1603 and 1614. From the English inscriptions and the initials of Walter, Eleanor, and Henry Jones upon them, and from the known connexion of the Jones family with the Sheldons[1] and the closeness of Chastleton to Barcheston and Weston, it is reasonable to assume that these tapestries were woven in the Sheldon looms.

Apart from these points a striking and characteristic feature is the restriction of the subjects in the large tapestries B and C to a small panel in the centre—in itself not larger than a short cushion-cover of the normal size, about twenty inches square—with an elaborate frame which has some resemblance to that surrounding the arms of Ralph Sheldon in the Bodleian map of Gloucestershire. Thus the actual figures are no larger than those on cushions and the subject is set in the centre of a wide floral ground. This gives the impression that the weavers and designers, even in large panels, had a tendency to avoid subjects with big figures and preferred an extensive floral ground which might be termed a developed *mille fleurs* type of late Renaissance style in which they could set

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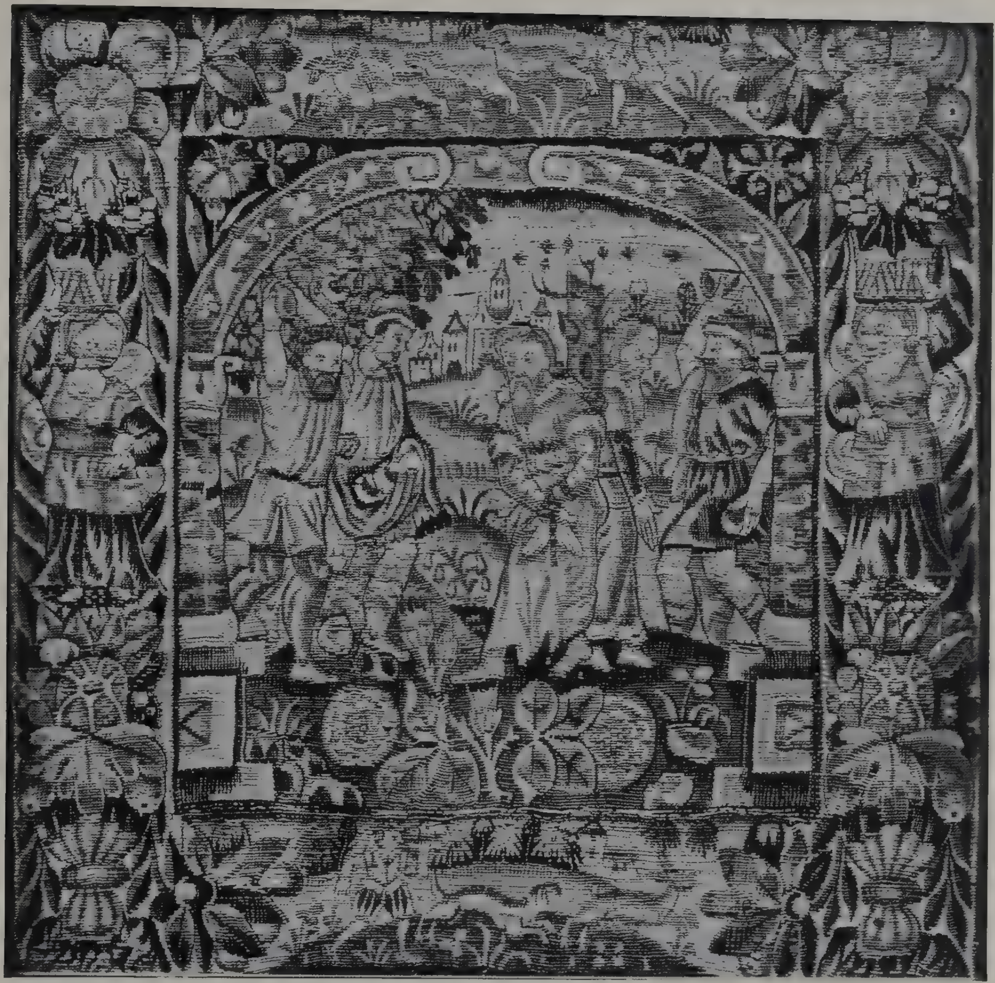
[1] The Sheldon arms occur in the decoration of Chastleton House and the inventory of 1633 speaks of Mr. Sheldon's chamber; Miss Whitmore-Jones, *Gunpowder Plot and Chastleton House*, pp. 114 ff.



Cushion. The Stoning of the Elders. Sir William Burrell

By courtesy of 'Old Furniture'

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

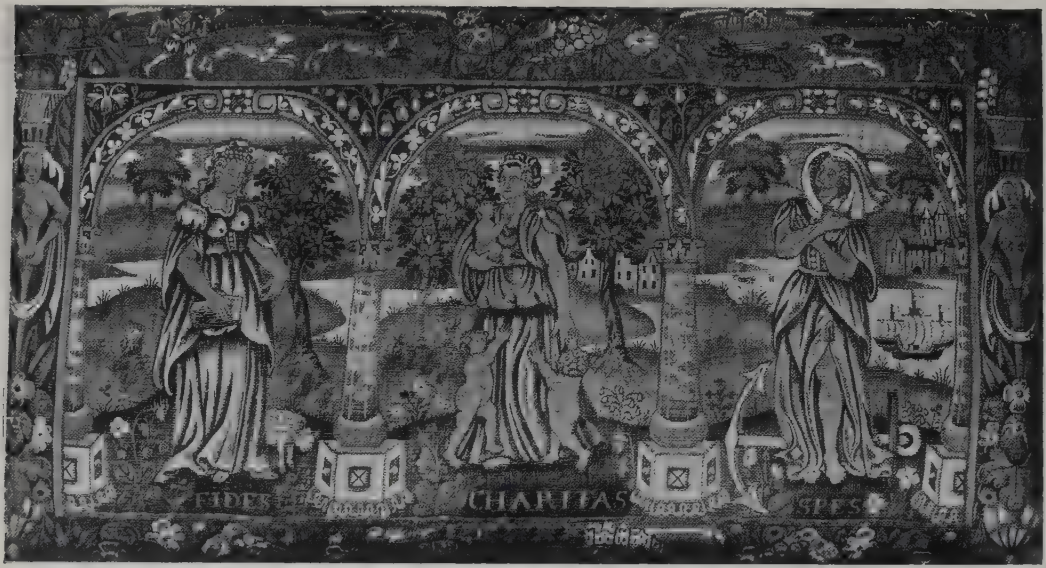


Fig. 1. Cushion. Faith, Charity, Hope. Lady Lever Art Gallery

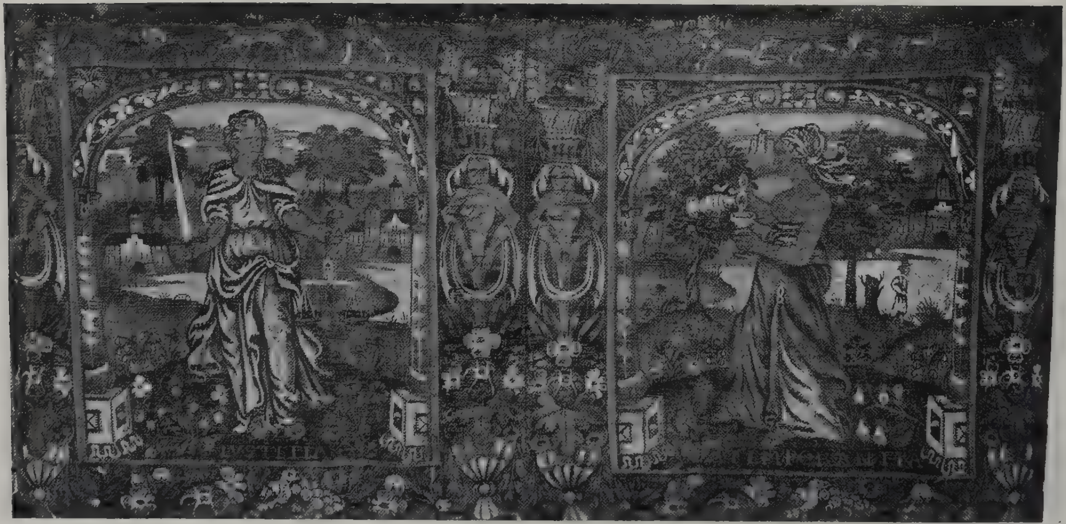


Fig. 2. Cushions. Justice, Temperance. Lady Lever Art Gallery

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

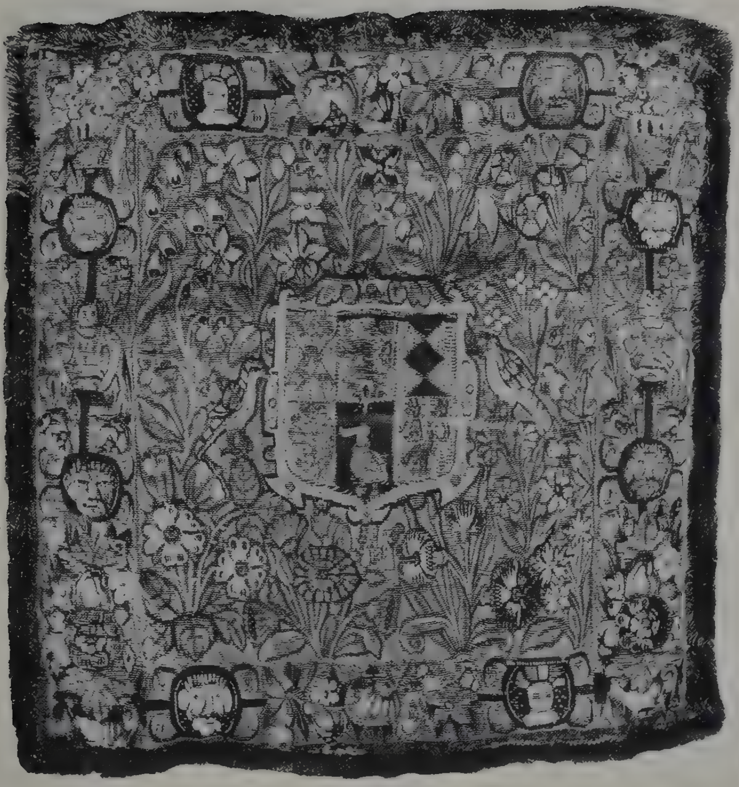


Fig. 1. Cushion. Arms of Sacheverell. Victoria and Albert Museum

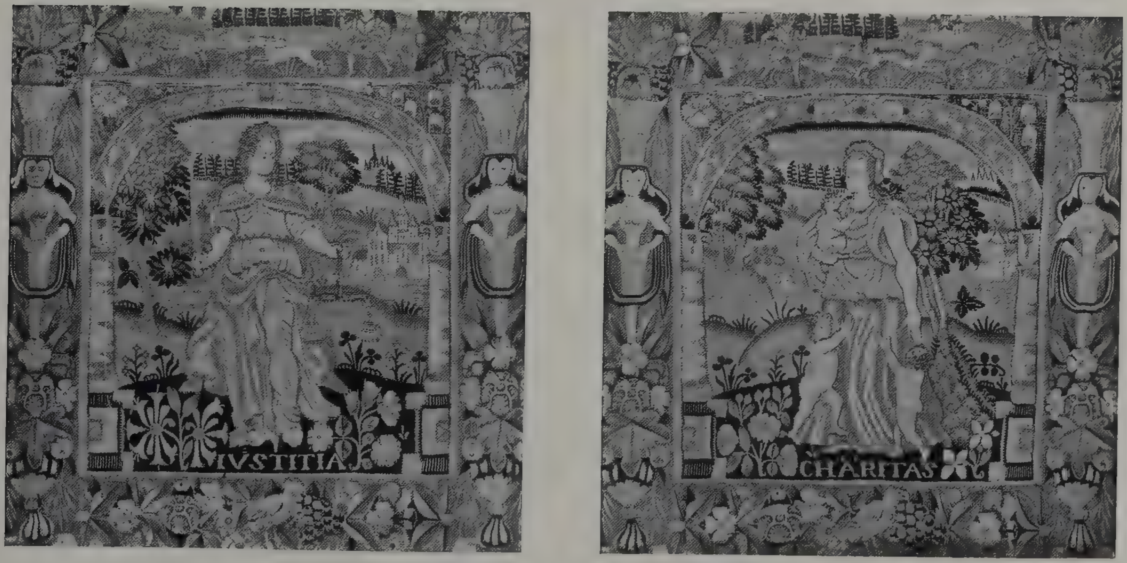


Fig. 2. Cushions. Justice, Charity. Mr. Behar

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

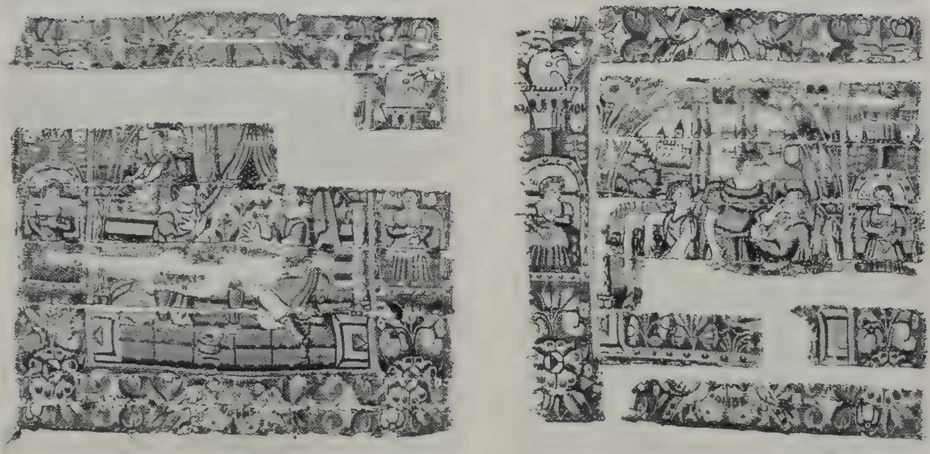


Fig. 1. Cushions. The Story of Tobias. Mrs. Antrobus

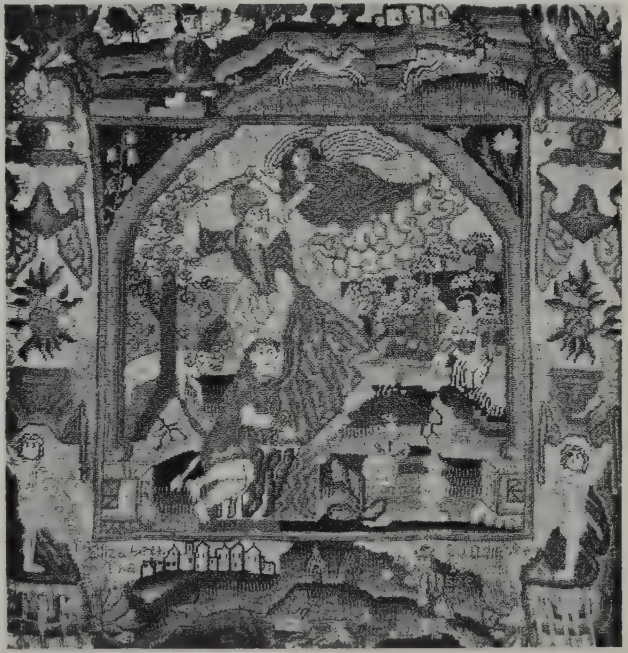


Fig. 2. Needlework replica of fig. 3. Lady Lever Art Gallery

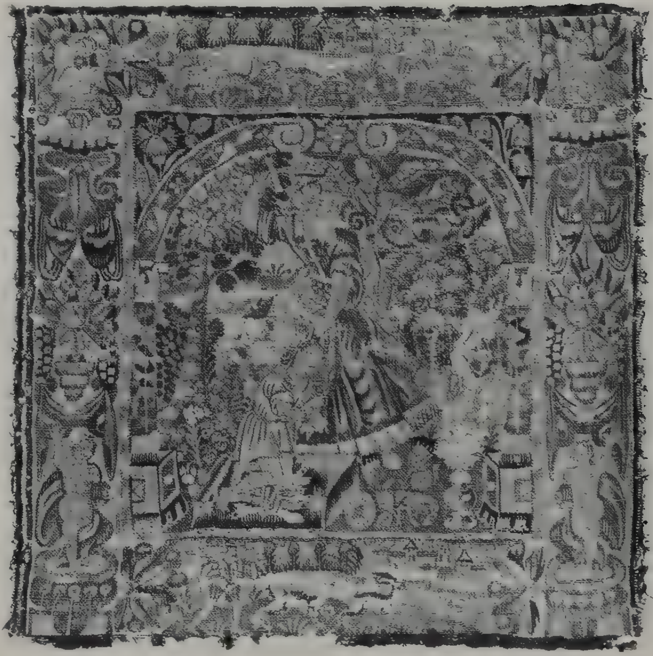


Fig. 3. Cushion. The Sacrifice of Isaac. Mr. Vereker

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

figures in panels. The love for designs of flowers and fruit—a marked feature of Elizabethan embroideries—is extremely well exemplified here.

So far we have dealt only with tapestries which for other reasons than style can be considered as Sheldon. Now we proceed to others which, either by their inscriptions or by their similarity to the maps and the Chastleton tapestries in colour, design, and technique, can reasonably be assigned to the same school.

First come five quite small panels, all of one size:

G. (1) The Sacrifice of Isaac, inscribed HAVE A STRONGE FAITH IN GOD ONELY | NOT THIS BUT MY GOOD WILL, now in the possession of the Duke of Rutland.[1] (11½ by 8½ in.) (Pl. XLI, fig. 2.)

(1A) An almost identical panel also inscribed HAVE A STRONGE FAITH IN GOD ONELY | NOT THIS BUT MY GOOD WILL was sold at Christie's on 31 July 1928, lot 44, and is now in Colonel Howard's possession. The central scene, the side borders, and the barber-pole edging are practically the same; only the colouring is fresher. (11 by 8 in.)

(2) The Adoration of the Magi, inscribed MATTHEW THE 2, in the possession of Lady Binning. (11½ by 8¼ in.) (Pl. XLI, fig. 3.)

(3) The Flight into Egypt inscribed NON DONVM SED DONANTIS ANIMVM, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bought under the Bryan Bequest.[2] (11⅜ by 8 in.) The sense of this Latin inscription is the same as the 'Not this but my good will' of G, 1 and 1A.

(4) Christ and the Woman of Samaria, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bought under the Bryan Bequest.[2] (11½ by 8¼ in.)

These five panels have distinct points of likeness: the rather crude drawing of the figures, the rendering of the trees and flowers, and the narrow barber-pole border which runs round them. 'The Adoration of the Magi' is closely akin to 'Christ and the Woman of Samaria', for each has only the narrow barber-pole edging. 'The Flight into Egypt' and 'The Sacrifice of Isaac' are also connected with each other by the similarity of the narrow floral borders at the sides, which have seated animals, cats or monkeys, in their centres. The English inscriptions suggest at least that these tapestries should be classed as English and as akin to the Chastleton series. The treatment of the subjects resembles that of the Story of Judah, and so they are most probably productions of some of Sheldon's weavers.

With these we can connect a whole series of cushion-covers related in style, sizes, and plan, and with a certain similarity of subject. These are:

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[1] Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 4 March, 1927, lot 76.

[2] *Bryan Bequest*, pl. III; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, p. 14, 1 C, 1 D.

H. The Birth of Christ.

(1) A long cushion with three scenes under a triple arcade:

The Annunciation.
The Nativity.
The Adoration of the Magi.

In the borders are fruit, flowers, birds, men and women in contemporary costume, and hunting scenes, of the hare and boar above, of the deer and fox stealing a goose below. (Pl. XLII, fig. 1.)

(2) A short cushion, 'The Flight into Egypt', with an arcade and similar side borders with men and women; now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1] In the other borders are hunting scenes, of the hare above, and of the fox stealing a goose below. (19 by 18 in.) (Pl. XLI, fig. 1.)

These cushions bear the initials T.E.I., which suggest that they may have been made for some member of the Jones family. These letters recall the initials which form such a feature of the Chastleton tapestries, and the scene of 'The Flight into Egypt' is very similar to that on the cushion just mentioned above (G. 3). These cushions, therefore, have a claim to be considered Sheldon.

I. The Story of Susanna.

Of this three sets are known.

I. From Hedingham Castle, Essex.[2]

(1) A long cushion (38 by 20½ in.) with three scenes under a triple arcade:

Susanna going to the bath.
Susanna at the bath.
Susanna before the judge.

In the upper border are hunting scenes, deer and boar, and in the lower border another, fox, flanked by swags of flower and fruit. In the side borders are figures of women holding baskets of flowers and fruit on their heads and with baskets of flowers and fruit below their feet. There are floral sprays in the spandrels and in the lower part of each scene. (Pl. XLIII, fig. 2.)

(2) A short cushion (19¼ by 18½ in.), showing the Stoning of the Wicked Elders under an arcade. The side borders are similar to those of (1); the bottom border shows a bird among fruit and flowers; the top border shows a hunting scene, of a fox carrying off a goose. There are floral sprays in the spandrels and on the lower part of the scene. (Pl. XLIII, fig. 1.)

II. A long cushion in the collection of Frau Emma Budge, Hamburg (about 40 by 21 in.). (Pl. XLII, fig. 2.)

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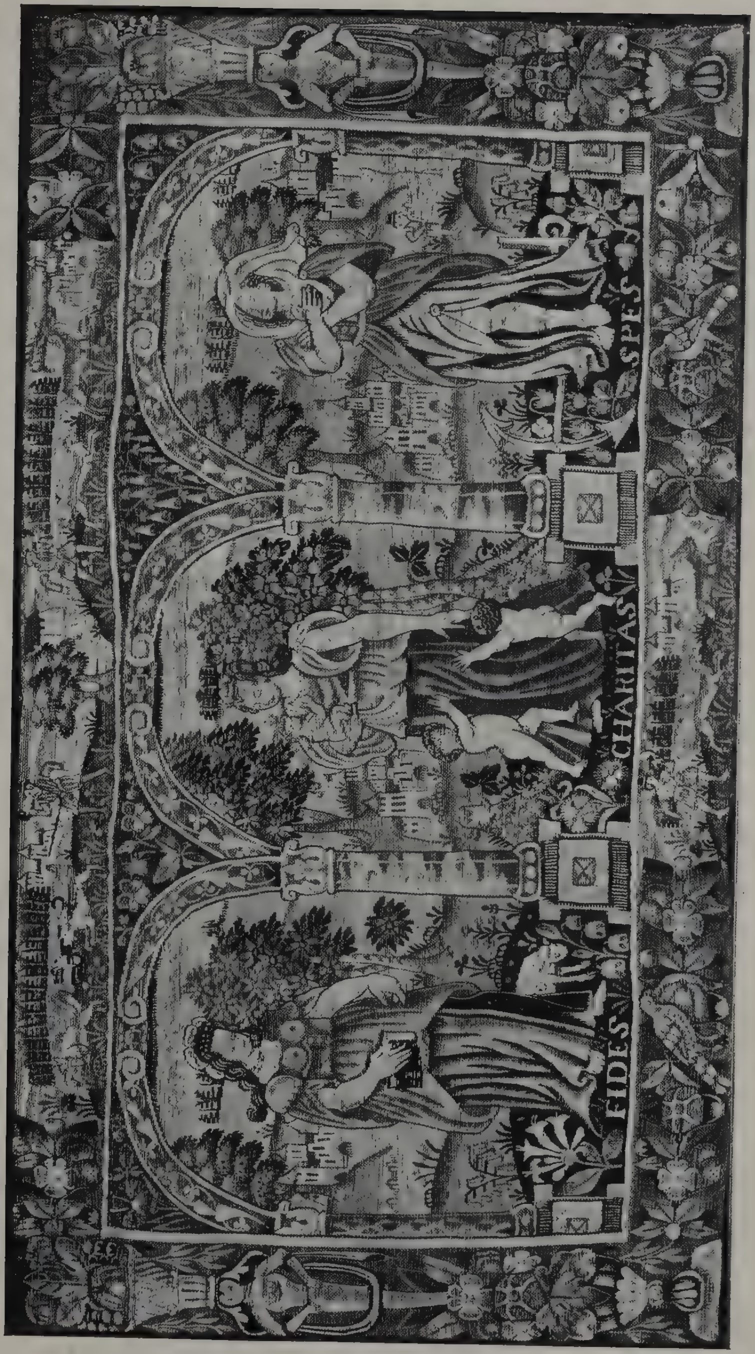
[1] *Review of Principal Acquisitions*, 1926, p. 67, fig. 59.

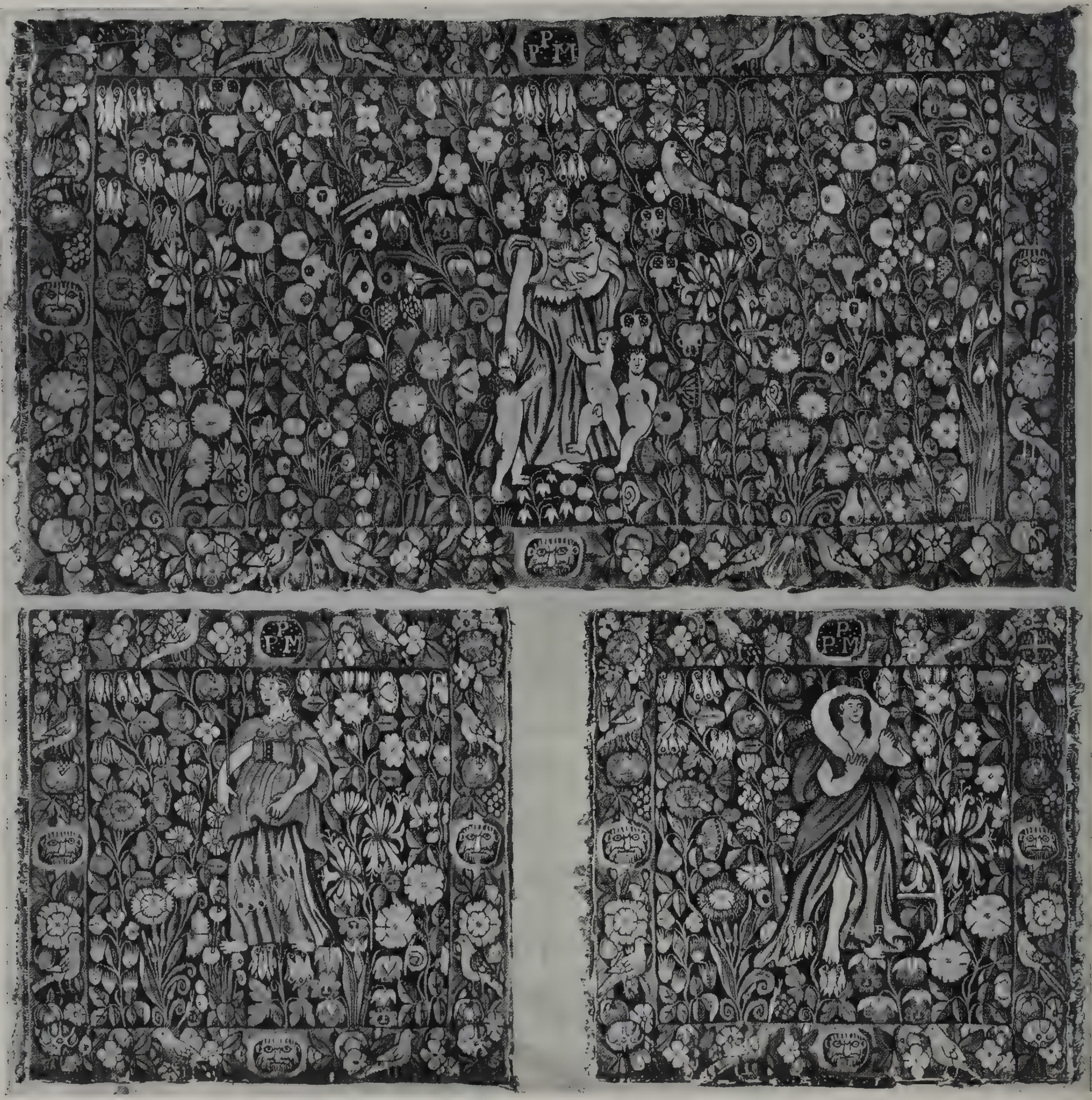
[2] Sold at Sotheby's, 24 June, 1927, lot 89.


FIDES
CHARITAS
SPES

Cushion. Faith, Charity, Hope. Sir William Burrell

By courtesy of 'Old Furniture'

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928



Cushions. Charity, Faith, Hope. Royal Scottish Museum

By courtesy of the 'Burlington Magazine'

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

This is practically a duplicate of I (1) and shows the same three scenes under a triple arcade. The side borders are the same, but the top borders have no hunting scenes and consist only of fruit and flowers combined with the diamond-shaped devices seen in F and N. There are birds in the spandrels, and the floral sprays in the foreground of the scenes are not so prominent.

III. A set of three short cushions in the possession of Sir William Burrell,[1] each being about 20 in. square. In each the scene is shown under an arcade.

(1) Susanna going to the bath. There are floral sprays in the foreground and in the spandrels. The side borders show figures of women rising from vases of fruit and flowers and carrying baskets of fruit and flowers on their heads. The Elders are seen spying on Susanna in the background. In the top border is a hare hunt, in the lower a boar hunt. (Pl. XLIV.)

(2) The Wicked Elders before Daniel. The side borders are as in (1); the upper border has a deer hunt, the lower a boar hunt. There are floral sprays in the spandrels and a tiled floor covers the foreground of the scene. (Pl. XLV.)

(3) The Stoning of the Wicked Elders. The side borders are as in (1) and (2); the lower border shows a hare hunt, the upper the hunting of a fox carrying off a goose. There are floral sprays in the foreground and in the spandrels. (Pl. XLVI.)

The Susanna cushions, in the arcades, the fruits, flowers, and hunting scenes, are undoubtedly connected with the previous group (H), and the same features constantly occur in the succeeding panels. The side borders of Sir William Burrell's set (I, III) strongly suggest those of the large panel at Sudeley Castle (Q, 1).

J. The Story of Tobias.

(1) A short cushion showing Tobias and Sarah praying by the marriage bed. On the bed-curtain is inscribed DEVS.

(2) A short cushion showing Tobias healing his Father's sight.

These two incomplete cushions are undoubtedly linked with the Susanna series, because the fragments were found stitched on the edges of the first Susanna set (I, I), to which they are also obviously related in style and design. The exact original measurements are unobtainable, but the cushions were probably about 20 in. square. Both are in the possession of Mrs. Antrobus (pl. XLIX, fig. 1).

K. The Life of Abraham.

(1) A short cushion showing Abraham entertaining the Angels; in a private collection in Germany.[2]

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[1] *Old Furniture*, v, p. 79 ff.

[2] I have to thank Dr. Sauermann, of the Thaulow Museum, Kiel for information about this cushion.

(2) A short cushion showing the Sacrifice of Isaac. In the top and bottom borders are hunting scenes, of the fox stealing a goose, and of the deer. In the possession of Mr. S. R. Vereker. (20 by 19½ in.) (Pl. XLIX, fig. 3.)

A needlework replica of eighteenth-century date, signed:

Elizabeth Suffolk
in the tenth year
of her age

is in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight. (Pl. XLIX, fig. 2.)

The borders and arcades of these cushions link them to the previous sets, and the scene of 'The Sacrifice of Isaac' is extremely similar in type to that on the Duke of Rutland's panel described above (G, 1).

L. The Virtues.

Of these four sets are known:

I. Three cushions on a settee in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight.

(1) A long cushion with Faith, Charity, and Hope under a triple arcade, inscribed FIDES, CHARITAS, SPES. In the top border are hunting scenes, deer and boar; in the lower a landscape with a manor-house. (37½ by 20½ in.) (Pl. XLVII, fig. 1.)

(2) A short cushion with Justice under an arcade, inscribed IVSTITIA. In the top border is a hunting scene, of the fox stealing a goose. (19 by 19 in.) (Pl. XLVII, fig. 2.)

(3) A short cushion with Temperance under an arcade, inscribed TEMPORANTIA. In the top border is a scene of hunting the hare. (19 by 19 in.) (Pl. XLVII, fig. 2.)

The inscriptions in Latin and the borders with hunting scenes, birds, fruit and flowers, and half-figures are of the type already familiar.

II. Two cushions formerly in the possession of Mr. Behar.[1] (Pl. XLVIII, fig. 2.)

(1) A short cushion with Justice under an arcade, inscribed IVSTITIA. In the top border is a boar hunt. (About 19 by 19 in.)

(2) A short cushion with Charity, inscribed CHARITAS. In the top border is a deer hunt. (About 19 by 19 in.)

This pair is clearly a variant of the Lady Lever Art Gallery set.

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[1] American Art Association Sale, New York, April 26–30, 1927, lots 995, 996; *Art News*, April 16, 1927, p. 11.

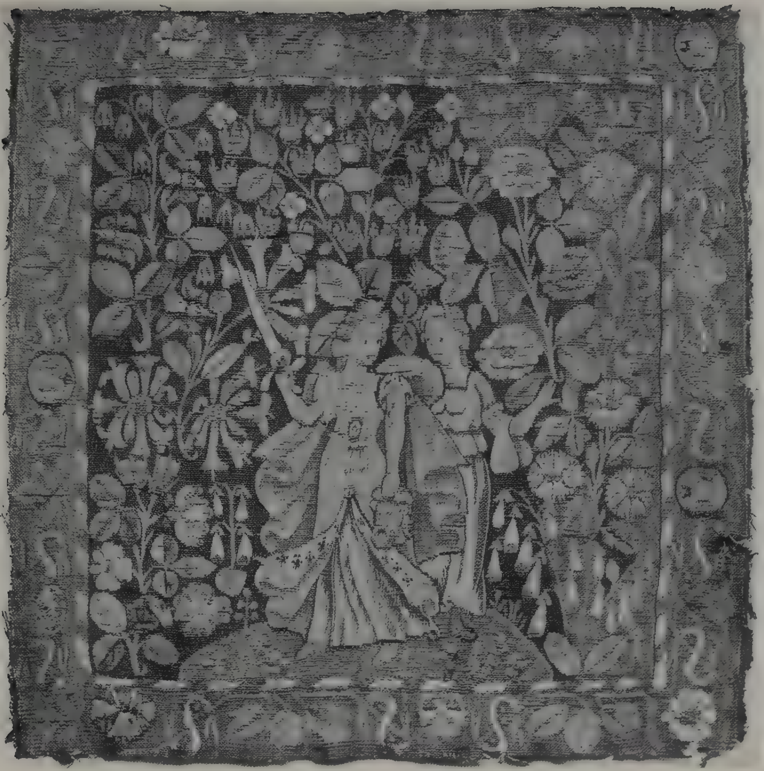

Fig. 1. Cushion. Judith. Victoria and Albert Museum

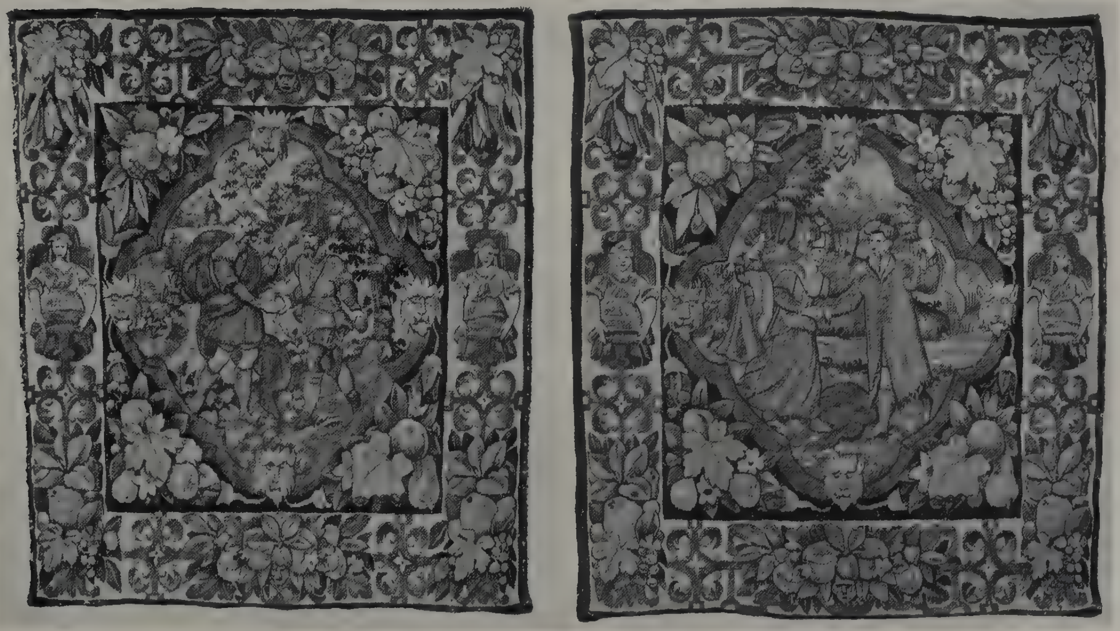

Fig. 2. Esau selling his birthright. Rebecca disguising Jacob. Victoria and Albert Museum

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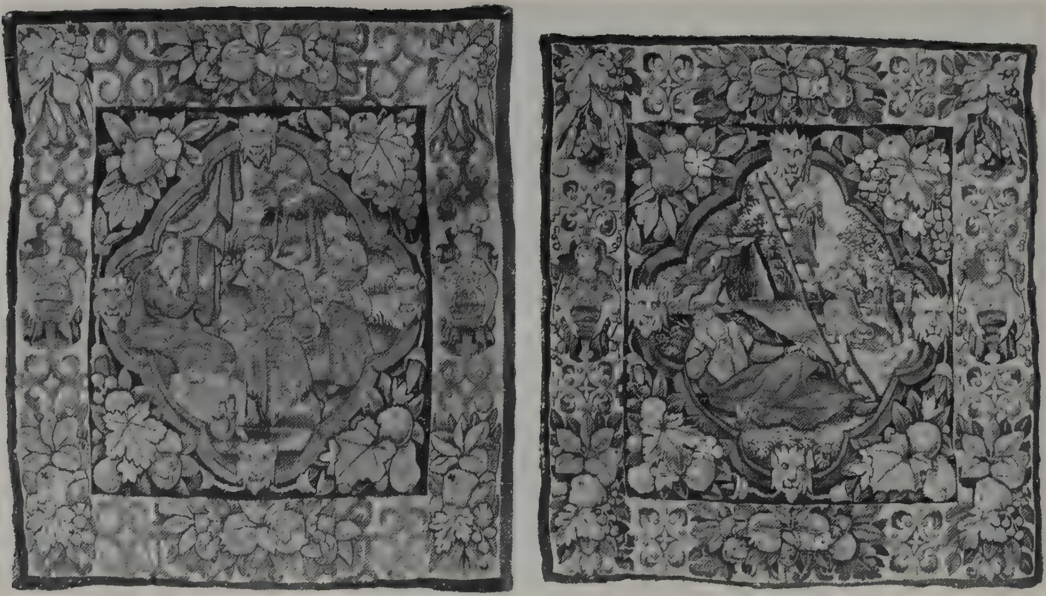

Fig. 1. Cushions. Jacob receiving the blessing. Jacob's dream. Victoria and Albert Museum

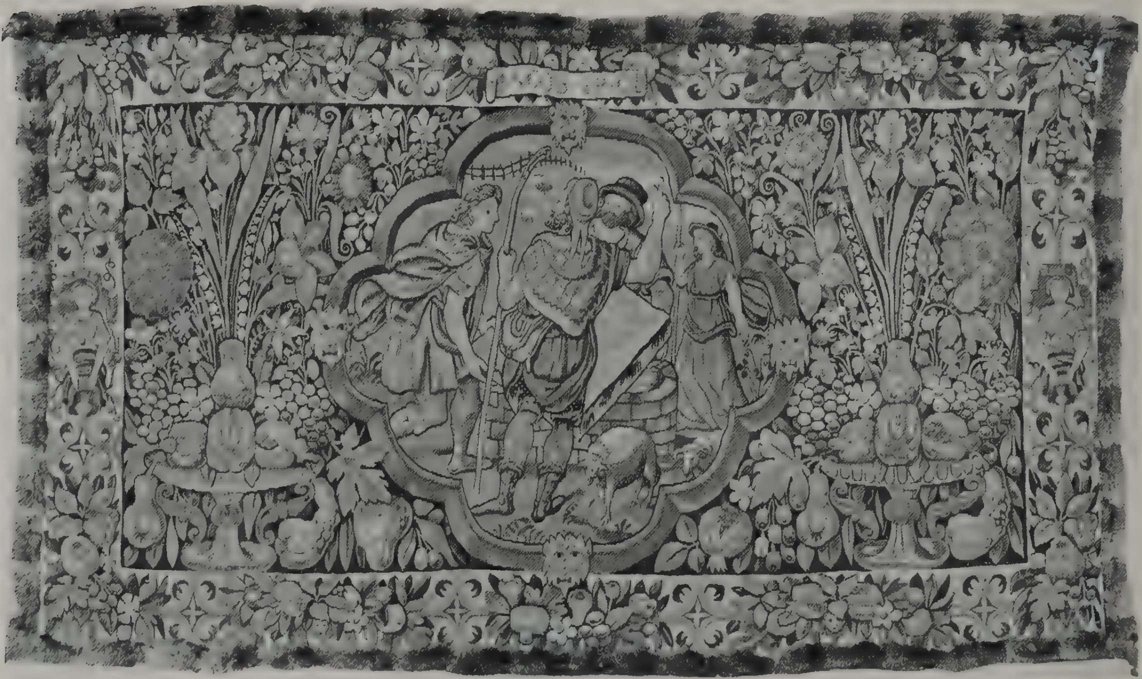

Fig. 2. Cushion. Jacob at the well. Victoria and Albert Museum

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III. A long cushion in the possession of Sir William Burrell (about 38 in. long by 20 in. wide).[1] (Pl. L.)

Faith, Charity, and Hope (inscribed FIDES, CHARITAS, SPES) appear under a triple arcade against landscape backgrounds. The side borders have vases of fruit and flowers from which rise herm-like half-figures supporting baskets of fruit on their heads. The top border has two hunting scenes, of a deer and of a fox carrying off a goose. The lower border shows a hare hunt and swags of fruit and flowers with birds.

IV. Three cushions in the Royal Scottish Museum (pl. LI).[2]

(1) A long cushion with Charity against a floral background, P.P.M. in top corner. (38¼ by 20 in.)
(2) A short cushion with Hope against a floral background, inscribed HOPE, and with initials as (1). (19¾ by 19¼ in.)
(3) A short cushion with Faith against a floral background, inscribed FAITH, and with initials as (1). (19¾ by 19¼ in.)

This set differs from the others in the floral ground, the masks in the borders, and the rather cruder drawing of the figures, which are reversed from those of the other sets; but the style of the flowers, so similar to those of the other cushions, and the English inscriptions compel us to class these also as English and Sheldon, quite apart from the fact that they bear the initials P.P.M. in the manner of the Chastleton tapestries.

M. Judith.

A short cushion showing Judith against a floral ground similar to that of the Royal Scottish Museum 'Virtues' (L, IV); but with a different border. There is a narrow barber-pole edging directly round the centre, and outside it a border of flowers set on a wavy line on which S's are linked. In the Victoria and Albert Museum. (19 by 19 in.) (Pl. LII, fig. 1.)

N. The Story of Jacob.

A set of six cushions in the Victoria and Albert Museum:

(1) A short cushion, Esau selling his birthright. (16½ by 19 in.) (Pl. LII, fig. 2.)
(2) A short cushion, Rebecca disguising Jacob. (18 by 20 in.) (Pl. LII, fig. 2.)
(3) A short cushion, Jacob receiving the blessing. (18 by 20 in.) (Pl. LIII, fig. 1.)
(4) A short cushion, Jacob's dream. (18 by 20 in.) (Pl. LIII, fig. 1.)
(5) A long cushion, Jacob at the well, inscribed JACOB 29-CH. (38 by 22 in.) (Pl. LIII, fig. 2.)
(6) A short cushion, Jacob meeting Rachel. (18 by 20 in.) (Pl. LIV, fig. 1.)

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[1] *Old Furniture*, v, p. 83.

[2] *Burlington Magazine*, li, pp. 25 ff.

These are different in plan from most of the other sets, but the long cushion has an English inscription, and the treatment of the border with fruit and flowers, masks and half-figures, is similar to that of the other sets, and the drawing of the scenes and persons compares well with Judith (M) and the Virtues (L). In particular the diamond-shaped devices uniting the bunches of fruit and flowers in the borders suggest close kinship to Colonel Howard's long cushion with the Jones arms (F).

O. Sacheverell Arms, a short cushion in the Victoria and Albert Museum formerly at Woollas Hill, Worcestershire.[1] (19 by 18½ in.) (Pl. XLVIII, fig. 1.)

In this the arms are set against a floral ground, and the border with its fruit and flowers, masks and heads, in spite of the rough design and execution, shows that the cushion is clearly to be linked with the other Sheldon cushions. Its crudity would suggest that it was woven by a not over-skilful weaver in his home. The arms are those of the Sacheverells, and it has been thought that the initials $\underset{\text{P.}}{\text{H.S.}}$ stand for Henricus Sacheverell Primogenitus and refer to Henry Sacheverell of Rearsby who died in 1581. Henry, however, was a common name in the family, and there is nothing to show that the Rearsby branch who were cadets used the Snitterton quartering which appears on this cushion. Henry Sacheverell of Morley, elder son of Jacinth Sacheverell, might equally well be intended, especially since that elder line used the Snitterton quartering. Jacinth Sacheverell died in 1656, aged 79, and his son Henry would up to that year have borne on his arms across the chief a label of three points gules as on this cushion.[2] Henry was married in 1638, and so was probably born early in the century. If the cushion was made for him as a child, such a date would suit its style, which, since no absolute certainty has yet been reached through the heraldry, is the best clue to its date.

From a study of these cushions certain characteristics clearly emerge as common either to the group as a whole or to two or more sets. They, so to speak, make the various sets overlap one another and thus provide a series of links which bring them all into one chain.

I. Hunting scenes in the borders, to which many parallels can be found in the needlework caskets of the seventeenth century.[3]

II. The floral grounds among which flowers such as honeysuckle, carnation, columbine, rose, wild strawberry, and pansy are prominent, just as they

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[1] Clifford Smith, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1913–14, p. 236; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*^{2}, p. 14, 1 E.

[2] *Herald and Genealogist*, iii, p. 532: cf. Nichols, *Leicestershire*, iii (1), p. 509. I have to thank Mr. Van de Put for kind help on these points.

[3] e. g. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Picture Book of Embroideries, II, Stuart*, pl. 19.

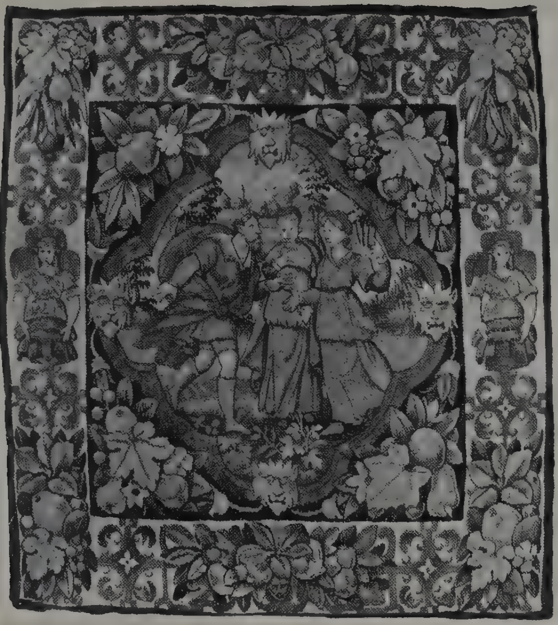

Fig. 1. Cushion. Meeting of Jacob and Rachel.
Victoria and Albert Museum

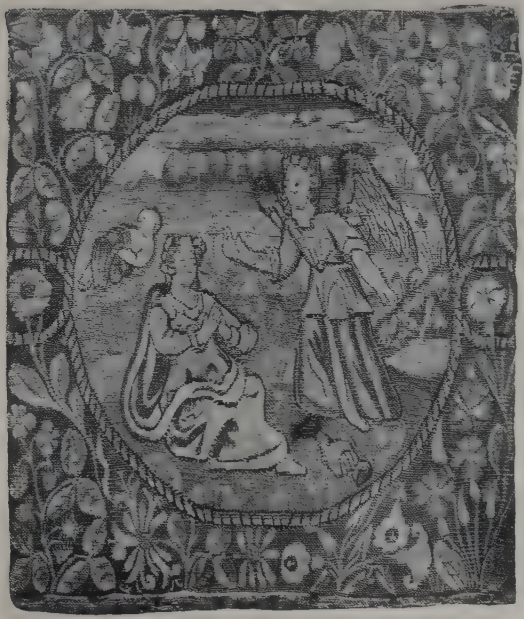

Fig. 2. Cushion. Hagar and Ishmael.
Mr. Dighton

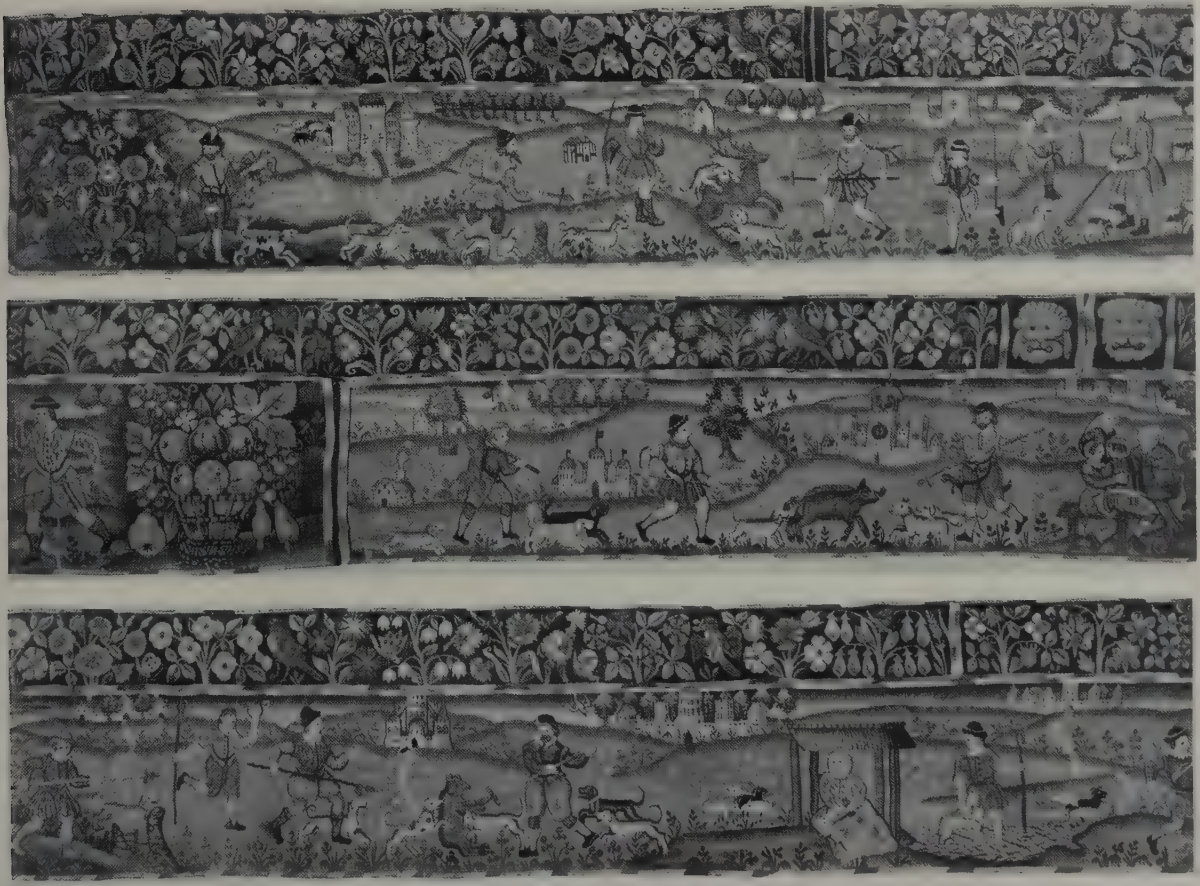

Fig. 3. Valance. Colonel Howard

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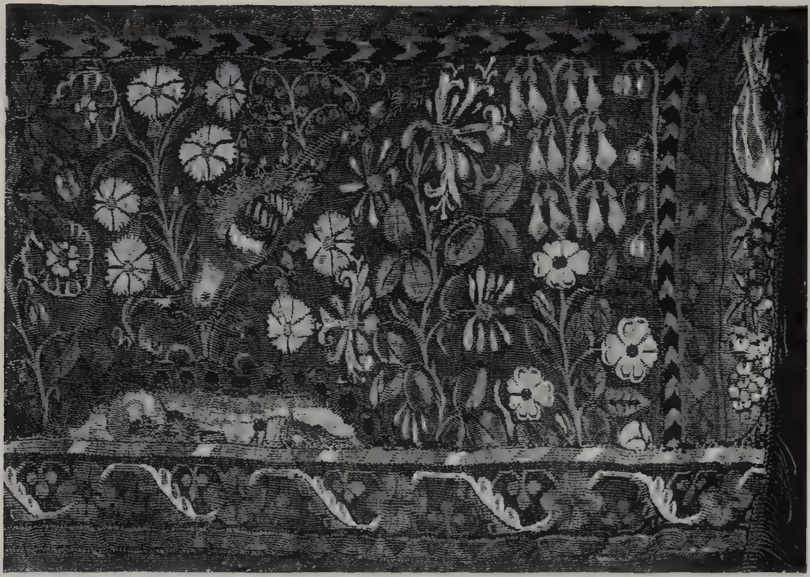

Fig. 1. Portion of panel, Sudeley Castle

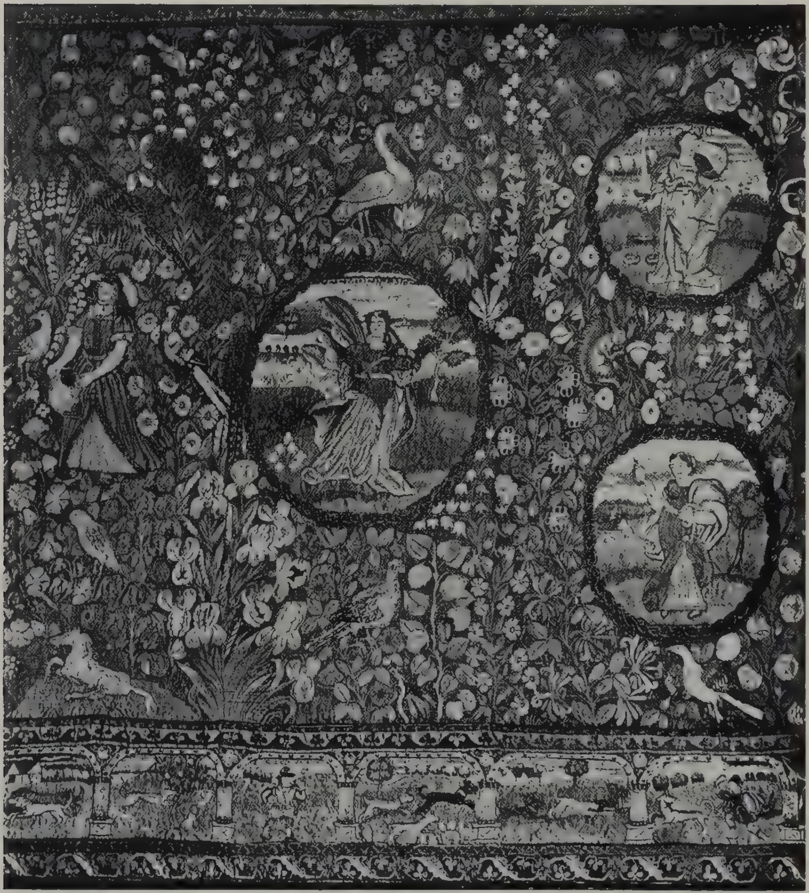

Fig. 2. Portion of panel, Sudeley Castle

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are also prominent in the needlework pictures of the first half of the seventeenth century, and also in Elizabethan embroideries.[1]

III. The barber-pole border which appears in the Judith cushion, just as it appears in the first group of four small panels.

IV. The arcades which distinguish a number of the sets of cushions.

V. The masks and herm-like half-figures in the borders.

VI. The initials as in the Chastleton tapestries.

VII. The English inscriptions.

These points enable us to link to the cushions three other groups of tapestries that show the same characteristics.

P. Valance with hunting scenes and floral border, in the possession of Colonel Howard.[2] (10 in. wide.) (Pl. LIV, fig. 3.)

The valance is composed of an upper floral border woven separately and sewn on to the valance proper below. The latter, with the delightful scenes of hunting (deer, wolf, boar, hare, bear, and fox), set against a landscape studded with country mansions of a castellated or château type, is made up of three parts. Two are 79¾ in. long and one is 56½ in. long. The former terminate with vases or baskets of fruit and flowers arranged in such a way that when the valance was put on a bed the vases would come against the posts at the head and the baskets against or over those at the foot. The vases are flanked by a squirrel and a seated animal, either a monkey or a cat, which closely resembles those in the side borders of the Duke of Rutland's panel (G, 1) and the Flight into Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum (G, 3). The whole is edged with a narrow barber-pole pattern. The measurements of the valance proper agree well with those of the sides and foot of the Corbet bed in the Victoria and Albert Museum which is dated 1593 and is 80 in. along the sides and 48 in. at the foot between the posts.

The floral border at the top divides into four sections, two 38 in. long and two 76 in. long. They are arranged so that the two short sections come at the ends on the right and left and the two large in the middle, and the whole border thus made overlaps the valance proper by 6½ in. on the left and 5½ in. on the right. This was probably done so that the top border fastened on to the capitals of the posts at the head of the bed while the ends of the valance proper hung against the post immediately below.

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[1] e.g. Victoria and Albert Museum, *Picture Book of Embroideries, I, Elizabethan*, pls. 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 19, 20; *II, Stuart*, pls. 1, 4, 6, 9; Huish, *Samplers*, pls. XV, XVI, XVIII, XIX, figs. 56, 59.

[2] Sir William Burrell possesses a tapestry valance (*c.* 60 in. long by 10 in. high) with hunting scenes, which has been claimed as Sheldon, but, as this attribution is far from certain, it is omitted from the present discussion.

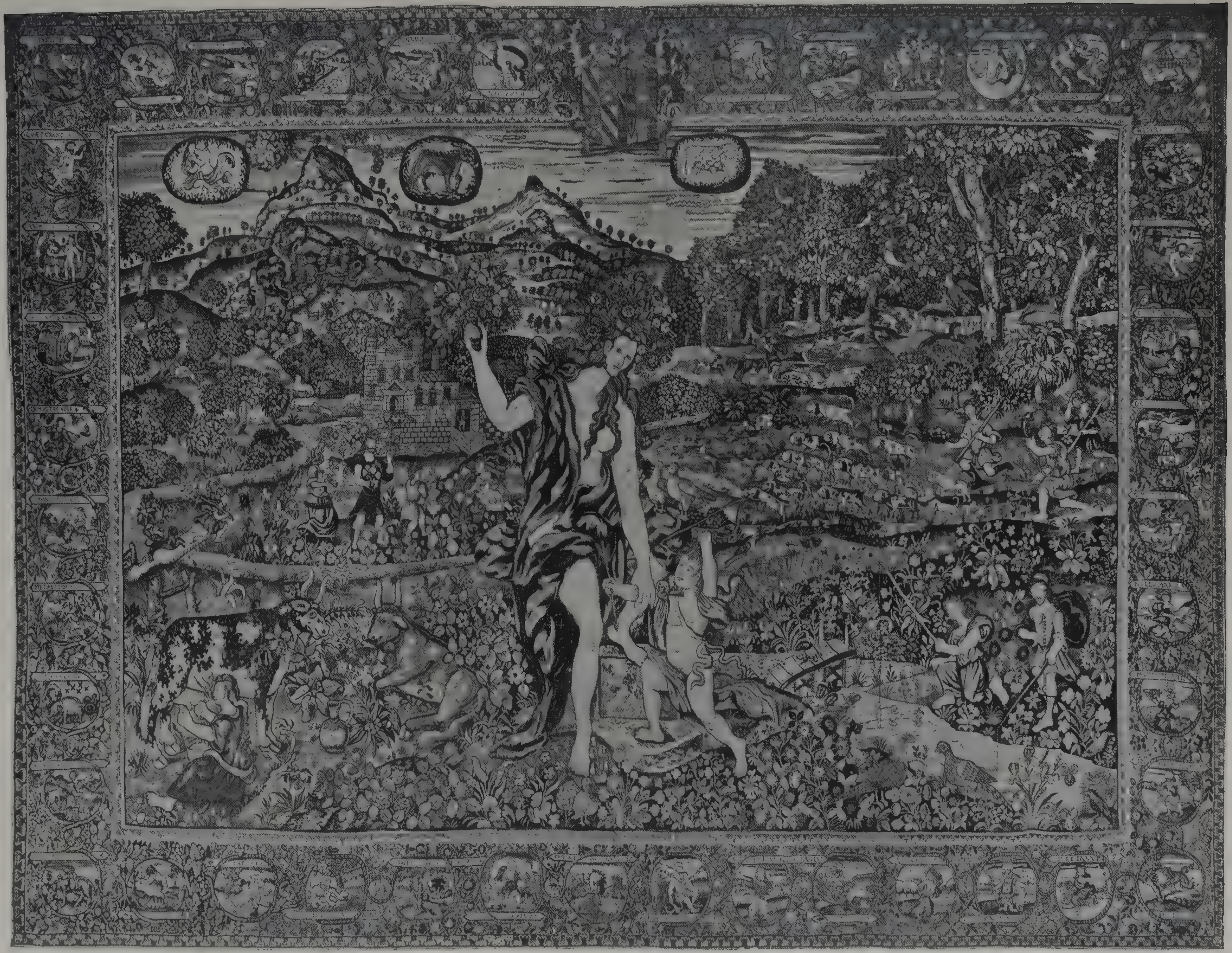
Of the four sections, one long and one short each ends with a lion mask on the left, and one long and one short each ends with a lion mask on the right. Since the short sections come at the head of the bed and the long sections run round the posts at the foot, two lion masks would appear side by side in the centre of the foot of the bed and one on each post at the head, while the joins between the long and short sections would come in the middles of the sides. The accuracy of the present arrangement is confirmed by the fact that one long and one short section are woven together in one continuous piece with a lion mask at each end of the whole, but none at the junction between the two sections. The lion masks are set in a frame of barber-pole pattern which also edges the whole valance. The only lack of symmetry is that there is no barber-pole edging to the woven join between the long and short strips on the left of the bed, though there is to the corresponding sewn join on the right.

It is interesting to note that this division between the long and short strips of the floral border agrees with the widths and arrangements of crewel-work curtains of the later seventeenth century, which are in sets of four, two wide (76 in. wide) and two narrow (38 in. wide). The narrow hang against the head of the bed and half-way along the sides, the wide continue on from the narrow at the sides, go round or behind the posts at the foot, and meet one another at the middle of the foot of the bed. It is thus always possible that the two pieces of the valance were not originally meant to be together, but separate. The floral border may have been the upper valance of the bed to go along the edges of the tester, as its joins would correspond with those of the curtains. The valance proper then would have hung along the edge of the actual bedstead itself at the bottom of the curtains, and as it is narrow would have been well above the level of the floor.

Q. Two floral panels at Sudeley Castle, the property of Mr. H. Dent Brocklehurst.

(1) Large panel (187½ in. long, 73 in. high) with scenes in roundels on a rich floral ground and arcaded borders with hunting scenes at top and bottom. The top border illustrates (from left to right) the hunting of the fox, hare, and deer, and the bottom border similarly figures the hunting of the fox, deer, boar, and hare. These scenes recall those of Colonel Howard's valance (P) and the arcadings that on the cushions (H–L) described above. Above the arcade border runs a band of trefoils combined with a wave pattern and below the arcade a zigzag band and a floral scroll pattern. (Pl. LV, fig. 2.)

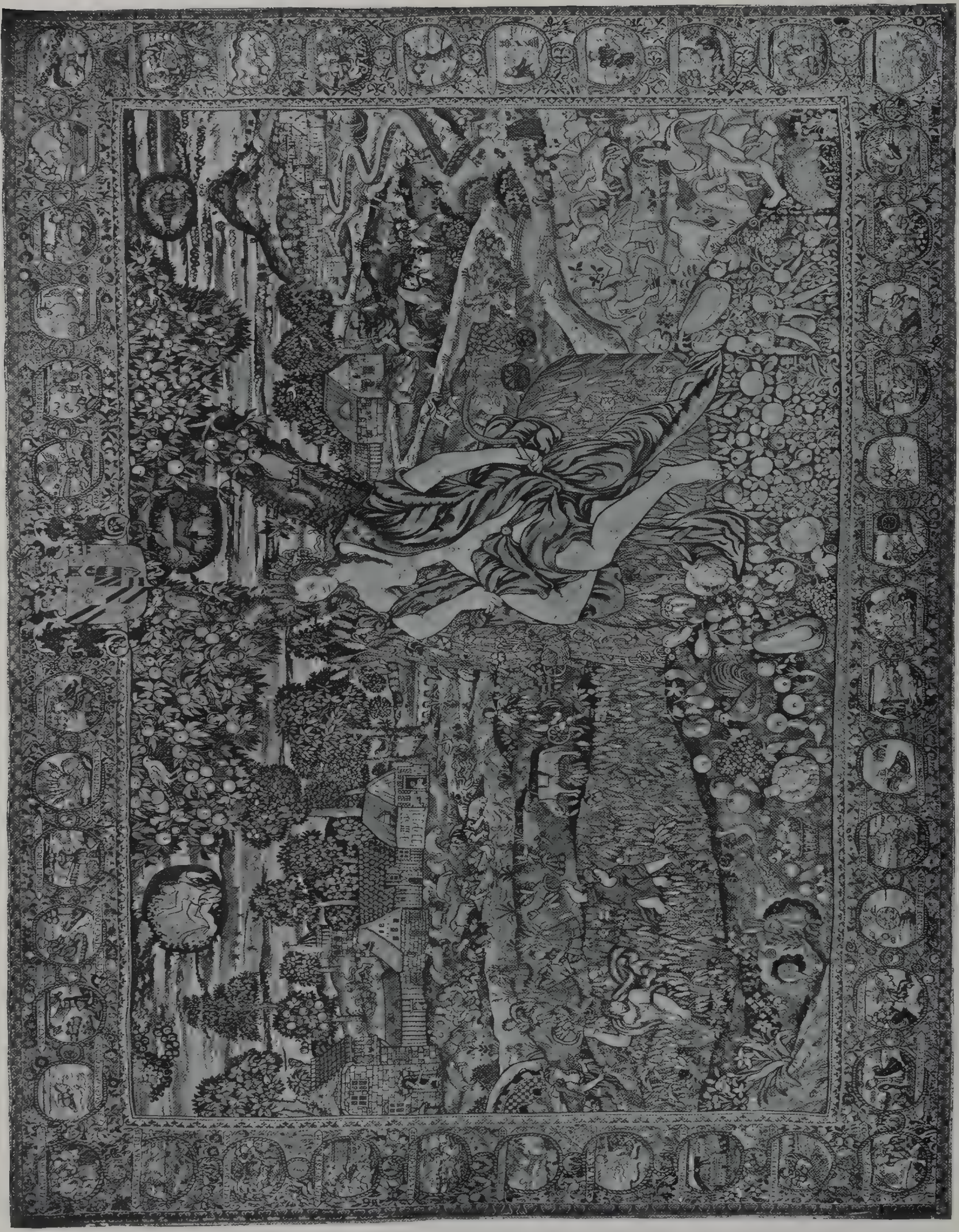
The side borders have at the bottom a vase filled with flowers and fruit, in the middle an arch supported on columns like the arcading in the top and bottom borders and the cushions. Under them stand women carrying baskets



The Hatfield Seasons : Spring

By courtesy of the Walpole Society

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928



The Hatfield Seasons: Summer

By courtesy of the Walpole Society

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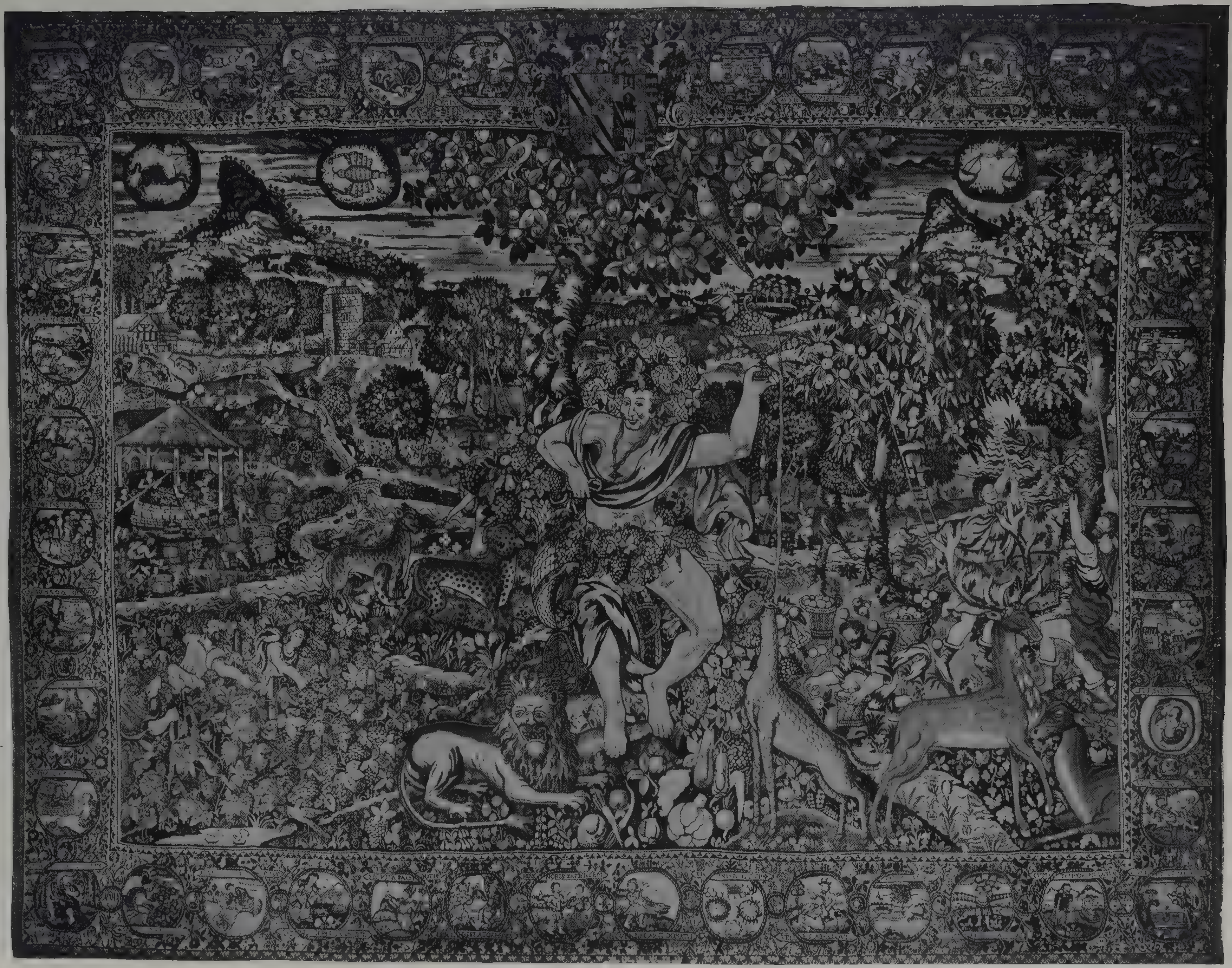

The Hatfield Seasons: Autumn

By courtesy of the Walpole Society

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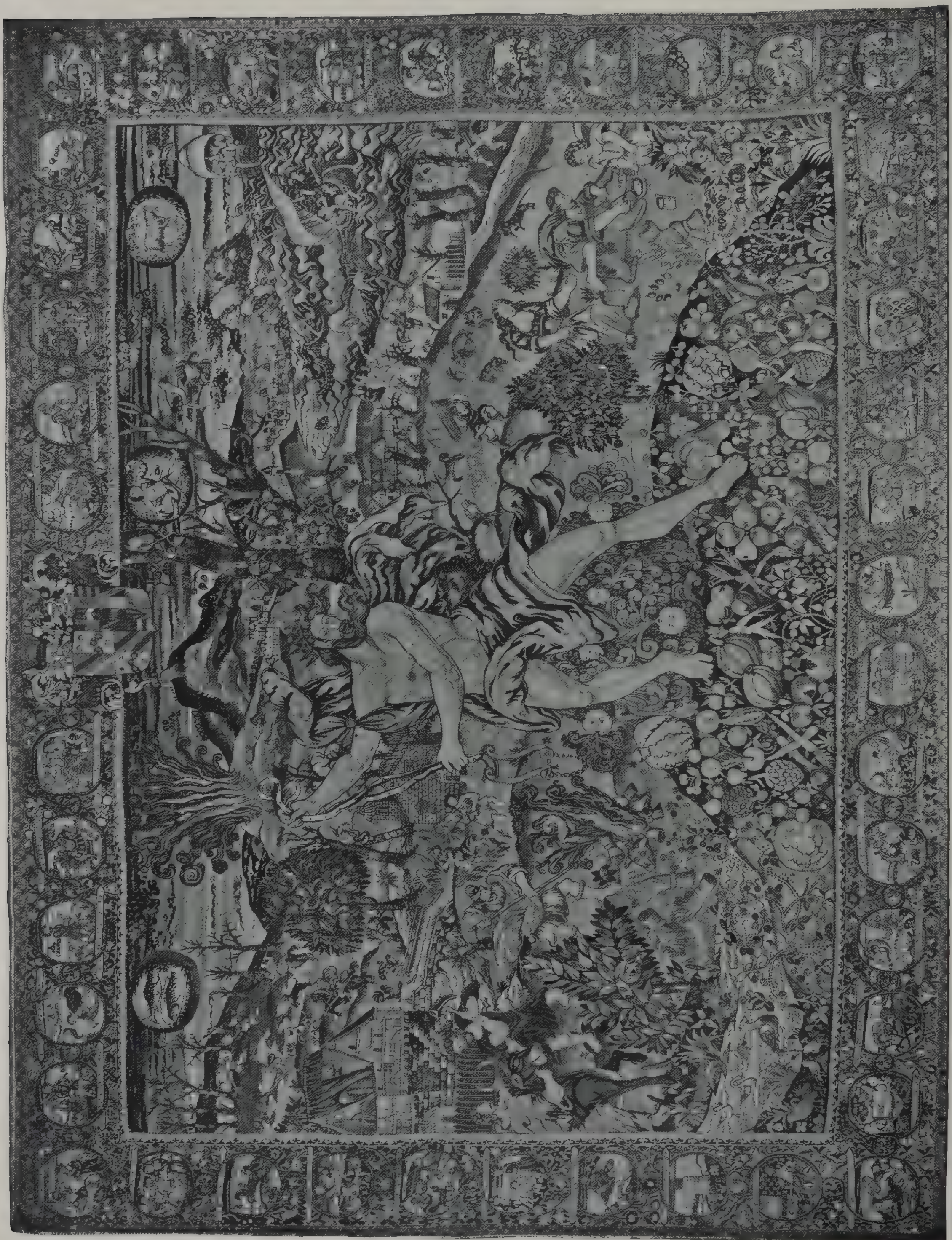

The Hatfield Seasons: Winter

By courtesy of the Walpole Society

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of fruit on their heads as in the side borders of the Susanna cushions (I). Above them come birds and flowers and fruit. In each angle is a round face and all round the extreme edges is a line of the barber-pole pattern.

Against the floral ground of the panel is set a series of medallions, two in the centre and three to each side. The upper medallion in the centre is shield-shaped with ornamented trefoil projections, as though intended to frame a coat of arms, as it probably did, for its original centre has been cut out and replaced by a scene of the Expulsion from Paradise. This has parts of an original rope-work oval border along its edge, and the upper part of the scene is cut off along a straight line severing the arm of the angel at the wrist. Examination of this and of the cut edge on the other Sudeley piece (Q, 2, below) shows that the Expulsion from Paradise has been removed from the other panel, and so did not originally belong to this one. The missing coat of arms, which would give a clue to the first owner of this panel and probably also to its date, may still exist beneath the Expulsion from Paradise, but this cannot be verified without the removal of the panel from its present position. The initials $_{\text{I}}{}^{\text{B}}{}_{\text{F}}$ which appear in the central projection of the panel at the top are probably those of the first owner and his wife. Below the shield-shaped medallion is an oval with a rope-work border enclosing an allegorical subject. At the top is inscribed IVDICIS with a pair of scales below it on the left. In the centre a judge in scarlet and ermine stands on a square pedestal with a lion at his feet on the right. Above the lion is a tablet inscribed $\substack{\text{TO LORD}\\ \text{IWAT}}$. The lettering is perishing and the lower line obscured by clumsy repairs, so that its reading is not certain. It might equally well be read WIAIT. Above that again is a double-headed bust; on the left is an open book inscribed $\substack{\text{SECVNĎ}\\ \text{LE GEM}}$ and above that a left arm and hand grasping a scourge. The peculiar character of the scene recalls the emblematic medallions in the borders of the Hatfield Seasons[1] and suggests the possibility that the tapestry may have been woven for a judge.

To the left of the centre against the floral ground stands Judith, a sword brandished in her right hand and in her left Holofernes' head. To the right stands Judith's handmaiden with the bag for Holofernes' head. Both resemble the figures on the cushion (M) in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Below Judith is a lion and below the handmaiden a unicorn. The other six roundels, all of which have rope-work borders, enclose figures of the Virtues not very dissimilar from those in the cushions described above (L). On the left side are HOPE, FAITHE and CHARITIE, on the right TEMPERANCE, IVSTICE and PROVIDENC. Among the fruit and flowers of the ground are birds of all kinds, including peacock, pheasant, parrot, turkey, heron, pelican, partridge, and one with a human head, caterpillars, snails, dragon-flies, a squirrel, and in the lower right-hand corner a cat. Some of the birds both in this and in the other panel are inverted.

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[1] Walpole Society, *Annual*, ii, p. 93.

(2) Portion of small panel of similar type. (Pl. lv, fig. 1.) In its present condition this is 66 in. long and 19 in. wide. There are traces of floral borders at the sides and of a barber-pole line all round the edge. The field is bordered with a trefoil and wave band, and there is part too of a floral wave pattern all as in Q, 1. Also as in the large panel a central scene in an elaborate frame (probably shield-shaped) and roundels with rope-work borders were set against the floral ground which contains birds. There is part of one roundel at each side and the top central projection of the frame in the middle bears the letters $_{\mathrm{I.}}{}^{\mathrm{B.}}{}_{\mathrm{F.}}$

On the analogy of the larger panel we can venture to restore this as having in the centre a shield-shaped panel with a coat of arms, and on the right the scene of the Expulsion from Paradise. In the remaining piece of that medallion the right hand of the angel grasping a flaming sword can easily be distinguished. The subject of the left-hand medallion must be left undetermined, but it is peculiar in that the floral ground seems to have been continued in it, whereas each of the other medallions has its own special background.

R. Hagar and Ishmael, fragment in the possession of Mr. Basil Dighton. (Pl. liv, fig. 2.)

The scene, an oval, is surrounded by a narrow rope-work border and set against a floral ground. In the centre of each side the rope border makes a loop to enclose a flower as in the borders of the Hatfield Seasons (S). This piece might be a short cushion of the usual size—apparently 20 in. square—as it seems to have a narrow edge at top and bottom. Otherwise it might be from a panel like the large one at Sudeley Castle (Q, 1) or from the border of a tapestry like one of the Hatfield Seasons (S).

S. The Seasons.

1. Spring.
2. Summer.
3. Autumn.
4. Winter.

These four splendid panels are now in the possession of the Marquess of Salisbury, and, though they have formed the subject of a paper by Mr. Kendrick,[1] their interest is by no means exhausted. It is impossible, however, to discuss them fully here—that must be left for another opportunity—and only the main features can now be considered. (Pls. lvi–lix.)

Each panel bears the arms of Tracy of Toddington, Gloucestershire, impaling those of Shirley of Wiston, Sussex, exemplifying Sir John Tracy, who married in 1590 Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley, and died about

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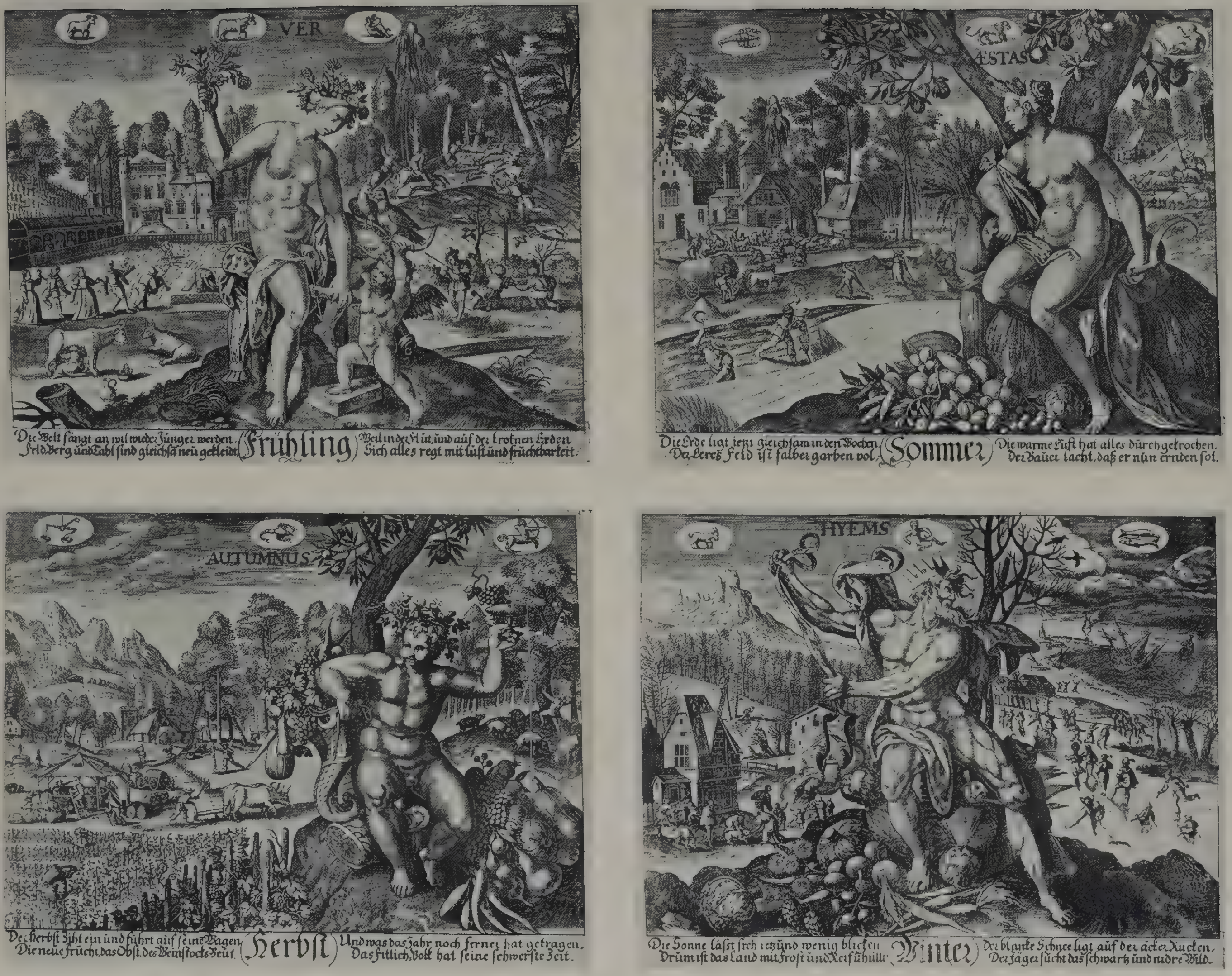
[1] Walpole Society, *Annual*, ii, pp. 89 ff.


VER
Die Welt fängt an wil wieder Jünger werden.
Feld Berg und Tahl ſind gleichſā neu gekleidt
Frühling
Weil in der Flut, und auf der trotnen Erden
Sich alles regt mit luſt und früchtbarkeit.
ÆSTAS
Die Erde ligt jetzt gleichſam in den Wochen.
Der Ceres Feld iſt falber garben vol.
Sommer
Die warme Lufft hat alles durch getrochen.
Der Bauer lacht, daß er nun ernden ſol.
AUTUMNUS
Der Herbſt zieht ein und führt auf ſeine Wagen
Die neue frücht, das Obſt, des Weinſtocks Beut.
Herbſt
Und was das Jahr noch ferner hat getragen.
Das Fittich Volk hat ſeine ſchwerſte Zeit.
HYEMS
Die Sonne läſt ſich jetzund wenig blicken
Drüm iſt das Land mit Froſt und Reif umhüllt
Winter
Der blanke Schnee ligt auf der äcker Rucken,
Der Jäger ſucht das ſchwartz und andre Wild.

The Seasons: from engravings by Martin de Vos. Victoria and Albert Museum

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1928

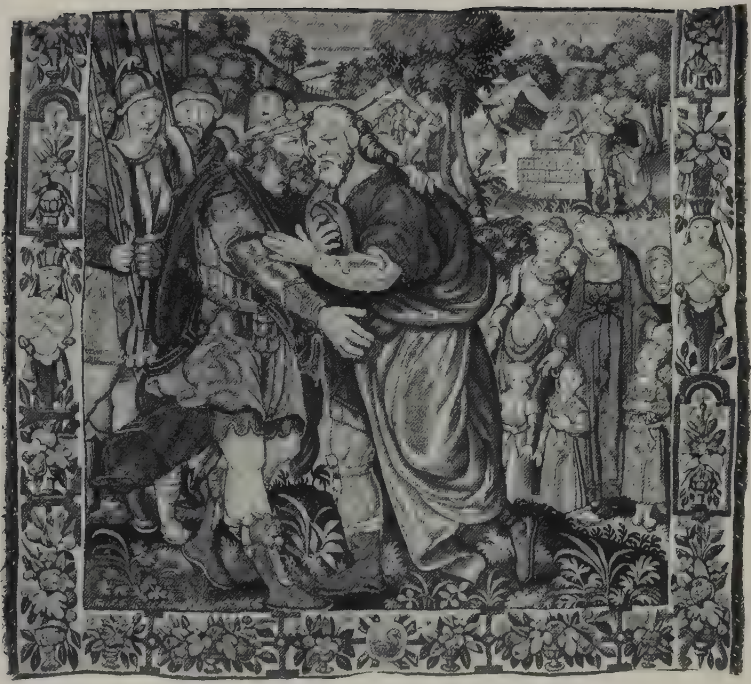


Fig. 1. Esau and Jacob. Mr. Vereker

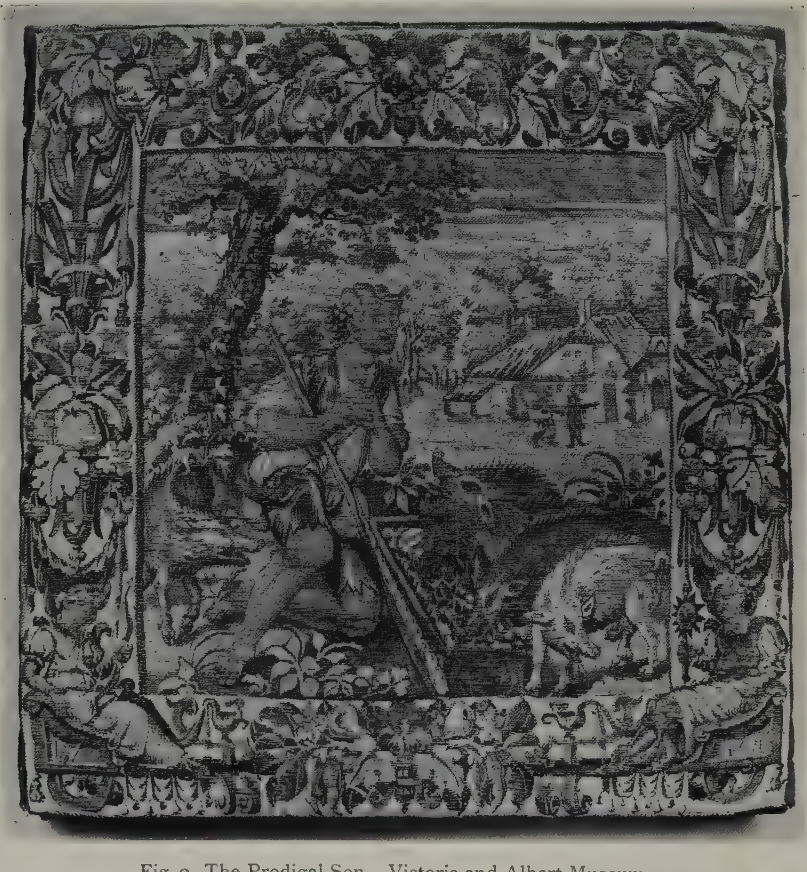


Fig. 2. The Prodigal Son. Victoria and Albert Museum

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1648. The Tracy and the Sheldon families were connected by marriages with the Throckmortons.[1] The date of the set is given in Winter, for at the end of the inscription E MALIS MINIMVM to the second oval on the right of the arms in the top border is 1611, the 6 being reversed. The main designs are modifications of engravings by Martin de Vos,[2] and comparison of the illustrations will show how much they were enriched and adapted by the English designers or weavers (Pl. LX). It is noticeable that in this enrichment with floral motives they had an excellent opportunity to exhibit their delight in flowers and country scenes and their skill in repeating them in tapestry, particularly the flowers. Two of the designs, Spring and Winter, appear in panels of Dutch stained glass from Cassiobury Park[3] which are stated to be early seventeenth century.

The wide borders show a series of ovals edged with a continuous band of rope-work with a small loop enclosing a flower between each two ovals, a feature that recalls the small piece (R). Each oval has a Latin motto, and it is interesting to note that the accusative is sometimes used where the nominative would be expected, for instance, SVBMOVENDAM IGNORANTIAM, GRATIAM REFERENDAM. Mr. Kendrick has shown that twenty-nine of the representations are taken from Geffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, printed at Leyden, 1586, and some from Alciatus' *Emblemata*, first printed in 1522 and often reissued.[4] This suffices to illustrate the main sources of the emblems and devices in the Hatfield tapestries, and they and their Latin mottoes were probably chosen by some one who delighted in quaint conceits and in displaying his knowledge of the classics. This would suit well the character of Francis Hickes.

Between the borders and the main field of the panels is a band of trefoils combined with a wave pattern exactly as in the Sudeley Castle tapestries (Q, 1, 2). In each of the corners is a lion mask corresponding to the faces visible in the corners of the larger Sudeley Castle panel (Q, 1).

Generally speaking, the richness of the foliage, flowers, and fruit, and the keen delight in animals of all kinds and country pursuits seen in these tapestries are outstanding characteristics which find clear analogies in Colonel Howard's valance and in the Sudeley Castle panels. Indeed, so strong is the stylistic likeness between these three groups that they may well be approximately contemporary.

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[1] Sir John Tracy (died 1591) married Ann, daughter of Sir Thomas Throckmorton, and Ralph Sheldon the elder married in 1557 Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton.

[2] This has also been discovered independently by Mr. Kendrick, *Burlington Magazine*, li, p. 161.

[3] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Review of Principal Acquisitions*, 1923, p. 21, Pl. II.

[4] See *Andreae Alciati Emblematum flumen abundans*, edited by Henry Green for the Holbein Society (1871).

3. Other Tapestries attributed to the Sheldon School.

It will have been seen that in the above examination of the tapestries attributable to the Sheldon School some panels hitherto assigned to it have been tacitly excluded.[1] It will be convenient to give a brief list of them with a short statement of the reasons for their exclusion.

1. The six short cushion-covers with scenes illustrating the Parable of the Prodigal Son.[2] These show a marked difference in their planning and their drawing from any of the accepted Sheldon groups (Pl. LXI, fig. 2). The scene is set in a square frame without any arcading or floral ground. The figures are larger and better drawn than on Sheldon tapestries, while floral and fruit motives are not so prominent. The borders show grotesque elements and in the lower angles the figures of Sol and Luna recall similar figures on a Dutch verdure made at Leiden and now in the Museum there.[3] They also generally resemble the set of twelve cushions[4] now in the Kestner Museum at Hanover, which have been attributed to Amsterdam, or to the well-known group of tapestries woven in north-western Germany, at Lüneburg and elsewhere.[5]

2. The three large armorial panels at Drayton House with the arms of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[6] These have rich floral grounds and one has on either side of the coat of arms medallions enclosing garden scenes. The weaving and drawing of these panels is much more sophisticated than even that of the maps. The only reason for assigning them to the Sheldon School, apart from the English coat of arms, is apparently the reference in the *Black Book of Warwick*[7] to the Earl of Leicester's mention of Sheldon's undertaking. Otherwise in style and technique they bear a strong resemblance to Dutch tapestries, especially those from Delft. The Armada tapestries were woven by Spierincx at Delft.[8] A set of horse trappings was woven by Spierincx[9] for

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[1] The figure of Justice in the tapestry in St. Mary's Hall, Coventry (Kendrick, *Burlington Magazine*, xliv, p. 83; Humphreys, *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, p. 198), is also excluded. It is thought to have been specially woven in to replace the original figure which had been deleted for religious reasons. It does not, however, seem Sheldon in style, and looks rather like a patch cut out of some other tapestry and inserted to fill the gap. A thorough examination of the back of the tapestry is essential before any decision can be reached.

[2] A complete set of six is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*^{2}, p. 12, I B), two from another set are in the Glynn Vivian Art Gallery at Swansea, and a single cushion in Colonel Howard's possession (Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 40, Pl. XXXIV). Recently Mr. Frank Partridge had another complete set of six.

[3] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, pl. 510.

[4] Göbel, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 440.

[5] H. Schmitz, *Bildteppiche*^{3}, pp. 154 ff.

[6] Humphreys, *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, pls. XLIII, XLIV.

[7] Page 48 (ed. by Thomas Kemp); see above, p. 264.

[8] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, p. 540 f.

[9] Göbel, *op. cit.*, i, pl. 493; Böttiger, *Svenska Statens Samling af väfda Tapeter*, ii, pls. I–III.

Gustavus Adolphus with his arms, and garden scenes not at all unlike those in the medallions occur in tapestries from the Spierincx factory like the fine set at Warwick Castle which is dated 1604. It is most likely, therefore, that these three Drayton tapestries were woven expressly for the Earl of Leicester when he went to Holland in 1585 as Queen Elizabeth's High Commissioner and was received everywhere with honour. They may even have been a gift made to him by the United Provinces. The fact that these tapestries have also been compared to the tapestry table-cloth of the Merchant Taylors' Company which bears the mark of Francis Geubels of Brussels speaks for a continental as against an English origin.[1] The floral ground and the birds before it are paralleled by other Dutch tapestries.[2]

3. A long panel with the Lewkenor arms.[3] This is dated 1564, a perfectly possible date for a Sheldon tapestry, but its design and drawing, like those of the Drayton panels, are too elaborate, and the weaving, as described by Mr. Kendrick,[4] is too fine to allow of its being classed with the Sheldon School. The very character of the foliage and verdure on it, to say nothing of the *amorini* supporting the central shield, cannot be paralleled in undoubted works of the Sheldon School.

4. Tapestry table-cloth in the possession of Mr. Urquhart.[5] This bears five medallions, one in the centre and one at each corner illustrating the five Senses. Though the drawing and general design of the border and of the ground of fruit and flowers suggest those of the Sudeley Castle panels, there is a wide difference in actual execution which is even more marked in the case of the human figures. The women personifying the Senses are too well drawn to be made by the same weavers even as those who wove the borders of the tapestry maps, and find analogies in a Swiss embroidery in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[6] On the other hand the table-cloth in the grouping of the medallions and the floral ground bears a strong resemblance to Dutch tapestries, particularly to table-cloths attributed to the Amsterdam looms, and one may also compare a Delft table-cover in the Swedish Royal Collection made by Spierincx.[7] The lion masks in the corners are quite different from those in the Hatfield Seasons.

5. Grotesque panel belonging to the Marquess of Northampton.[8] No similar panel, except the doubtful example with the Pembroke arms[9] is known as in any way related to the Sheldon School. The one point of resemblance it has with Sheldon tapestries is the restriction of the figure subject to a small

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[1] Kendrick, *Burlington Magazine*, li, p. 161.

[2] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, pl. 489.

[3] Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 52, fig. 8.

[4] Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 34 (1).

[5] Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 38, pl. XXXI.

[6] No. 851–1884.

[7] Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, pls. 488^a, 488^b, 492.

[8] Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 39, pl. XXXII.

[9] See below, p. 306 (9).

medallion in the centre. Otherwise in colour, in drawing, in technique, and in style it is distinctly un-English and is best compared with Flemish grotesques. The pink heart-shaped mark in the lower edge is possibly that of one of the minor Flemish establishments.

6. Verdure panel.[1] This, though it bears flowers, which often occur in tapestries of the Sheldon School, is utterly un-English in style and composition and certainly Flemish, and is perhaps to be attributed to Enghien.

7. Two small panels (26 by 22 in.) mounted as fire-screens with the arms of John Holles, created Earl of Clare 1624, died 1637, the property of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey.[2] These were originally classed as Mortlake[3] and have only recently been claimed as Sheldon. Except for the fact that they bear an English coat of arms, there seems no sound reason why they should be attributed to the Sheldon School, especially as they must have been woven between 1624 and 1637, after the foundation of Mortlake. If English then they are probably to be classed as Mortlake, for in style and drawing they are quite unlike any known works of the Sheldon School.

8. Armorial cushion at Hatfield House.[4] This in style has no resemblance to the Seasons or, indeed, to any known Sheldon tapestry. On the other hand the fineness of the weaving and the delicacy of the drawing suggest that it was made on the Continent, most probably in Flanders.

There remain five more panels which have been considered to be Sheldon, and though they cannot be classed as undoubtedly Sheldon, and there seem good reasons for rejecting them, yet for the time being a definite decision may be postponed.

9. Armorial tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[5] with the arms of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1570, so that if this is a Sheldon panel it must be one of the earliest. The reasons for calling it Sheldon are the English coat of arms, the initials W. H. as in the Chastleton panels, and the restriction of the figure subjects to comparatively small medallions, one apparently representing Pride and the other Luxury. On the other hand the composition, the style of the drawing, the colouring, are more in keeping with Flemish grotesque tapestries of the period.

10. Cushion-cover, representing Jacob meeting Esau, in the possession of Mr. S. R. Vereker.[6] This though rather larger than the usual Sheldon cushions

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[1] Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 50, fig. 6. Now in possession of Messrs. P. W. French and Co., New York.

[2] Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 41, pl. XXXVI.

[3] *Works of Art at Welbeck Abbey*, p. 25.

[4] Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, p. 51, fig. 7.

[5] Kendrick, *Catalogue of Tapestries*, p. 10 (1), pl. 1; Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 48, fig. 5.

[6] Walpole Society, *Annual*, xiv, p. 40, pl. XXXIII; *Archaeologia*, LXXIV, p. 199; Humphreys, *Archaeologia*, lxxiv, pl. XLII.

(32 by 29 in. as against about 19 by 20 in.) shows considerable resemblance to them in the choice of subject and in the treatment of the herms and of the floral motives in the borders. The bird set in an oval in the centre of the lower border has been identified as a sheldrake, the crest of the Sheldons. On the other hand the fineness of the weaving, especially the number of warps to the inch, which is much greater than in a Sheldon panel, and the good drawing and composition suggest an un-English origin. The treatment of the figures, too, is unlike that of the Sheldon cushions, and the border is rather narrow for its size. It follows the usual convention of continental tapestries as seen in the Prodigal Son cushions, but in no undoubted Sheldon tapestries, for it has a shadow on the top and left edges of the scene, but no shadows on the right and bottom. (Pl. LXI, fig. 1.)

11. The three tapestry maps belonging to the York Philosophical Society.[1] The pedigree of these is known. They were bought by Horace Walpole at the Weston sale about 1783, and given by him to Archbishop Harcourt, who in turn gave them to the York Philosophical Society. They bear the Sheldon arms as follows:

Worcestershire. Arms of Sheldon, which should be those of Ralph Sheldon the elder, since they include the Willington quartering. Inscribed WIGORN. COMI. LOCVPLETATA RIC. HYCKES.

Warwickshire. Arms of Edward Sheldon (d. 1643, aged 85) and his wife Elizabeth Markham. It bears the date 1588 on the scale.

Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Arms of Ralph Sheldon (b. 1624, m. 1647) and his wife Henrietta Maria, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage of Rocksavage. Inscribed OXONI ET BERCERIAE COMITATVS LOCVPLETATI PER FRANCISCVM HICKES.

The mere fact that these maps bear the Sheldon arms should not compel us to attribute them to the Sheldon factory, especially as their borders are the same as the Playing Boys set at Holyrood which formed a favourite subject at Mortlake. The date 1588 and the names of Richard and Francis Hickes, which appear on them, together with the arms of Edward Sheldon and Ralph Sheldon the younger, seem to suggest that they were woven for Ralph Sheldon the younger from the old cartoons of Richard and Francis Hickes adapted for the purpose. That Ralph Sheldon's arms are impaled with those of his wife indicates a date not earlier than 1647, the year of his marriage. If these are to be attributed to the Sheldon School of weavers (if it was still surviving so late, and so many years after the foundation of Mortlake in 1619), it is not surprising that the colouring of the whole and the designs of the borders are so different from those of the earlier maps. On the other hand the similarity of the borders with the Holyrood Playing Boys suggests association with Mortlake. Two conclusions seem possible. These tapestries were woven about 1647 from adaptations of the old cartoons for Ralph Sheldon the younger, either by the survivors of the Sheldon School or by the newer foundation at Mortlake. It might be possible that the cartoons had been preserved at Weston and were sent up to Mortlake to be woven.

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[1] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii. The three maps are at present on loan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

4. Chronology.

The Hatfield Seasons are the latest dated tapestries which can be connected with the Sheldon School by the evidence either of the inscriptions on them, or of their style and of the motives employed. It remains to be seen whether it is possible to attempt a chronological division of these Sheldon tapestries. Of those which are dated, the three maps (A), with the name of Richard Hyckes and a probable date 1588 and the Chastleton series of the Story of Judah, the Judgement of Paris, and the three cushions (B, C, D, E, F) all dated in 1595 by the year on one of the Judah panels, make a definite group which falls within the last two decades of the sixteenth century. On the other hand the Four Seasons at Hatfield (S), of which one bears the date 1611, come within the first two decades of the seventeenth century. These fixed points agree with the information obtainable from the documentary sources. It was in 1588 that Richard Hyckes returned to Barcheston from the Great Wardrobe, and in 1603 Francis Hickes came back to Barcheston from London. The extant tapestries could thus be divided into two groups, the earlier connected with the name of Richard Hyckes, and the latter with that of Francis Hickes. The six cushions (N) with the Story of Jacob[1] could be grouped with the earlier series, as they differ in the planning and in the drawing of the designs from all the other cushions which, as will be seen, can be assigned to a second group. The character of the floral borders also is akin to that of the borders of the Chastleton cushions.

To the second group can be assigned all the other tapestries. Colonel Howard's valance and the two panels at Sudeley Castle are, as has been noted above, closely connected in style and design with the Seasons. The barber-pole border, the hunting scenes, the arcading, and the rich floral ground are the most prominent motives which link this group together, apart from the repetition of several of the subjects, such as the Virtues and Judith.

These chronological suggestions can be tabulated thus:

[1] Mr. Kendrick has kindly informed me that he saw some years ago, in a private collection, a small panel of tapestry, probably a cushion-cover, which bore a reference to Genesis xxxvii. He thought that it might well be of the Sheldon School. According to the inscription the subject would probably have referred to the Story of Joseph. The cushion cannot now be traced.

Richard Hyckes from 1588 onwards.

A. 1, 2, 3.	Maps.
B. 1, 2, 3, 4.	Story of Judah.
C.	Judgement of Paris.
D. E. F.	Three cushions from Chastleton.
N.	Story of Jacob.

Francis Hickes, from 1603 onwards.

G. 1, 1^{A}, 2, 3, 4.	Five small panels.
H. 1, 2.	Birth of Christ, two cushions, one long and one short.
I. 1, 2, 3.	Story of Susanna, one set of one long and one short cushion, one set of three short cushions, one set of one long cushion.
J. 1, 2.	Story of Tobias, two short cushions only known.
K. 1, 2.	Life of Abraham, two short cushions only known.
L. 1, 2, 3, 4.	The Virtues, two sets of one long and two short cushions, one set of two short cushions, one set of one long cushion.
M.	Judith, one short cushion only.
P.	Valance with hunting scenes, Colonel Howard.
Q.	Two panels with floral grounds (one of them with Virtues), Sudeley Castle.[1]
R.	Hagar and Ishmael, Mr. Basil Dighton's fragment.
S.	The Four Seasons, Hatfield.

The small panel with the Sacheverell arms (O) is distinctly crude and amateurish, but its motives agree better with those prominent in the second group, rather than with those of the first group.

This division into two groups is not intended to imply that Richard Hyckes was solely responsible for the first, and Francis Hickes for the second group. Francis Hickes may well have helped his father, and in fact there is every reason to suppose he did, for the York map of Oxfordshire and Berkshire bears his name.[2] Thus though this York map, which is a replica of the earlier Bodleian example, was probably woven for Ralph Sheldon the younger about 1647, the original cartoon seems to have been prepared by Francis Hickes, who died in 1630. Further, Richard Hyckes may well have helped his son, so far as his increasing years allowed him, till his death in 1613. It must not be supposed either that because the earliest extant tapestries are the maps of 1588, that Richard Hyckes was not at work earlier from the time of his installation at Barcheston about 1561. In fact there is evidence to the contrary, for the estate book of Grafton Manor mentions the purchase of arras from Hyckes as early as 1568,[3] and the reference in the Black Book of Warwick is for the year 1571.[1] That there is no tapestry of the Sheldon School yet recognized which can be assigned to so early a date must not, therefore, be taken as evidence for lack of activity on the part of Hyckes, Chance, and Sheldon's weavers generally.

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[1] The lion and unicorn in the larger panel suggest a date after 1603, for James I was the first sovereign to use the lion and unicorn as supporters for the royal arms.

[2] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Tapestry Portfolio*, iii.

[3] Humphreys, *Trans. Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, xliv, pp. 49, 83.

A comparison of the treatment of the floral motives in the Judgement of Paris and Story of Judah, and of those in the Sudeley Castle panels and other tapestries of the second group, such as the cushions in the Royal Scottish Museum, shows a certain stylistic difference between them. The flowers and plants, the dandelion, for instance, in the Chastleton series, show the influence of the continental patterns, perhaps Dutch,[2] which Richard Hyckes followed. They have a character which would seem to be derived from designs by draughtsmen trained in the school which produced the verdure seen in Flemish and Dutch sixteenth-century tapestries, such as a Spierincx or a Geubels might have woven. On the other hand, in the floral designs of the second group of Sheldon tapestries in the Sudeley Castle panels, or in the Hatfield Seasons, the flowers have an unmistakable English character. Though naturalistic in intention, the designs are to some extent conventionalized. The slightly stiff, but charming, sprays of blossoms contrast with the rather more freely drawn plants of the first group, as in the Judgement of Paris. It is interesting too to compare the designs of the flowers seen in the second group with the floral designs of English embroideries which can be assigned to this same transitional period between the Elizabethan and the Stuart, in other words to the reign of James I.[3] The development of these floral designs can also be traced in the samplers of the first half of the reign of Charles I, such as the dated example in the Dorchester Museum.[4] Further, the petit point pictures[5] of the first half of the seventeenth century show motives the immediate predecessors of which can be found in the flowers, birds, animals, and insects on tapestries like those at Sudeley Castle or Hatfield. Again, hunting scenes of a hound chasing a hare, or a huntsman pursuing a deer, are to be found in Stuart needlework caskets or pictures.[6] It is thus extremely interesting to find a parallel development of motives and designs in tapestry and in needlework. As the evolution seems to be perfectly natural, and the designs appear to be typically English, there is all the more reason for attributing the tapestries of the second group to the Sheldon School. Apart from the date of the Seasons, the second group should be the later, for it supplies clear stylistic links between Elizabethan work proper and the later development of the true Stuart period.

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[1] Ed. by Thomas Kemp, p. 48; see above, p. 264.

[2] Cf. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, pls. 488^{b}, 489, 491, 510.

[3] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Picture Book of English Embroideries, I, Elizabethan*, pl. 20, *II, Stuart*, pl. 2; cf. Shorleyker, *Schole House for the Needle* (1624).

[4] *Old Furniture*, iii, p. 22; cf. Ashton, *Samplers*, figs. 5, 14, 15.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 125, 230, and illustrations there given; *Picture Book of English Embroideries, II, Stuart*, pls. 1, 6; Huish, *Samplers*.

[6] *Picture Book of English Embroideries, II, Stuart*, pl. 19; *Old Furniture*, iv, p. 66.

Ralph Sheldon died in 1613, and with the death of Richard Hyckes eight years later, at the age of 97, all the immediate founders of the art had left the stage, as Thomas Chance had died in 1603. Francis Hickes died in 1630, but five years before in 1625 Edward Sheldon, son and heir of Ralph, went abroad to Namur where he spent ten years.[1] Mortlake had been founded in 1619, and as its early years were those when the last of the prime movers of the Sheldon enterprise were being removed by death, it is possible that even before Francis Hickes's death the Sheldon looms ceased to produce tapestry.

5. TAPESTRY CUSHIONS.

The comparative frequency of sets of tapestry cushions among the extant works of the Sheldon School calls for a brief note, for cushions of this fabric were by no means uncommon in England in the sixteenth century, and documents show that arras was used for what could be called general upholstery as well as for wall hangings. In the will[2] of Katherine, Lady Hastings, dated 1503, there are several references to them: 'three quishions of counterfeit arres with imagery of women', 'a long quishion and two short of blew velvet', 'two coverings for quishions of counterfeit arres with imagery of women', 'two quishions of counterfeit arres with my Lords arms', 'two short quishions of tawney velvet', 'four coverings for quishions with my lerds armys of counterfeit arres', 'a long quishion, oon short of tawney velvet'. Katherine Gryvell of Evesham in 1597 bequeathed[3] among her possessions six cushions of tapestry and also a carpet, two coverlids, and a bolster of the same material. In the Chastleton inventory[4] of 1633 are mentioned 'joyned stooles cov'ed with arras', 'one side bord cloth of arras', 'three fair window cushions of arras', and 'an arras cov'let'. The Sheldon tapestry cushions are of two sizes; they are either about 19 or 20 in. square, or else about 19 in. wide and 38 in. long. If then we take these measurements into conjunction with the long and short 'quishions' of Lady Hastings's will, we could probably correctly describe the set of cushions with the Story of Jacob (N) as 'six quishions of arres, oon long and five short, with imagery of men and women'. Similarly the sets of three cushions in the Royal Scottish Museum (L, III) and in the Lady Lever Art Gallery (L, I) could each be described as 'three quishions of arres with imagery of women, oon long and two short'. The Chastleton cushions are slightly larger, and these may be the three fair window cushions of arras.

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[1] See his epitaph in Beoley Church. His passport is still in existence.

[2] H. N. Nugent, *Huntingdon Peerage*, pp. 399 ff.

[3] Worcester Probate Registry, 1597, 135, will and inventory.

[4] Miss Whitmore-Jones, *Gunpowder Plot and Chastleton House*, pp. 114 ff.

It cannot be only a coincidence that a width of 19 to 22 in. is the usual loom width of Elizabethan and early seventeenth-century linen, and that the embroidered cushions of the age fall into the same two sizes as the tapestry cushions. As long cushions can be classed the Falkland black-work cushion,[1] which is 19 in. wide by 35 in. long, and the fine series from the Abingdon collection,[2] which are 21 in. wide by 34½ in. long. An embroidered cushion in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[3] which measures 19 by 18½ in., ranks as a short cushion. Many more examples of both sizes in embroidered cushions could of course be quoted. Early seventeenth-century samplers, including the earliest examples, that in the Dorchester Museum[4] dated 1630, and one in the Victoria and Albert Museum[5] dated 1633, agree with this average width of 19 to 22 in. between the selvedges. This is also the loom width for the material of cotton and linen used for the earlier crewel-work curtains of the seventeenth century, like the fine set in the Lygon Arms at Broadway.[6] Not till well into the seventeenth century were fabrics of linen and other materials ordinarily woven to a wider width. This narrow width of 19 to 22 in. was the popular one, and in this connexion it is interesting to note that John Higgins,[7] who was one of the Sheldon weavers, bequeathed in 1604, among his possessions, one broad and two narrow looms. It is highly probable, therefore, that his narrow looms were adapted to weave fabrics of this width, 19 to 22 in.

Not only then do the tapestry cushions fall into place in the stylistic development of English floral patterns in textiles, but they also agree with the loom widths and the actual sizes of the embroidered cushions or pillows of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It may further be remarked that the divisions of the top or floral border of Colonel Howard's valance (P), 38 and 76 in., correspond to two and to four loom widths of 19 in. each. This would imply that the narrow curtains towards the head of a bed would contain two, and the wide curtains round the foot of a bed four, widths of material. One of the matters in the dispute[8] between Ralph Sheldon the elder and Thomas Hoerd, in 1605, were 'certen hangings of Tapistrie fer the furniture of two chambers and one Bedd throughlie furnished'. Lady Hastings[9] bequeathed to Lady Dorset 'my bed of arres, tittor, testor and counterpane', and in the Gryvell and Chastleton inventories just mentioned[1] coverlets of arras occur. Thus it is possible that Colonel Howard's valance may well consist of the two valances of just such a set of bed furniture of tapestry as that which formed an object of contention between Ralph Sheldon and Thomas Hoerd.

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[1] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Picture Book of English Embroideries, I, Elizabethan*, pl. 4.

[2] Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 15 June 1928, lots 42–5.

[3] *Picture Book of English Embroideries, I, Elizabethan*, pl. 3.

[4] *Old Furniture*, iii, p. 22.

[5] *Picture Book of English Embroideries, II, Stuart*, pl. 3; cf. Ashton, *Samplers*, pl. 1, figs. 13–16, 18.

[6] The fourth curtain of the set is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, T. 30–1928.

[7] See above, p. 266.

[8] See above, p. 260.

[9] H. N. Nugent, *Huntingdon Peerage*, p. 400.

The use to which tapestry cushions were put is best illustrated by a picture of the Annunciation of the school of the Master of Liesborn,[2] where three such cushions of tapestry or embroidery are seen on a wooden Gothic bench under the window. There is also good reason to believe that similar cushions were provided for the stalls of cathedrals or large churches.[3] In England at least, though these cushions appear to have been popular down to the early seventeenth century, they seem to have been supplanted by 'Turkey work'. On the Continent they were equally popular, in Flanders,[4] in Holland, in Germany,[5] especially in the Hamburg district, in Holstein, in Denmark, in Norway, and in Sweden, and in the four latter countries they became established features of peasant[6] art, and their use and manufacture continued much later. Long cushions are rare except in Norway and in Sweden, where they were used in peasant work to cover the wooden seats of country carts. In Holland[7] such cushions bearing the arms of the town were made for the councillors' seats in town halls and similar purposes. In Germany sets of short cushions were by no means uncommon, but there a set of six is usually all of one design, Orpheus and the animals, David and Abigail, or Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.[8] They often also bear coats of arms commemorating marriages between Hamburg families.[9] It is possible that the Sheldon cushions bearing initials such as P.P.M. or T.E.I. were made for marriages as part of the dowry. An examination of the types and designs of the tapestry cushions of the countries mentioned would not only require too much space, but also be foreign to the present purpose. It is enough to show that the Sheldon tapestry cushions are not an isolated phenomenon among tapestries, but that such cushions both long and short have played an important part in the domestic economy of several nations down almost to the present century. Indeed such tapestry cushions with the Virtues, for instance, which tempered the hardness of contemporary oak furniture were the forerunners of tapestry chair seats with Aesop's Fables or similar figure-subjects used to upholster eighteenth-century furniture. The material employed was the same, only the method of application differed.

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[1] See above, p. 311. In the Hôtel-Dieu at Beaune is a series of thirty tapestry woven bed coverlets of the fifteenth century.

[2] National Gallery, London, no. 256.

[3] See the inventories of the church of Saint Amé at Douai, Pinchart, *Hist. Gén. de la Tapisserie*, iii, Pays Bas, p. 53.

[4] e. g. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, i, p. 259.

[5] Sauermann, *Schleswig-Holsteinischer Kunst Kalender*, 1916, pp. 60 ff.

[6] Bossert, *Volkskunst in Europa*, pls. xiv, 1, 2, 3, 11; xv, 1, 4, 6; xxii, 4; cf. Kendrick, *Victoria and Albert Museum, Catalogue of Tapestries*^{2}, nos. 59–61, 62, 62^{A}, 62^{B}.

[7] e. g. Göbel, *op. cit.*, i, pls. 487^{a}, 487^{b}, 501, 505.

[8] Sauermann, *op. cit.*, p. 64, figs. 1–3; cf. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, no. 39.

[9] e. g. Sauermann, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, p. 61.

This account of Sheldon tapestries and of some of the interesting points that arise in connexion with them is not, and cannot of course be, exhaustive. Further discoveries both of documents and of tapestries will certainly throw much more light on the subject, for scientific research into these questions began only in this century. It is therefore highly important to use the utmost caution, and not to class as Sheldon, from a mistaken sense of patriotism, tapestries the claims of which will not bear serious examination. Further research is urgently needed, and when more progress has been made in this, fuller discussion will be possible.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 293, G (1 A). This panel has now been illustrated by Mr. Kendrick in the *Burlington Magazine*, liii, p. 287.

p. 294, I. I (1). A short cushion of the same type with 'Susanna before the Judge' has appeared in private possession. The scene is similar to those in Frau Budge's and in the Hedingham Castle cushion.

p. 296, l. 5. See *Lady Lever Art Gallery Collections*, iii, p. 143, No. 123.

p. 296, L. I. See *Lady Lever Art Gallery Collections*, iii, p. 32, No. 26, Pl. 15.

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